HISTORY

OF THE

## PURITANS

OR

## Protestant Non-Conformists,

FROM THE

#### REFORMATION

TOTHE

Death of Queen ELIZABETH:

WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal Divines.

#### By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

Now all these Things happened unto them for Ensamples; and they are written for our Admonition — 1 Cor. x. 11.

#### LONDON:

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# HISTORY

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## PREFACE.



HE Design of the following Work is to preserve the Memory of those great and good Men among the Resormers who lost their Preserments in the Church, for attempting a further Resormation of its Discipline and Geremonies; and to ac-

count for the Rise and Progress of that Separation from the National Establishment which subsists to this Day.

To set this in a proper Light it was necessary to look back upon the sad State of Religion before the Reformation, and to consider the Motives that induced King Henry VIII. to break with the Pope, and to declare the Church of England an independent Body, of which himself, under Christ, was the supreme Head upon Earth. This was a hold Attempt, at a Time when all the Powers of the Earth were against him; and could not have succeeded without an over-ruling Direction of Divine Providence: But as for any real Amendment of the Doctrines, or Superstitions of Popery, any further than was necessary to secure his own Supremacy, and those wast Revenues of the Church which he had grasped into his Hands, whatever his Majesty might design, he had not the Honour to accomplish.

The Reformation made a quick Progress in the short Reign of King Edward VI. who had been educated under Protestant Tutors, and was himself a prodigious Genius for his Age; he settled the Doctrines of the A 2 Church.

Church, and intended a Reformation of its Government and Laws; but his noble Designs were obstructed by some temporizing Bishops, who having complied with the Impofitions of King Henry VIII. were willing to bring others under the same Yoke; and to keep up an Alliance with the Church of Rome, left they should lose the uninterrupted Succession of their Characters from the Apostles. The Controverly that gave Rife to the SEPARATION began in this Reign, on occasion of Bishop Hooper's refusing to be consecrated in the Popish Habits: This may seem an unreasonable Scruple in the Opinion of some People, but was certainly an Affair of great Consequence to the Reformation, when the Habits were the known Badges of Popery; and when the Administrations of the Priests were thought to receive their Validity from the confecrated Vestments, as I am afraid many both of the Clergy and common People are too inclinable to apprehend at this Day. Had the Reformers fixed upon other decent Garments as Badges of the Episcopal or Priestly Office, which had no Relation to the Superstitions of Popery, this Controversy had been prevented. But the same Regard to the old Religion was had in revising the Liturgy, and translating it into the English Language; the Reformers, instead of framing a new one in the Language of Holy Scripture, bad recourse to the Offices of the Church of Rome, leaving out such Prayers and Passages as were offensive, and adding certain Responses to engage the Attention of the common People, who till this Time had no concern in the publick Devotions of the Church, as being uttered in an unknown Tongue: This was thought a very considerable Advance, and as much as the Times would bear, but was not designed for the last Standard of the English Reformation; bowever, the immature Death of young King Edward put an end to all further Progress.

Upon the Accession of Queen MARY, Popery revived by the Supremacy's being lodged in a single Hand; and within the Compass of little more than a Year became a second Time the established Religion of the Church of England:

land: The Statutes of King Edward were repealed, and the penal Laws against Hereticks were put in execution against the Reformers; many of whom, after a long Imprisonment, and cruel Trials of Mockings and Scourgings, made a noble Confession of their Faith before many Witnesses, and sealed it with their Blood. Great Numbers fled into Banishment, and were entertained by the reformed States of Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, with great Humanity; the Magistrates enfranchising them, and appointing Churches for their publick Worship. But bere began the fatal Division; some of the Exiles were for keeping to the Liturgy of King Edward, as the Religion of their Country, while others considering that those Laws were repealed apprehended themselves at full liberty, and baving no Prospect of returning bome, they resolved to shake off the Remains of Antichrist, and to copy after the purer Forms of those Churches among whom they lived. Accordingly the Congregation at Frankfort, by the Defire of the Magistrates, began upon the Geneva Model, with an additional Prayer for the afflicted State of the Church of England at that Time; but when Dr. Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, came with a new Detachment from England, be interrupted the publick Service by answering aloud after the Minister, which occasioned such a Disturbance and Division as could never be bealed. Mr. Knox and Mr. Whittingham, with one balf of the Congregation, being obliged to remove to Geneva, Dr. Cox and bis Friends kept Possession of the Church at Frankfort, till there arose such Quarrels and Contentions among themselves as made them a Reproach to the Strangers among whom they lived. Thus the Separation began.

When the Exiles, upon the Accession of Queen Elli-ZABETH, returned to England, each Party were for advancing the Reformation according to their own Standard. The Queen, with those that had weathered the Storm at home, were only for restoring King Edward's Liturgy, but the Majority of the Exiles were for the Worship and Discipline of the foreign Churches, and resused to comply with the old Establishment, declaiming loudly against the Popish

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p. 97. B. X.

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Habits and Ceremonies. The new Bishops, most of whom had been their Companions abroad, endeavoured to foften them for the prefent, declaring they would use all their Interests at Court to make them easy in a little Time: The Queen also connived at their Non-Conformity, till ber Government was settled, but then declared roundly, that she had fixed ber Standard, and would have all her Subjects conform to it; upon which the Bishops stiffened in their Behaviour, explained away their Promises, and

became too severe against their Dissenting Brethren.

In the Year 1564, their Lordships began to shew their Authority, by urging the Clergy of their several Dioceses to subscribe the Liturgy, Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church; when those that refused were first called PURITANS, a Name of Reproach derived from the Cathari, or Puritani of the third Century after Christ, but proper enough to express their Desires of a more pure Form of Worship and Discipline in the Church. When the Doctrines of Arminius took Place in the latter end of the Reign of King James I. those that adhered to Calvin's Explication of the five disputed Points were called Do-

Ch. History, Etrinal Puritans; and at length (fays Mr. Fuller) the Name was improved to stigmatize all those who endeavoured in their Devotions to accompany the Minister with a pure Heart, and who were remarkably Holy in their Conversations. A PURITAN therefore was a Man of fevere Morals, a Calvinist in Doctrine, and a Non-Conformist to the Ceremonies and Discipline of the

Church, though be did not totally separate from it. The Queen baving conceived a strong Aversion to these People, pointed all her Artillery against them; for besides the ordinary Courts of the Bishops, her Majesty erected a new Tribunal, called the Court of HIGH COM-MISSION, which suspended and deprived Men of their Livings, not by the Verditt of twelve Men upon Oath, but by the sovereign Determination of three Commissioners of ber Majesty's own Nomination, founded not upon the Statute Laws of the Realm, but upon the bottomless Deep of the Canon Law; and instead of producing Witnesses in

open

open Court to prove the Charge, they assumed a Power of administring an Oath Ex Office, whereby the Prisoner was obliged to answer all Questions the Court should put to him, though never so prejudicial to his own Defence: If he resused to swear he was imprison d for Contempt 3 and if he took the Oath he was convicted upon his own

Confession:

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The Reader will meet with many Examples of the bigh Proceedings of this Court, in the Course of this History ; of their fending their Pursuevants to bring Ministers out of the Country, and keeping them in Town at excessive Charges; of their Interrogatories upon Oath, which were almost equal to the Spanish Inquisition; of their Examinations and long Imprisonments of Ministers without Bail. or bringing them to a Trial; and all this not for Infufficiency, or Immorality, or neglect of their Cures, but for not wearing a white Surplice, for not baptizing with the Sign of the Cross, or not subscribing to certain Articles that had no Foundation in Law. A fourth Part of all the Preachers in England were under Sufpension from one or other of these Courts, at a Time when not one beneficed Clergyman in fix was capable of composing a Sermon: The Edge of all those Laws that were made against Popish Recufants, who were continually plotting against the Queen, was turned against Protestant Non-Conformists; nay, in many Cases they had not the Benefit of the Law, for as Lord Clarendon rightly observes, Queen Vol. 1.800. Elizabeth carried ber Prerogative as high as in the p. 72. worst Times of King Charles I. " They who look back up-

" on the Council Books of those Times (says his Lordship) and upon the Asts of the Star Chamber then, shall

" find as high Instances of Power and Sovereignty upon

the Liberty and Property of the Subject, as can be fince

e given. But the Art, Order and Gravity of those Pro-

" ceedings (where short, severe, constant Rules, were

" set, and smartly pursued, and the Party felt only the

Weight of the Judgment not the Passion of his Judges)

made them less taken Notice of, and so less grievous to

the Publick, though as intolerable to the Perfon."

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These Severities, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Church drove them further from it, for Men don't care to be beat from their Principles by the Artillery of Canons, Injunctions, and penal Laws; nor can they be in love with a Church that uses such Methods of Conversion. A great deal of ill Blood was bred in the Nation by these Proceedings; the Bishops lost their Esteem with the People, and the Number of Puritans was not really lessend though they lay concealed, till in the next Age they got the Power into their Hands and shook off the Yoke.

The Reputation of the Church of England has been very much advanced of late Years, by the Suspension of the penal Laws, and the legal Indulgence granted to Protestant Dissenters. Long Experience has taught us, that Uniformity in Doctrine and Worship enforced by penal Laws, is not the Way to the Church's Peace; that there may be a Separation from a true Church without Schism; and Schism within a Church without Separation; that the Indulgence granted by Law to Protestant Non-Conformists, which has now subsisted above forty Years, has not been prejudicial to Church or State, but rather advantageous to both; for the Revenues of the established Church have not been lessen'd; a Number of Poor have been maintained by the Diffenters, which must otherwise have come to the Parish; the Separation has kept up an Emulation among the Clergy; quicken'd them to their pastoral Duty, and been a Check upon their moral Behaviour; and I will venture to fay, whenever the feparate Assemblies of Protestant Non-Conformists shall cease, and all Men be obliged to worship at their Parish Churches, that Ignorance and Laziness will prevail among the Clergy; and that the Laity in many Parts of the Country will degenerate into Superstition, Prophanenes, and downright Atheism. With regard to the STATE; it ought to be remembered, that the Protestant Dissenters bave always stood by the Laws and Constitution of their Country; that they joined heartily in the glorious Revolution of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and juffer-

Bill,

fuffered for their steady Adherence to the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of his present Majesty, when great Numbers that called themselves Churchmen were looking another way; for this, the Schism Bill and other Hardships were put upon them, and not for their religious Differences with the Church; for if they would have joined the Administration at that Time, 'tis well known they might have made much better Terms for themselves; but as long as there is a Protestant Dissenter in England there will be a Friend of Liberty, and of our present happy Constitution. Instead therefore of crushing them, or comprehending them within the Church, it must be the Interest of all true Lovers of their Country, even upon political Views, to ease their Complaints, and to support and countenance their Christian Liberty.

For though the Church of England is as free from persecuting Principles as any Establishment in Europe, yet still there are some Grievances remaining, which wife and good Men of all Parties wish might be reviewed; not to mention the Subscriptions which affect the Clergy; there is the AEt of the 25th of King Charles II. for preventing Dangers arising from Popish Recusants, commonly called the TEST ACT, " which obliges, under " very severe Penalties, all Persons, [ of the Laity ] " bearing any Office, or Place of Trust or Profit (be-" sides taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremucy, and " subscribing a Declaration against Transubstantiation;) to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper accord-" ing to the Usage of the Church of England, in some " Parish Church on a Lord's Day immediately after Di-" vine Service and Sermon, and to deliver a Certificate " of having so received it, under the Hands of the respe-" Etive Ministers and Church-Wardens, proved by two " credible Witnesses upon Oath, to be recorded in Court." It appears by the Title of this AET, and by the Disposition of the Parliament at that Time, that it was not defign'd against Protestant Non-Conformists; but the Diffenters in the House generously came into it to save the Nation from Popery; for when the Court, in order to throw out the

Bill, put them upon moving for a Clause to except their Friends, Mr. Love, who had already declared against the Dispensing Power, stood up, and desired that the Nation might first be secured against Popery, by passing the Bill without any Amendment; and that then, if the House pleased, some regard might be bad to Protestant Dissen-Eachard's ters; in which ( Jays Mr. Eachard) he was seconded by

Ad. Ann. 1672-3.

Ch. History, most of his Party. The Bill was voted accordingly, and another brought in for the Ease of his Majesty's Protestant Dissenting Subjects, which passed the Commons, but before it could get through the Lords, the King came to the House and prorogued the Parliament. Thus the Protestant Non-Conformists, out of their abundant Zeal for the Protestant Religion, shackled themselves, and were left

upon a level with popish Recusants.

It was necessary to secure the Nation against Popery at that Time, when the presumptive Heir of the Crown was of that Religion; but whether it ought not to have been done by a Civil rather than by a Religious Test, I leave with the Reader. The obliging all Persons in Places of Civil Trust to receive the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, feems to be a Hardship upon those Gentlemen, whose manner of Life loudly declares their Unfitness for so sacred a Solemnity, and who would not run the Hazard of eating and drinking unworthily, but that they satisfy themselves with throwing off the Guilt upon the Imposers. Great Britain must not expect an Army of Saints; nor is the Time yet come, when all her Officers shall be Peace and her Exactors Righteousness. It is no less a Hardship upon a great Pody of bis Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, who are qualified to serve their King and Country. in all.Offices of Civil Trust, and would perform their Duty with all Chearfulness, did they not scruple to receive the Sacrament after the Usage of the Church of England, or to prostitute a facred and religious Institution, as a Qualification for a Civil Employment. I can see no Inconvenience either to Church or State, if HIS MAJESTY, as the common Father of his People, should have the Service of all bis Subjects who are willing to swear Allegiance

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to bis Royal Person and Government; to renounce all foreign Jurisdiction, and to give all reasonable Security not to disturb the Church of England, or any of their fellow Subjects, in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Religious or Civil Rights and Properties. Besides, the removing this Grievance would do Honour to the Church of England it self, by obviating the Charge of Imposition, and by relieving the Clergy from a Part of their Work, which has given some of them very great Uneasiness: But I am chiefly concerned for the Honour of Religion and publick Virtue, which is wounded hereby in the House of its Friends. If therefore (as some conceive) the Sacramental Test be a national Blemish, I humbly conceive, with all due Submission, the removal of it would be a publick Blessing.

The Protestant Non-Conformists observe with Pleasure the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church owning the Cause of Religious Liberty, "That private Judgment ought to be formed upon Examination, and that Religion is a free and unforced Thing." And we sincerely join with the Lord Bishop of Lichsteld and Coventry, in the Preface to his excellent Vindication of the Miracles of our blessed Saviour, "in congratulating our Country on Vol. II. the Enjoyment of their Civil and Ecclesiastical Liberties p. 15.

" within their just and reasonable Bounds, as the most " valuable Blessings;" though we are not fully satisfied with the Reasonableness of those Bounds his Lordship has fixed. God forbid! that any among us should be Patrons of open Prophaneness, Irreligion, Scurrility, or ill Manners to the established Religion of the Nation; much less that we should countenance any who blasphemously revile the Founder of it, or who deride what soever is sacred. No, we have a fervent Zeal for the Honour of our Lord and Master, and are desirous to contend earnestly for the Faith once delivered to the Saints with all Sorts of spiritual Weapons; but we do not yet see a Necessity of stopping the Mouths of the Adversaries of our boly Regilion with Fines and Imprisonments, even though to their own Infamy and Shame they treat it with Indecency: Let Scandal and ill Manners be punished as it deserves, but let not Men Men be terrified from speaking out their Doubts, or proposing their Objections against the Gospel Revelation, which we are sure will bear a thorough Examination; and though the late ungenerous Attacks upon the Miracles of our blessed Saviour, may have had an ill Influence upon the giddy and unthinking Youth of the Age, they have given Occasion to the publishing such a Number of incomparable Defences of Christianity, as have consirmed the Faith of many, and must satisfy the Minds of all reasonable Enquirers after Truth.

Nor do we think it right to fix the Boundaries of ReliPref. p. 8. gious Liberty upon the Degree of People's differing
from the national Establishment, because Enthusiasts
or Jews have an equal Right with Christians to worship
God in their own Way; to defend their own peculiar DoEtrines, and to enjoy the publick Protestion, as long as they
keep the Peace, and maintain no Principles manifestly inconsistent with the Safety of the Government they live

under. But his Lordship apprehends he has a Chain of demonstrawid. p. 9. ble Propositions to maintain his Boundaries, be observes, " 1. That the true Ends of Government require the Establishment of some Religion." By which, if no more be meant than that Civil Government can't subsist without Religion, no reasonable Man will dispute it. " 2. That open Impiety, " or a publick Opposition made to, and an avowed Contempt of the established Religion, which is a considerable part of the Constitution, do greatly promote the Dise sturbance of the publick Peace, and naturally tend to the "Tis here supposed that one particular Religion must be incorporated into the Constitution, which is not necessary to the Ends of Government; for Religion and Civil Government are distinet Things, and stand upon a separate Basis. Religion in general is the Support of Civil Government, and 'tis the Office of the Civil Magistrate to protect all his dutiful and loyal Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion; but to incorporate one particular Religion into the Constitution, so thid p. 10. as to make it part of the Common Law, and to conclude

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from thence, that the Constitution having a Right to preferve it self, may make Laws for the Punishment of those
that publickly oppose any one Branch of it, is to put an effectual Stop to the Progress of the Reformation throughout
the whole Christian World; for by this Reasoning our first
Reformers must be condemned; and if a Subject of France,
or the Ecclesiastical State should at this Time write
against the usurped Power of the Pope; or expose the Absurdities of Transubstantiation, Adoration of the Host,
Worshipping of Images, &c. it would be laudable for the
legislative Powers of those Countries to send the WRITER
to the Gallies or shut him up in a Dungeon, as a Disturber
of the publick Peace, because Popery is supported by Law,
and is a very considerable Part of their Constitution.

But to support the Government's Right to enact penal Laws against those that oppose the establish'd Religion, his Lordship is pleas'd to refer us to the Edicts of the first Christian Emperors out of the Codex Theodofianus, composed in the 5th Century, which acquaints us with the Sentiments of that and the preceding Age; but fays nothing of the Doctrine of Scripture, or of the Practice of the Church for 300 Years before the. Empire became Christian. His Lordship then subjoins fundry Passages out of a Sermon of Archbishop Tillotion, whom he justly ranks among the greatest of the Moderns. But it ought to be remember'd, that this Sermon was preached at Court in the Year 1680. when the Nation was in imminent Danger from the Popish Plot. His Lordship should also have acquainted his Readers with the Archbishop's cautious Introduction, which is this;

"I cannot think (till I be better informed, which I Abp. Tillot. am always ready to be) that any pretence of Consci-Works, ence warrants any Man that cannot work Miracles, to Vol. I. Fol. draw Men off from the established Religion of a Nation. P 320,

" draw Men off from the established Religion of a Nation, p. 320, nor openly to make Proselytes to his own Religion, in

" contempt of the Magistrate and the Law, though he is "never so sure he is in the right." This Proposition, though pointed at the popish Missionaries in England at that Time, is not only inconsistent with the Protestant Re-

formation

formation (as I observed before) but must effectually prevent the propagating of Christianity among the idolatrous Nations of the Eastern and Western Indians without a new Power of working Miracles, which we have no ground to expect; and I may venture to assure his Lordship and the World, that the good Archbishop lived to see his Mistake; and could name the learned Person to whom he frankly confessed it after some Hours Conversation upon the Subject: But buman Authorities are of little weight in

Points of Reason and Speculation.

It was from this mistaken Principle that the Government pres'd so bard upon those Puritans whose History is now before the Reader; in which be will observe how the transferring the Supremacy from the Pope to the King, united the Church and State into one Body under one Head, infomuch that writing against the Church was construed by the Judges in Westminster Hall, a seditious libelling the Queen's Government, and was punished with exorbitant Fines, Imprisonment and Death. He will observe further, the Rise and Progress of the penal Laws; the Extent of the regal Supremacy in those Times; the deplorable Ignorance of the Clergy; with the opposite Principles of our Church Reformers, and of the Puritans, which I have fet in a true Light, and have purfued the Controversy as an Historian in its several Branches, to the End of the long Reign of Queen ELIZABETH; to all which I have added some short Remarks of my own, which the Reader will receive according to their Evidence. And because the Principles of the Scots Reformers were much the same with those of the English Puritans, and the imposing a Liturgy and Bishops upon them gave Rise to the Confusions of the next Age, I have inserted a short Account of their Religious Establishment; and have enlivened the whole with the Lives and Characters of the principal Puritans of those Times.

A History of this kind was long expected from the late Reverend and Learned Dr. John Evans, who had for some Years been collecting Materials for this purpose, and had he lived to perfect his Design, would have done it to

much

much greater Advantage; but I have seen none of his Papers, and am informed, that there is but a very small Matter capable of being put in order for the Press. Upon his Decease I found it necessary to undertake this Province, to bring the History forward to those Times when the Puritans had the Power in their own Hands; in examining into which I have spent my leisure Hours for some Years; but the publishing those Collections will depend under God, upon the Continuance of my Health, and the Acceptance this meets with in the World.

I am not so vain as to expect to escape the Censures of Criticks, nor the Reproaches of angry Men, who while they do nothing themselves, take pleasure in exposing the Labours of others in Pamphlets and News Papers; but as I shall be always thankful to any that will convince me of my Mistakes in a friendly manner, the others may be secure of enjoying the Satisfaction of their satyrical Remarks

without any difturbance from me.

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I have endeavoured to acquaint my felf thoroughly with the Times of which I write; and as I have no Expeltations from uny Party of Christians, I am under no Temptation to disquise their Conduct. I have cited my Authorities in the Margin, and flatter my felf that I have had the Opportunity of bringing many Things to light relating to the Sufferings of the Puritans, and the State of the Reformation in those Times, which have hitherto been unknown to the World, chiefly by the Affiftance of a large Manuscript Collection of Papers faithfully transcribed from their Originals in the University of Cambridge, by a Person of Character employed for that purpose, and generously communicated to me by my ingenious and learned Friend Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor; for which I take this Opportunity of returning him my own, and the Thanks of the publick. Among the Ecclesiastical Historians of these Times, Mr. Fuller, Bishop Burnet, and Mr. Strype are the chief; the last of whom has searched into the Records of the English Reformation more than any Man of the Age; Dr. Heylin and Collyer are of more suspected Authority, not so much for their Party Principles, as because the former never never gives us his Vouchers, and yet the latter follows him

blindly in all Things.

Upon the whole, I have endeavoured to keep in view the Honesty and Gravity of an Historian, and have said nothing with a design to exasperate or widen the Dissert rences among Christians; for as I am a sincere Admirer of the Dostrines of the New Testament, I would have an equal Regard to its most excellent Precepts, of which these are some of the Capital, that We love one another; that We forgive Offences; that We bear one anothers Insirmities, and even bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us. If this Spirit and Temper were more prevalent, the Lives of Christians would throw a bright Lustre upon the Truth and Excellency of their Divine Faith, and convince the Atheists and Insidels of the Age, more than all their Arguments can do without it.

I would earnestly recommend this Temper to the Protestant Non-Conformists of the present Age, together with an boly Emulation of each other in undiffembled Piety and Santity of Life, that while they are reading the heavy and grievous Sufferings of their Ancestors from Ecclesiastical Commissions, Spiritual Courts, and penal Laws, for Conscience sake, they may be excited to an humble Adoration of Divine Providence which has delivered them so far from the Yoke of Oppression; to a Detestation of all persecuting Principles; and to a loyal and dutiful Behaviour to the best of Kings, under whose mild and just Government they are secure of their Civil and Religious Liberties. And may Protestants of all Persuasions improve in the Knowledge and Love of the Truth, and in Sentiments of Christian Charity and Forbearance towards each other, that being at Peace among themselves, they may with greater Success bend their united Forces against the common Ene-

mies of Christianity!

Daniel Neal.

London, Feb. 1st. 1731-2.

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# HISTORY

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## PURITANS.

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The Reign of HENRY VIII.



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ING William the Conqueror having state of got Possession of the Crown of England, Religion by the Affistance of the See of Rome; before the and King John having afterwards fold tion. it, in his Wars with the Barons, the Rights and Privileges of the English

Clergy were delivered up into the Hands of the Pope, who taxed them at his Pleafure, and in process of Time drained the Kingdom of immense Treasures; for besides all his other Dues, arising from Annates, First Fruits, Peter Pence, &c. he extorted large Sums of Money from the Clergy for their Preferments in the Church. He advanced Foreigners to the richest

Bilhop-

Bishopricks, who never resided in their Dioceses, nor so much as set foot upon English Ground, but sent for all their Profits to a foreign Country; nay, fo covetous was his Holiness, that before Livings became void, he fold them provisionally among his Italians, infomuch, that neither the King nor the Clergy, had any Thing to dispose of, but every Thing

Burnet's Hift. Ref. Vol. I. p. 107. Provifor's,

was bargain'd for before-hand at Rome. This awaken'd the Resentments of the Legislature, who in the 25th Year of King Edward III. pass'd an Act, called Statute of the Statute of Provisor's, whereby it is enacted, "That " the King, and other Lords, shall present unto

An. 1350. " Benefices of their own, or their Ancestor's Foundation, and not the Bishop of Rome.

" forestalling of Benefices to Foreigners shall cease; " and that the free Elections, Presentments, and Col-" lations of Benefices, shall stand in Right of the

" Crown, or of any of his Majesty's Subjects, as they " had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any

er Provisions from Rome.

But still the Power of the Court of Rome ran very high, for they brought all the Trials of Titles to Advowsons, into their own Courts beyond Sea, and though by the 7th of Richard II, the Power of Nomination to Benefices, without the King's Licence, was taken from them, they still claim'd the Benefit of Confirmations, of Translations of Bishops, and of Excommunications; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York might still by virtue of Bulls from Rome, affemble the Clergy of their feveral Provinces, at what Time and Place they thought fit, without leave obtained from the Crown; and all the Canons and Constitutions concluded upon in those Synods were binding, without any farther Ratification from the King; fo that the Power of the Church was independent of the Civil Government. This being represented to

Statute of the Parliament of the 16th of Richard II. they paffed Premunire the Statute commonly called PRÆMUNIRE, An. 1393. by which it was enacted, " That if any of the Clergy « did

" did purchase Translations to Benefices, Processes, " Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or any other Instruments from the Court of Rome, against the King or his Crown; or whoever brought them into England, or did receive or execute them, they were declared to be out of the King's Protection,

and should forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the

King, and their Persons be imprison'd." From this Fuller's Time the Archbishops called no more Convocations Ch. History; by their fole Authority, but by Licence from the P. 190. King; their Synods being formed by a Writ or Precept from the Crown, directed to the Archbishops, to affemble their Clergy, in order to confult upon fuch Affairs as his Majesty should lay before them. But still their Canons were binding, tho' confirm'd by no Authority but their own, till the Act of Su-

premacy took place.

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About this Time flourished the famous John Wick- Life and liffe, the Morning-Star of the Reformation. He was Writings of born at Wickliffe, near Richmond in Yorksbire, about John the Year 1324, and was educated in Queen's College, Oxford, where he was Divinity Professor, and afterwards Parson of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. He flourish'd in the latter End of the Reign of King Edward III. and the beginning of Richard II. about one Hundred and thirty Years before the Reformation of Luther. The University gave this Testimonial of him after his Death, "That from his Youth to the Time of his Death, his Conversation was so Praiseworthy, that there was never any Spot, or Suspicion noised of him; that in his reading and preaching he behaved like a frout and valiant Champion " of the Faith; and that he had written in Logick, " Philosophy, Divinity, Morality, and the speculative " Arts, without an Equal;" While he was Divinity Professor at Oxford he publish'd certain Conclusions, against Transubstantiation, and against the Infallibility of Fox's the Pope; that the Church of Rome was not the Head Martyrol. of all other Churches; nor had St. Peter the Power of vindicat.

the Keys, any more than the rest of the Apostles: that the New Testament, or Gospel, is a perfect Rule of Life and Manners, and ought to be read by the People. He mainrained further, most of those Points by which the PURITANS were afterwards diftinguished; asthat in the Sacrament of Orders there ought to be but two Degrees, Prefbyters, or Bisbops and Deacons; that all Human Traditions are superfluous and finful; that we must practife, and teach only, the Laws of Christ; that mystical and significant Ceremonies in religious Worship are unlawful; and, that to restrain Men to a prescribed Form of Prayer, is contrary to the Liberty granted them by God. Thefe, with some other of Wickliffe's Doctrines, against the temporal Grandeur of the Prelates, and their usurped Authority, were fent to Rome, and condemned by Pope Gregory XI. in a Confistory of Twenty three Cardinals, in the Year 1378. but the Pope dying foon after put a stop to the Process. Urban, his Succeffor, writ to young King Richard H. and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and University of Oxford, to put a stop to the Progress of Wickliffilm; accordingly. Wickliffe was cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Brethren the Prelates, feveral Times. but was always difmiffed, either by the Interest of the Citizens of London, or the powerful Interpolition of some great Lords at Court, or some other uncommon Providence, which terrified the Bishops from pasfing a peremptory Sentence against him for a considerable Time; but at length his new Doctrines (as they were called) were condemned in a Convocation of Bishops, Doctors and Batchelors, held at London by the Commandment of the Archbishop of Canterbury 1382, and he was deprived of his Professorship, his Books and Writings were ordered to be burn'd. and himself to be imprison'd, but he kept out of the Way, and in the Time of his Retirement writ a Confession of his Faith to the Pope, in which he declares himself willing to maintain his Opinions at Rome,

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if God had not otherwise visited him with Sickness. and other Infirmities: But it was well for this good Man that there were two Anti-Popes at this Time at War with each other, one at Rome, and the other at Avignon. In England also there was a Minority, and after some Time a Controversy arose between the Houses of York and Lancaster, about the Right of Succession to the Crown, which was favourable to Wickliffe, infomuch that he ventur'd out of his Retirement, and returned to his Parish at Lutterworth, where he quietly departed this Life in the This Wickliffe was a wonderful Man Year 1384. for the Times in which he lived, which were overspread with the thickest Darkness of Antichristian Idolatry; he was the first that translated the New Testament into English; but the Art of Printing not being then found out, it hardly escaped the Inquifition of the Prelates, at least it was very scarce when Tindal translated it a second Time 1527. He preached and published the very same Doctrines for Substance that afterwards obtained at the Reformation; he writ near two Hundred Volumes, all which were called in, condemned, and order'd to be burn'd together with his Bones by the Council of Constance, in the Year 1425, forty one Years after his Death; but his Doctrine remained, and the Number of his Disciples who were diffinguished by the Name of Lollards encreased after his Decease, which gave Occasion to the making fundry other fevere Laws against Hereticks.

The Clergy made their Advantage of the Conten-Rife of Petions between the Houses of York and Lancaster; both nat Laws Parties courting their Assistance, which they did not against fail to make use of for the Support of the Catholick Hereticks. Faith, (as they call'd it) and the Advancement of their spiritual Tyranny over the Consciences of Men. In the Primitive Times there were no capital Proceedings against Hereticks, the Weapons of the Church being only spiritual; but when it was found that Ecclesiastical Censures were not sufficient to keep

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Men in a blind Subjection to the Pope, a Decree was obtained in the fourth Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215. " That all Hereticks should be delivered over to the civil " Magistrate to be burn'd." Here was the Spring of that Antichristian Tyranny and Oppression of the Consciences of Men, which has fince been attended with a Sea of Christian Blood: The Papists learn'd it from the Heathen Emperors; and the most zealous Protestants of all Nations, have taken it up from Conscience can't be convinced by Fines and Imprisonments, or by Fire and Faggot; all Attempts of this Kind serve only to make Men Hypocrites, and are deservedly branded with the Name of Persecution. There was no Occasion for putting these fanguinary Laws in execution among us till the latter end of the fourteenth Century; but when the Lollards, or Followers of Wickliffe threaten'd the Papal Power, the Clergy brought this Italian Drug from Rome, and planted it in the Church of England.

Statute Rich, 2. cap. 5. In the 5th Year of Richard II. it was enacted, That all that preached without License against the Catholick Faith, or against the Laws of the Land, should be arrested, and kept in Prison, till they justified themselves according to the Law and Reason of Holy Church. Their Commitment was to be by Writ from the Chancellor, who was to issue forth Commissions to the Sheriss, and other the King's Ministers, after the Bishops had returned the Names of the Delinquents into the Court of Chancery."

Statute Henry 4. Cap. 15. When Richard II. was deposed, and the Crown usurped by Henry IV. in order to gain the good Will of the Clergy, it was surther enacted, in the second Year of his Reign, "That if any Persons were suspected of Heresy, the Ordinary might detain them in Prison till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their Errors; provided always, That the Proceedings against them were publickly and judicially ended within three Months. If they

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were convicted, the Diocesan, or his Commissary, might imprison and fine them at Discretion.
Those that refused to abjure their Errors, or after
Abjuration relapsed, were to be delivered over to
the secular Power, and the Mayors, Sheriss, or
Bailiss, were to be present (if required) when
the Bishop, or his Commissary passed Sentence,
and after Sentence they were to receive them, and
in some high Place burn them to Death before the
People. By this Law the King's Subjects were
put from under his Protection, and left to the Mercy
of the Bishops in their Spiritual Courts, and might,
upon Suspicion of Heresy, be imprison'd and put to
Death, without Presentment, or Trial by a Jury, as
is the Practice in all other criminal Cases.

In the beginning of the Reign of Henry V. who was statute a martial Prince, a new Law passed against the Lol-Henry stards, or Wicklissites, "That they should forfeit all cap. 7. 1 the Lands they had in Fee simple, and all their

"Goods and Chattels to the King. All State Officers, at their Entrance into Office, were

fworn to use their best Endeavours to discover

"them; and to affift the Ordinaries in profecuting and convicting them." I find no mention in any of these Acts, of a Writ or Warrant from the King, de Hæretico comburendo; the Sheriff might proceed to the burning of Hereticks without it; but it seems the King's learned Council advised him to issue out a Writ of this kind to the Sheriff, by which his Majesty took them, in some fort, under his Protection again; but it was not as yet necessary by Law, nor are there any of them to be found in the Rolls, before the Reign of King Henry VIII.

By virtue of these Statutes the Clergy, according to the Genius of the Popish Religion, exercised numberless Cruelties upon the People. If any Man denied them any degree of Respect, or any of those Profits they pretended was their due, he was immediately suspected of Heresy, imprisoned, and it may

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King be put to Death; of which some Hundreds of Ex-Hen. VIII. amples are upon Record.

Thus stood the Laws with respect to Religion, King Hen. VIII's when King Henry VIII fecond Son of King Henry Bir b and VII came to the Crown; he was born in the Year Character. 1491, and bred a Scholar: He understood the Purity of the Latin Tongue, and was well acquainted with School Divinity. No fort of Flattery pleas'd him better than to have his Wisdom and Learning commended. In the beginning of his Reign he was a most obedient Son of the Papacy, and employed his Talents in writing against Luther in defence of the feven Sacraments of the Church. This Book was magnified by the Clergy as the most learned Performance of the Age; and upon prefenting it to the Pope, his Holiness conferr'd upon the King of England and his Successors, the glorious Title of DE-FENDER OF THE FAITH: It was voted in full Confistory, and fign'd by Twenty feven Cardinals,

in the Year 1521. Cardinal

At the same Time Cardinal Woolfey, the King's Woosfey's Favourite, exercised a Sovereign Power over the Legantine whole Clergy and People of England in spiritual Matters; he was made Legate in the Year 1519, and accepted of a Rull from the Pope, contrary to the Statute of Pramunire, empowering him to superintend and correct what he thought amis in both the Provinces of Canterbury and York; and to appoint all Officers in the Spiritual Courts. The King also granted Hf. Ref. him a full Power of disposing of all Ecclesiastical Be-

Burnet's p. 8.

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nefices in the Gift of the Crown; with a visitatorial Power over Monasteries, Colleges, and all his Clergy, By virtue of these vast Powexempt or not exempt. ers a new Court of Justice was erected, called the Legate's Court, the Jurisdiction whereof extended to all Actions relating to Conscience, and numberless Rapines and Extortions were committed by it under colour of reforming Mens Manners; all which his MajeMajesty connived at out of Zeal to the Church.

But at length the King being weary of his Queen Hen. VIII Katharine, after he had lived with her almost twenty 1527. Years, or being troubled in Conscience because he King had married his Brother's Wife, and the Legitimacy moves for of his Daughter had been called in question by some for a Divorce reign Princes, he first separated from her Bed, and then from bis moved the Pope for a Divorce; but the Court of Rome Queen. having held his Majesty in suspence for two or three Years for fear of offending the Emperor the Queen's Nephew, the impatient King by the Advice of Dr. Cranmer appealed to the principal Universities of Europe, and defired their Opinions upon these two Questions.

1. "Whether it was agreeable to the Law of God

" for a Man to marry his Brother's Wife?

2. "Whether the Pope could dispense with the

" Law of God?

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All the Universities, and most of the learned Men of Europe both Lutherans and Papifts, except those at Rome, declared for the Negative of the two Questions. The King laid their Determinations before the Parliament and Convocation who agreed with the foreign Universities. In the Convocation of English Clergy, 253 were for the Divorce, and but 19 against it. Sundry learned Books were writ for and against the Lawfulness of the Marriage; one Party being encouraged by the King, and the other by the Pope and The Pope cited the King to Rome, but Emperor. his Majesty ordered the Earl of Wiltshire to protest against the Citation as contrary to the Prerogative of his Crown; and fent a Letter fign'd by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, 4 Bishops, 2 Dukes, 2 Marquises, 13 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 23 Barons, 22 Abbots, and 11 Commoners, exhorting his Holiness to confirm the Judgment of the learned Men, and of the Universities of Europe by annulling his Marriage, or else he should be obliged to take other Measures. But the Pope in his Answer, after haying acknowledged his Majesty's Favours, told him that

that the Queen's Appeal and Avocation of the Caufe Hen. VIII to Rome must be granted. The King seeing himself abused, and that the Affair of his Marriage which had been already determined by the most learned Men in Europe, and had been argued before the Legates Campegio and Woolsey must commence again, began to suspect Woolsey's Sincerity; upon which his Majesty sent for the Seals from him, and soon after commanded his Attorney General to put in an Information against him in the King's Bench, because that notwithstanding the Statute of Richard II. against procuring Bulls from Rome under the Pains of a Præmunire, he had received Bulls for his Legantine Power, which for many Years he had executed. The Cardinal pleaded Ignorance of the Statute, and submitted to the King's Mercy; upon which he was declared to be out of the King's Protection, to have forfeited his Goods and Chattels, and that his Person might be seized. The haughty Cardinal not knowing how to bear his Difgrace, foon after fell fick and died, declaring That if be bad served God as well as be bad done his Prince, be would pot have given him over in his gray Hairs.

Ring breaks with the Pope.

But the King not fatisfied with his Refentments against the Cardinal, resolved to be revenged on the Pope himself, and accordingly September 19th, a Week before the Cardinal's Death, he published a Proclamation forbidding all Persons to purchase any Thing from Rome under the severest Penalties; and refolved to annex the Ecclesiastical Supremacy to his own Crown for the future. It was eafy to foresee that the Clergy would startle at the King's affuming to himself the Pope's Supremacy, but his Majesty had them at his Mercy, for they having acknowledged Cardinal Woolsey's Legantine Power, and submitted to his Jurisdiction, his Majesty caused an Indictment to be preferred against them in Westminster-ball, and obtained Judgment upon the Statute of Premunire, whereby the whole Body of the Clergy were declared

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to be out of the King's Protection, and to have for- King feited all their Goods and Chattels.

Hen. VIII.

In this Condition they were glad to fubmit upon 1531.

the best Terms they could get, but the king would not pardon them but upon these two Conditions, (1.) That the two Provinces of Canterbury and York should pay into the Exchequer 118840 l. a vast Sum of Money in those Times. (2.) That they should yield his Majesty the Title of sole and supreme Head of the Church of England, next and immediately under Christ. The former they readily complied with, and promised for the future never to assemble in Convocation but by the King's Writ; nor to make or execute any Canons or Constitutions without his Majesty's Licence: But to acknowledge a Layman to be supreme Head of an Ecclefiaftical Body, was fuch an Abfurdity, in their Opinion, and so inconsistent with their Allegiance to the Pope, that they could not yield to it without an additional Clause, As far as is agreeable to the Laws of Christ. The King accepted it with the Clause for the present, but a Year or two after obtained the Confirmation of it in Parliament and Convocation without the Claufe.

The Substance of the Act of Supremacy is as follows, Act of Su-46 Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is, premacy, " and ought to be supreme Head of the Church of 26 Hen. 8.

England, and is so recogniz'd by the Clergy of this cap. I. " Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless, for

"Confirmation and Corroboration thereof, and for

" increase of Vertue in Christ's Religion, within this

" Realm of England, &c. Be it enacted by the Au-

" thority of this present Parliament, that the King,

" our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Succeffors,

"Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted,

" and reputed the only supreme Head on Earth of the

" Church of England; and shall have and enjoy, an-

" nexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this

" Realm, as well the Title and Stile thereof, as all

Honours, Dignities, Immunities, Profits and

Hen. VIII. " of the faid Church belonging and appertaining; and that our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Succef"fors Kings of this Realm, shall have full Power and Authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such Er"rors, Heresies, Abuses, Contempts, and Enor"mities whatsoever they be, which by any manner

of spiritual Authority or Jurisdiction, ought or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered,

" redressed, corrected, restrain'd, or amended, most to the Pleasure of Almighty God, and encrease of

"Vertue in Christ's Religion, and for the Conserva-

"Realm, any Usage, Custom, foreign Law, foreign Authority, Prescription, or any Thing or

"Things to the contrary notwithstanding."

Here was the Rife of the Reformation. The whole Power of reforming Herefies and Errors in Doctrine and Worship was transferred from the Pope to the King, without any Regard to the Rights of Synods or Councils of the Clergy; and without a Reserve of Liberty to such Consciences as could not comply with the publick Standard. This was undoubtedly a Change for the better, but is far from being consonant to Scripture or Reason.

Appeals. 24 Hen. 8. cap. 12.

The Parliament had already forbid all Appeals to the Court of Rome, in Causes Testamentary, Matrimonial, and in all Disputes concerning Divorces, Tithes, Oblations, &c. under penalty of a Pramunire; and were now voting away Annates and First Fruits; and providing, "That in case the Pope denied his Bulls for electing or consecrating Bishops, it should be done without them by the Archbishop of the Province; that an Archbishop might be consecrated by any

" two Bishops whom the King should appoint; and being so consecrated should enjoy all the Rights of

" his See, any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding." All which Acts passed both Houses withp.I.

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out any confiderable Opposition. Thus, while the King Pope flood trifling about a contested Marriage, the Hen. VIII; King and Parliament took away all his Profits, Revenues, and Authority, in the Church of England.

His Majesty having now waited fix Years for a De- King's Ditermination of his Marriage from the Court of Rome, were. and being now bimfelf Head of the Church of England, commanded Dr. Cranmer lately confecrated Archbishop of Canterbury to call a Court of Canonists and Divines and proceed to Judgment. Accordingly his Grace summoned Queen Katharine to appear at Dunstable near the Place where she resided, in Perfon or by Proxy on the 20th of May, 1533- but her Majesty refused to appear adhering to her Appeal to the Court of Rome; upon which the Archbishop by Advice of the Court, declared her Contumax, and on the 23d of the fame Month pronounced the King's Marriage with her null and void, as being contrary to the Laws of God. Soon after which his Majesty married Anne Bullen, and procured an Act of Parliament, for fettling the Crown upon the Heirs of her Body, which all his Subjects were obliged to fwear to.

There was a remarkable Appearance of Divine Providence in this Affair; for the French King had prevailed with the King of England, to refer his Cause once more to the Court of Rome, upon Affurances given, that the Pope should decide it in his Majesty's Favour within a limited Time; the Pope confented, and fixed a Time for the Return of the King's Anfwer, but the Courier not arriving upon the very Day, the Imperialists who dreaded an Alliance be- High. Refa tween the Pope and King of England, perswaded his Vol. III, Holiness to give Sentence against him, and accord-p. 89. ingly March 23d, the Marriage was declared good, and the King was required to take his Wife again, otherwise the Censures of the Church were to be denounced against him. Two Days after this the Courier arrived from England with the King's Submission under

under his Hand in due Form, but it was then too Hen. VIII. late, it being hardly decent for the Infallible Chair to revoke its Decrees in fo short a Time. Such was the Crisis of the Reformation!

The Pope having decided against the King, his Ma-Pope's Authority over jefty determin'd to take away all his Profits and Authe Ch. of thority over the Church of England at once; accord-England ingly a Bill was brought into the Parliament then fittaken ating, and passed without any Protestation, by which it is way. enacted, "That all Payments made to the Aposto-25 H. 8. cap. 20,21. 44 lick Chamber, and all Provisions, Bulls, or Dispen-

fations, should from thenceforth cease; and that " all Dispensations or Licences, for Things not contrary to the Law of God should be granted within the Kingdom, under the Seals of the two Archbishops in their several Provinces. The Pope was to have no further concern in the Nomination or Confirmation of Bishops, which were appointed to be chosen by Conge de Elire from the Crown, as at present. Peter Pence, and all Procurations from Rome were abolished. Moreover, all Reec ligious Houses, exempt or not exempt, were to be subject to the Archbishops Visitation, except of some Monasteries and Abbies which were to be

" fubject to the King." Most of the Bishops voted against this Bill, but all but one set their Hands to it after it was pass'd, according to the Custom of those Times. Thus the Church of England became Independent of the Pope, and all foreign Jurisdiction.

Laws areticks repeal'd. 2 4 H. 8. cap. 14.

Complaints being daily made of the severe Proceedgainst He-ings of the Ecclesiastical Courts against Hereticks, the Parliament took this Matter into Consideration, and repealed the Act of the 2d of Henry IV. abovementioned, but left the Statutes of Richard II. and Henry V. in full force, with this Qualification, that Hereticks should be proceeded against upon Presentments by two Witnesses at least; that they should be brought to answer in open Court, and if they were found

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found guilty and would not abjure, or were relapfed, they should be adjudged to Death, the King's Hen. VIII.
Writ de Hæretico comburendo being first obtain'd. By
this Act the Ecclesiastical Courts were limited; Hereticks being now to be tried according to the Forms
of Law, as in other Cases.

Towards the latter End of this Session the Clergy, Clergy's affembled in Convocation, fent up their Submiffion to the Submiffig King to be passed in Parliament, which was done ac-oncordingly: The Contents were, "That the Clergy " acknowledged all Convocations ought to be affembled by the King's Writ; and promis'd, in verbo " facerdotii, that they would never make nor execute " any new Canons or Constitutions without the "Royal Affent; and, fince many Canons had been " receiv'd that were found prejudicial to the King's " Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, " and heavy to the Subjects, that therefore there " should be a Committee of 32 Persons, 16 of the " two Houses of Parliament, and as many of the "Clergy, to be named by the King, who should " have full Power to revise the old Canons, and to " abrogate, confirm, or alter them as they found " expedient, the King's Affent being obtain'd," This Submission was confirm'd by Parliament; and Att for reby the same Act all Appeals to Rome were again con-vising the demned. If any Parties found themselves agrieved 25 H. 8. in the Archbishop's Courts, an Appeal might be cap. 19. made to the King in the Court of Chancery, and the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission under the great Seal for a hearing before Delegates, whose Determination should be final. All exempted Abbots were also to appeal to the King; and the Act concluded with a Proviso, That till such Correction of the Canons was made, all those which were then received should remain in force, except such as were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realms, or were to the Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative. Upon the Proviso

of this Act all the Proceedings of the Commons, and

other

King other Spiritual Courts are founded; for the Canons Hen. VIII. not being corrected to this Day, the old ones are in 1534 force with the Exceptions abovementioned; and this Proviso is probably the Reason why the Canons were not corrected in the following Reigns, for now it lies in the Breast of the Judges to declare what Canons are contrary to the Laws, or Rights of the Crown, which is more for the King's Prerogative, than to make a Collection of Ecclefiaftical Laws which should be fixed and immoveable.

> Before the Parliament broke up they gave the Annates or first Fruits of Benefices, and the yearly Revenue of the Tenth Part of all Livings which had been taken from the Pope last Year, to the King. displeased the Clergy who were in hopes of being freed from that Burthen; but they were mistaken, for by the 32d of Henry VIII. cap. 45. a Court of Record is ordered to be erected, called the Court of the First Fruits and Tenths, for the Levying and Government of the faid First Fruits for ever.

Oath of Succe Sion macy.

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The Session being ended, Commissioners were sent over the Kingdom, to administer the Oath of Sucand supre- cession to all his Majesty's Subjects, according to a late Act of Parliament, by which it appears that besides renewing their Allegiance to the King, and acknowledging him to be Head of the Church, they decla-Hift. Ref. red upon Oath the Lawfulness of his Marriage with

Queen Anne, and that they would be true to the Iffue begotten in it. That the Bishop of Rome had no more Power than any other Bishop in his own Diocese; that they would Submit to all the King's Laws, notwithstanding the Pope's Consures; that in their Prayers they would pray first for the King as supreme Head of the Church of England; then for the Queen [ Anne ], then for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Ranks of the Clergy. Only Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More Lord Chancellor refused to take the Oath, for which they afterwards loft their Lives,

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Rome contributed something towards the Reformation Hen. VIII. of its Doctrines, though the Body of the inferior Clergy were as stiff for their old Opinions as ever, being Reformacountenanced and supported by the Duke of Norfolk, tion of Doby the Lord Chancellor More, by Gardiner Bishop of Brine. Winchester, and Fisher of Rochester; but some of the Nobility and Bishops were for a further Reformation: Among these were the new Queen, Lord Cromwel afterwards Earl of Esex, Dr. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester. As these were more or less in favour with the King, the Reformation of Religion went forwards or backwards throughout the whole Course of his Reign.

The Progress of the Reformation in Germany, by Books printhe preaching of Luther, Melancton, and others, with red. the Number of Books that were published in those Parts, fome of which were translated into English, revived Learning, and raised People's Curiosities to look into the State of Religion here at home. One of the first Books that was published, was the Translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, printed at Ant-supplicatiwerp, 1527. The next was the Supplication of the on of the Beggars, by Simon Frith of Grays Inn, 1529. It was Beggars. levell'd against the Begging Friars, and complains that the common Poor were ready to starve, because the Alms of the People were intercepted by great Companies of lufty idle Friars who were able to work, and were a Burden to the Commonwealth. More and Answer'd Fisher answer'd the Book, endeavouring to move the with Seve-Peoples Passions, by representing the Supplications of the Souls in Purgatory which were relieved by the Masses of these Friars. But the Strength of their Arguments lay in the Sword of the Magistrate, which was now in their Hands; for while these Gentlemen were in Power the Clergy made fad Havock among those People who were feeking after Christian Knowledge: Some were cited into the Bishops Courts for teaching their

Chil-

King T535.

Children the Lord's Prayer in English; some for read-Hen. VIII. ing forbidden Books; fome for speaking against the Vices of the Clergy; fome for not coming to Confession and the Sacrament; and some for not observing the Church Fasts; most of whom through fear of Death did Penance and were dismissed; but several of the Clergy resuling to abjure, or after Abjuration falling into a Relapfe, fuffered Death. Among these were the Reverend Mr. Hitton, Curate of Maidstone, burnt in Smithfield 1530. the Reverend Mr. Bilney, burnt at Norwich 1531. Mr. Byfield a Monk of St. Edmondsbury, Mr. Bainham of the Temple, besides two Men and a Woman at York. Hift. Ref. In the Year 1533. Mr. John Frith, an excellent Scho-

p. 167.

lar of the University of Cambridge, was burnt in Smithfield, with one Hewet a poor Apprentice, for denying the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but upon the Rupture between the King and Pope, and the Repeal of the Act of King Henry IV against Hereticks, the Wings of the Clergy were clip'd, and a stop put to their Cruelties for a Time.

Monafte-

None were more averse to the Reformation than ries wifited, the Monks and Friars: These spoke openly against the King's Proceedings, exciting the People to Rebellion, and endeavouring to embroil his Affairs with foreign Princes; the King therefore refolved to humble them, and for this Purpose appointed a general Visitation of the Monasteries, the Management of which was committed to the Lord Cromwel, with the Title of Visitor General, who appointed other Commissioners under him, and gave them Injunctions and Articles of Enquiry. Upon this feveral Abbots and Priors to prevent a Scrutiny into their Conduct, voluntarily furrender'd their Houses into the King's Hands; others upon Examination appear'd guilty of the greatest Frauds and Impositions on the Simplicity of the People: Many of their pretended Relicks were exposed and destroyed, as the Virgin Mary's Milk shewed in eight Places; the Coals that roasted St. Lawrence; an Angel with one Wing that brought over the Head Head of the Spear that pierced our Saviour's fide; King the Rood of Grace, which was so contrived, that the Hen.VIII. Eyes and Lips might move upon Occasion; with many others. The Images of a great many pretended Saints were taken down and burnt, and all the rich Offerings made at their Shrines were seized for the Crown, which brought an immense Treasure into

the Exchequer.

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Lead

Upon the Report of the Visitors the Parliament Monasteconsented to the suppressing of the lesser Monasteries ries supunder 2001. a Year value, and gave them to the profed. King to the Number of 376. Their Rents amounted to 1536. about 32000 l. per Ann. their Plate, Jewels and Fur-Hift. Ref. niture to about 100000 l. The Churches and Cloi-V.I.p.223. sters were for the most part pulled down, and the Lead and Bells, and other Materials fold. A new 27 H. 8. Court, called the Court of Augmentations of the King's cap.27,28. Revenue was erected, to receive the Rents, and to dispose of the Lands, and bring the Profits into the Exchequer. Every religious Person that was turned out of his Cell had 45 s. given him in Money, of which Number there were about 10000; and every Governor had a Pension. But to ease the Government of this Charge, the Monks and Friars were put into Benefices as fast as they became vacant; by which means it came to pass that the Body of the inferiour Clergy were difguifed Papists, and Enemies of the Reformation.

The leffer Religious Houses being dissolved, the rest followed in a sew Years: For in the Years 1537 and 1539 the greater Abbies and Monasteries were broken up, or surrender'd to the Crown, to prevent an Inquiry into their Lives and Manners. This raised a great Clamour among the People, the Monks and Friars going up and down the Country like Beggars, clamouring at the Injustice of the Suppression. The King to quiet them gave back 15 Abbies and 16 Nunneries for perpetual Alms; but several of the Abbots being convicted of Plots and Conspiracies

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against

1536.

against his Government, his Majesty resumed his Hen. VIII Grants after two Years; and obtained an Act of Parliament whereby he was empowered to erect fundry new Cathedral Churches and Bishopricks, and to endow them out of the Profits of the Religious Houses. The King intended (fays Bishop Burnet) to convert 18000 l. a Year into a Revenue for 18 Bishopricks Hift. Ref. and Cathedrals; but of them he only erected fix (viz.)

V.I.p. 300. the Bishopricks of Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester and Bristol. This was the chief of what his Majesty did for Religion; which was but a fmall Return of the immense Sums that fell into his Hands: For the clear Rents of all the suppressed Hou-

senues.

Their Re- fes were cast up at one Hundred thirty one Thousand, six Hundred and seven Pounds, fix Shillings and four Pence, Annum, as they were then rated; but were at least ten Times as much in value. Most of the Abbey Lands were given away among the Courtiers, or fold at eafy Rates to the Gentry, to engage them by Interest against the Resumption of them to the Church. In the Year 1545, the Parliament gave the King the Chauntries, Colleges, Free Chapels, Hospitals, Fraternities and Guilds, with their Manors and Estates. venty Manors and Parks were alienated from the Archbishoprick of York, and twelve from Canterbury, and confirmed to the Crown. How eafily might this King, with his immense Revenues, have put an end to the Being of Parliaments!

Bible tran-English.

The Translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, flated into already mentioned, had a wonderful Spread among the People; tho' the Bishops condemned it, and proceeded with the utmost Severity against those that read it. They complained of it to the King; upon which his Majesty called it in by Proclamation in the Month of June 1530, and promised that a more correct Translation should be published: But it was impossible to stop the Curiosity of the People so long; for though the Bishops bought up, and burnt all they could meet with, the Testament was reprinted abroad and fent over

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to Merchants at London, who dispersed the Copies King privately among their Acquaintance and Friends.

At length it was moved in Conversion, that the 1536.

At length it was moved in Convocation, that the whole Bible should be translated into English, and set up in Churches; but most of the old Clergy were against it. They said this would lay the Foundation of innumerable Heresies, as it had done in Germany; and that the People were not proper Judges of the Sense of Scripture: To which it was replied, that the Scriptures were writ at first in the vulgar Tongue; that our Saviour commanded his Hearers to search the Scriptures; and that it was necessary People should do so now, that they might be satisfied that the Alterations the King had made in Religion were not contrary to the Word of God. These Arguments prevailed with the Majority to consent that a Petition should be presented to the King, that his Majesty

would please to give Order about it.

But the old Bishops were too much difinclined to move in it. The Reformers therefore were forced to have Recourse to Mr. Tyndal's Bible, which had been printed at Hamburgh 1532. and reprinted three or four Years after by Grafton and Whitchurch. Translators were Tyndal, affisted by Miles Coverdale, and Mr. John Rogers the Protomartyr: The Apocrypha was done by Rogers, and some marginal Notes were inferted to the whole which gave Offence, and occasioned that Bible to be prohibited. But Archbishop Cranmer having now reviewed and corrected it, left out the Prologue and Notes, and added a Preface of his own; and because Tyndal was now put to Death for an Heretick, his Name was laid aside, and it was called Thomas Matthews's Bible, and by some Cranmer's Bible; though it was no more than Tyndal's

Translation corrected. This Bible was allowed by L. of Crans. Authority, and eagerly read by all forts of People. p. 59,82.

The Fall of Queen Anne Bullen Mother of Queen Death of Elizabeth, was a great Prejudice to the Reformation. 2. Anne She was a virtuous and pious Lady, but airy and in-Bullen.

discreet

King discreet in her Behaviour: The popish Party hated her Hen. VIII. for her Religion, and having awaken'd the King's 1526. Jealousy, put him upon a nice Observance of her Car-

Jealousy, put him upon a nice Observance of her Carriage, by which she quickly sell under his Majesty's Dipleasure, who ordered her to be sent to the Tower May 1. On the 15th of the same Month she was tried by her Peers for Incontinence, for a Precontract of Marriage, and for conspiring the King's Death; and though there was little or no Evidence, the Lords sound her guilty for sear of offending the King; and sour Days after she was beheaded within the Tower, protesting

28 Hen. 8. her Innocence to the last. Soon after her Execution the King called a Parliament, to set aside the Succession of the Lady Elizabeth her Daughter, which was done, and the King was empowered to nominate his

Successor by his last Will and Testament; so that both his Majesty's Daughters were now declared illegitimate: But the King having Power to settle the Succession as he pleased, in case of failure of make

Heirs, they were still in hopes, and quietly submitted to their Father's Pleasure.

Complaint being sent to Court of the Diversity of Doctrines delivered in Pulpits, the King sent a circulif. Ref. lar Letter to all the Bishops, July 12th. forbidding all Vol. III. preaching till Michaelmas; by which Time certain Articles of Religion most Catholick should be set forth. The King himself fram'd the Articles and sent them into Convocation, where they were agreed to by both Houses. An Abstract of them will show the State of the Reformation at this Time.

Articles of Religion devised by the King.

1. " All Preachers were to instruct the People to believe the whole Bible, and the three Creeds (viz.

" the Apostles, the Nicene and Athanasian, and to

" interpret all Things according to them.

2. "That Baptism was a Sacrament instituted by Christ; that it was necessary to Salvation; that

"Infants were to be baptized for the Pardon of Original Sin; and, that the Opinions of the Anabap

" tifts and Pelagians were detestable Herefies.

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abap Tha 3. "That Penance, that is, Contrition, Confes- King fion, and Amendment of Life, with Works of Hen. VIII.

"Charity, was necessary to Salvation; to which 1536.

" must be added Faith in the Mercy of God, that he will justify and pardon us, not for the Worthi-Hist. Ref.

" ness of any Merit or Work done by us, but for the P. 214.

" only Merits of the Blood and Passion of Jesus
" Christ; nevertheless, that Confession to a Priest

" was necessary if it might be had; and that the Absolution of a Priest was the same as if it were

" fpoken by God himfelf, according to our Saviour's
" Words That Auricular Confession was of Life

"Words. That Auricular Confession was of Use for the Comfort of Mens Consciences. And though

we are justified only by the Satisfaction of Christ,

" yet the People were to be instructed in the Necesfity of good Works."

4. "That in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Form of Bread and Wine, there was truly and fubstantially, the same Body of Christ that was

" born of the Virgin.

5. " That Justification signified the Remission of Sins, and a perfect Renovation of Nature in Christ.

6. " Concerning Images — That the Use of them was warranted in Scripture; that they served to

" ftir up Devotion; and that it was meet they should than in Churches: But the People were to be

" taught, that in kneeling or worshipping before

" them they were not to do it to the Image but to God.

7. "Concerning bonouring of Saints, they were to be instructed not to expect those Favours from them

"which are to be obtained only from God, but they were to honour them, to praise God for them, and

were to honour them, to praise God for them, and to imitate their Virtues.

8. " — For praying to Saints — That it was good

"to pray to them to pray for us and with us.
9. "Of Ceremonies. The People were to be taught

that they were good and lawful, having mystical Significations in them; such were the Vestments in

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King 1536.

" the Worship of God, sprinkling boly Water to put Hen. VIII. .. us in mind of our Baptism and the Blood of Christ; " giving boly Bread in fign of our Union to Christ; bearing Candles on Candlemas Day in remembrance " of Christ the spiritual Light; giving Ashes on Ashwednesday to put us in mind of Penance and our " Mortality; bearing Palms on Palm-Sunday to shew " our desire to receive Christ into our Hearts as he " enter'd into Ferusalem; creeping to the Cross on Good-" Friday, and kissing it in Memory of his Death; " with the fetting up of the Sepulchre on that Day, the ballowing the Font, and other Exorcisms and

" Benedictions.

Lastly, " As to Purgatory, they were to declare " it good and charitable to pray for Souls departed; " but fince the Place they were in, and the Pains "they suffered were uncertain by Scripture, they " ought to remit them to God's Mercy. Therefore " all Abuses of this Doctrine were to be put away, and the People difengaged from believing that the " Pope's Pardons or Masses said in certain Places, " or before certain Images, could deliver Souls out

" of Purgatory.

These Articles were sign'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 17 Bishops, 40 Abbots and Priors, and 50 Archdeacons and Proctors of the lower House of Convocation: They were published by the King's Authority, with a Preface in his Name requiring all his Subjects to accept them, which would encourage him to take farther Pains for the Honour of God and the Welfare of his People. One fees here the Dawn of the Reformation; the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds are made the Standards of Faith without the Tradition of the Church or Decrees of the Pope; the Doctrine of Justification by Faith is well stated; four of the seven Sacraments are passed over, and Purgatory is left doubtful. But Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, the worshiping of Images and Saints still remained.

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The Court of Rome were not idle Spectators of thefe King Proceedings; they threaten'd the King, and spirited Hen. VIII. up the Clergy to Rebellion; and when all Hopes of 1536. Accommodation were at an end, the Pope pronounced Pope ex. Sentence of Excommunication against the whole communi-Kingdom, depriving his Majesty of his Crown and cates the Dignity, forbidding his Subjects to obey him, and King. all foreign Princes to correspond with him; all Hift. Ref. his Leagues with them were dissolved, and his own Vol. I. Clergy were commanded to depart the Kingdom, and p. 225. his Nobility to rife in Arms against him. The King Occasions laying hold of this Opportunity called a Parliament, Insurrellis and obtained an Act, requiring all his Subjects under ons. the Pains of Treason, to swear that the King was supreme Head of the Church of England; and to strike Terror into the Popish Party, three Priors and a Monk of the Carthufian Order, and three Monks of the Charter-house, were executed as Traitors, for refusing the Oath, and for saying, That the King was not supreme Head under Christ of the Church of England; but the two greatest Sacrifices were John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor of England, who were both beheaded last Year within a Fortnight of each other. This quieted the People for a Time; but foon after there was an Infurrection in Lincolnsbire of 20000 Men, headed by a Churchman and directed by a Monk; but upon a Proclamation of Pardon they disperfed themselves: The same Year there was another more formidable in the North, but after some Time the Rebels were defeated by the Duke of Norfolk, and the Heads of them executed, among whom were divers Abbots and Priefts. These Commotions incented the King against the Religious Houses, as Nurseries of Sedition, and made him resolve to suppress

In the mean Time his Majesty went on boldly against the Church of Rome, and published certain Injunctions by his own Authority, to regulate the

Beha-

King Hen. VIII. 1536.

Behaviour of the Clergy. This was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King; for in all that went before he had the Concurrence of the Convocation, The Injunctions were to this Purpose,

King's In-

- 1. " That the Clergy should twice every Quarter junctions. " publish to the People, that the Bishop of Rome's
  - " usurped Power had no Foundation in Scripture, but that the King's Supremacy was according to

" the Laws of God.

2, 3. " They were to publish the late Articles of Faith fet forth by the King; and likewise, the

"King's Proclamation for the Abrogation of certain

" Holidays in Harvest Time.

4. " They were to diffuade the People from making Pilgrimages to Saints, and to exhort them to

" stay at home and mind their Families, and keep

" God's Commandments.

5. " They were to exhort them to teach their " Children the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and ten Com-

" mandments in English.

6. "They were to take care that the Sacraments " were reverently administred in their Parishes.

7. " That the Clergy do not frequent Taverns " and Ale-houses, nor sit long at Games, but give

" themselves to the Study of the Scriptures and a

" good Life.

8. " Every beneficed Person of 201. a Year, that " did not reside, was to pay the 40th Part of his Be-

" nefice to the Poor.

9. " Every Incumbent of 1001. a Year to maintain one Scholar at the University; and so many

" hundreds a Year fo many Scholars.

10. " The fifth Part of the Profits of Livings to

" be given to the Repair of the Vicarage House, if

" it be in decay.

Thus the very fame Opinions, for which the Followers of Wickliffe and Luther had been burnt a few Years before, were enjoined by the King's Authority.

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This Year a very remarkable Book was printed Ring by Batchelor, the King's Printer, cum Privilegio, cal-Hen. VIIL led the Institution of a Christian Man. It 1537. was called the Bishops Book, because it was compo-Abstract of sed by sundry Bishops, as Cranmer Archbishop of the Insti-Canterbury, Stokesty of London, Gardiner of Winchester, tution of a Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich, Goodrick of Ely, Man. Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and some other Divines. 'Tis divided into several Chapters, and contains an Explanation of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the seven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory. "The Book maintains the local Descent of Christ into Hell,

" and that all Articles of Faith are to be interpreted according to Scripture and the four first gene-

ral Councils. It defends the feven Sacraments, and under the Sacrament of the Altar affirms that

" the Body of Christ that suffered on the Cross is sub" stantially present under the Form of Bread and

"Wine. It maintains but two Orders of the Clergy, and avers that no one Bishop has Authority

" over another according to the Word of God.
"The Invocation of Saints is restrained to Intercessi-

on, for as much as they have it not in their own

Power to bestow any Blessings upon us. It main-Mem. of tains, that no Church should be consecrated to Abp. Cran.

any Being but God. It gives Liberty to work on p. 51.

"Saints Days, especially in Harvest Time. It maintains the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. In the Article of Justification it says, We are justified

only by the Merits and Satisfaction of Christ, and that no good Works on our Part can procure the

This Book was recommended and subscribed by the two Archbishops, nineteen Bishops, and by the lower House of Convocation, among whom were Gardiner, Bonner, and others, who put their Brethren to Death for these Doctrines in the Reign of Queen Mary;

but

King 1538.

but the Reason of their present Compliance might be, Hen.VIII. because all their Hopes from the Succession of the Princess Mary were now defeated, Queen Jane being brought to Bed of a Son October 12th this Year, who was baptized EDWARD, and succeeded his Father.

Bible fet up in Churches.

1538.

The Translation of the Bible already mentioned, was this Year printed and published. Cromwel procured the King's Warrant for all his Majesty's Subjects to read it without controul; and by his Injunctions commanded one to be fet up publickly in all the Churches in England, that the People might read it. His Majesty farther enjoin'd the Clergy, to preach the Necessity of Faith and Repentance, and against trusting in Pilgrimages and other Mens Works; to order fuch Images as bad been abus'd to Superstition to be taken down; and to tell the People, that praying to them was no less than Idolatry: But still Transubstantiation, the feven Sacraments, the Communion in one Kind only, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, praying for the Dead, the Celibacy of the Clergy, sprinkling of Holy Water, Invocation of Saints, fome Images in Churches, with most of the superstitious Rites and Ceremonies of the popish Church were retained.

Hindrances Reformaston.

Here his Majesty made a Stand; for after this the of a farther Reformation fluctuated, and upon the whole went rather backwards than forwards; which was owing to feveral Causes, as, (1.) To the unhappy Death of the Queen in Childbed, who had Poffession of the King's Heart, and was a Promoter of the Reformation. (2.) To the King's Disagreement with the Protestant Princes of Germany, who would not put him at the Head of their League, because he would not abandon the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and permit the

L.of Cran. Communion in both kinds. (3.) To the King's Difp. 72. pleasure against the Archbishop, and the other Bishops of the new Learning, because he could not prevail with them to give confent in Parliament, that the King should appropriate all the suppressed Monasteries

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Marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, a Protestant; Hen.VIII, which was promoted by the Reformers, and proved the Ruin of the Lord Cromwel, who was at that Time the Bulwark of the Reformation. (5.) To the Artifice and abject Submission of Gardiner, Bonner, and other popish Bishops, who by flattering the King's imperious Temper, and complying with his Dictates, prejudiced him against the Reformed. And, (Lastly) To his Majesty's growing Infirmities, which made him so peevish and positive, that it was dangerous to advise to any Thing that was not known to be agreeable to his Sovereign Will and Pleasure.

The King began to discover his Zeal against the Persecution Sacramentaries (as those were called who denied the of the Procorporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist) by protestants. hibiting the importing of all foreign Books, or prin-Hist. Ref. ting any Portions of Scripture till they had been exa-Vol. III.

mined by himself and Council, or by the Bishop of the P. 137. Diocese; by punishing all that denied the old Rites, and by forbidding all to argue against the real Prefence of Christ in the Sacrament on pain of Death. For breaking this last Order he condemned to the Flames this very Year that faithful Witness to the Truth, John Lambert, who had been Minister of the English Congregation at Antwerp, and afterwards taught School in London; but hearing Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real Presence, he offered him a Paper of Reasons against it: Taylor carried the Paper to Cranmer who was then a Lutheran, and endeavoured to make him retract; but Lambert unhappily appealed to the King, who after a kind of mock Trial in Westminster-ball, in prefence of the Bishops, Nobility, and Judges, paffed Sentence of Death upon him, condemning him to be burnt as an incorrigible Heretick. Cranmer was appointed to dispute against him, and Crom-

wel to read the Sentence. He was soon after executed Lambers in Smithfield in a most barbarous manner; his last burn'd.

Words in the Flames were, None but Christ, None but Christ!

Hen. VIII. Reformation, and brought Religion back to the Standard in which it continued to the King's Death, by the Act commonly known by the Name of the bloody statute of Statute, or the Statute of six Articles; it was intituled the six an Ast for abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles. cles concerning Christian Religion. The fix Articles were these,

1. " That in the Sacrament of the Altar after the Confecration, there remains no Substance of

" Bread and Wine, but under these Forms the natural Body and Blood of Christ is present.

2. " That Communion in both Kinds is not neces-

" fary to Salvation to all Persons by the Law of God, but that both the Flesh and Blood of Christ are to-

se gether in each of the Kinds.

3. " That Priests may not marry by the Law of God.

4. " That Vows of Chastity ought to be observed by the Law of God.

5. " That private Masses ought to be continued, which as it is agreeable to God's Law, fo Men

" receive great Benefit by them.

6. " That Auricular Confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.

It was further enacted, that if any did speak, preach or write against the first Article, they should be judged Hereticks, and be burnt without any Abjuration, and forseit their real and personal Estate to the King. Those who preached or obstinately disputed against the other Articles were to suffer Death as Felons without Benefit of Clergy; and those who either in Word or Writing declared against them were to be Prisoners during the King's Pleasure, and to forteit their Goods and Chattels for the first Offence, and for the second to suffer Death. All Ecclesiastical Incumbents were to read this Act in their Churches once a Quarter.

sad Effetts As foon as the fix Articles took Place, Shaxton Biof it. shop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, resigned their their Bishopricks, and being presented for speaking King. against the Act they were imprisoned; Latimer conti-Hen.VHI. 1539. nued a Prisoner to the King's Death, but Shaxton being threaten'd with the Fire turn'd Apostate, and prov'd a cruel Persecutor of the Protestants in Queen Mary's Reign. Commissions were issued out to the Archbi-Hift. Ref. shops, Bishops and their Commissaries, to hold a Vol. III, Seffions quarterly, or oftner, and to proceed upon p. 151. Presentments by a Jury according to Law; which they did most feverely, infomuch that in a very little Time 500 Persons were put in Prison and involved in the Guilt of the Statute; but Cranmer and Cromwel obtained their Pardon, which mortified the popish Clergy to such a Degree that they

proceeded no farther till Cromwel fell.

Another very remarkable Act of Parliament paf- Alls in fased this Session, was concerning Obedience to the King's vour of the Proclamations. It enacts that the King with Ad-Prerogavice of his Council, may fet forth Proclamations 31 Hen. 8; with Pains and Penalties, which shall be obey-cap. 8. ed as fully as an Act of Parliament, provided they be not contrary to the Laws and Customs in being, and do not extend fo far as that the Subject should suffer in Estate, Liberty or Person. An Act of Attainder was also passed against sixteen Hist. Ref. Persons, some for denying the Supremacy, and others p. 360. without any particular Crime mentioned; none of them were brought to a Trial, nor is there any mention in the Records of any Witnesses examined. There never had been an Example of fuch arbitrary Proceedings before in England; yet this Precedent was followed by feveral others in the Course of this Reign. By another Statute it was enacted, that the Counsellors of the King's Successor, if he were under Age, might fet forth Proclamations in his Name, which were to be obeyed in the fame manner with those set forth by the King himself. I mention this, because upon this Act was founded the Validity of allhe Changes of Religion in the Minority of Edward VI.

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wel's Death.

Next Year happen'd the Fall of Lord Cromwel, one Hen. VIII. of the great Pillars of the Reformation. He had been lately conflituted the King's Vicegerent in Ecclefi-L. Crom- aftical Affairs, and made a Speech in Parliament April 12th, under that Character. On the 14th of April the King created him Earl of Effex, and Knight of the Garter; but within two Months he was arrested at the Council Table for High Treason, and fent to the Tower, and on the 28th of July was beheaded by virtue of a Bill of Attainder without being brought to a Trial, or once allowed to speak for himself. He was accused of executing certain Orders and Directions, for which he had very probably the King's Warrant, and therefore was not admitted to make answer. But the true Cause of his Fall was the Share he had in the King's Marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, whom his Majesty took an Averfion to as foon as he faw her, and was therefore determined to fhew his Refentments against the Promoters of it; but his Majesty soon after lamented the Loss of his honest and faithful Servant when it was too late.

Mixed Exami Papifts.

Two Days after the Death of Cromwel there was a eeution of very odd Execution of Protestants and Papists at the Protestants same Time and Place. The Protestants were Dr. Barnes, Mr. Gerrard, and Mr. Ferome, all Clergymen and Lutherans; they were sent to the Tower for offensive Sermons preached at the Spittle in the Easter Week, and were attainted of Herely by the Parliament without being brought to a Hearing. Four Papists (viz.) Gregory Buttolph; Adam Damplin, Edmund Brindholme, and Clement Philpot, were by the same Act attainted for denying the King's Supremacy and adhering to the Bishop of Rome. The Protestants were burnt, and the Papists hanged: The former cleared themselves of Herefy by rehearfing the Articles of their Faith at the Stake, and died with great Devotion and Piety; and the latter, though grieved to be drawn in the fame Hurdle with them they accounted Hereticks, declared their hearty Forgiveness of all their Enemies.

About

of the PURITANS. Chap. I. 33 About this Time was published a very remarkable King Treatise, called A necessary Erudition for a Christian Hen. VIII. Man. It was drawn up by a Committee of Bishops 1543. and Divines, and was afterwards read and approved Abstract of by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the lower the Erudi-House of Parliament. A great part of it was correct-tion of a ed by the King's own Hand, and the whole was pub-Christian lished by his Order, with a Preface in the Name of King Henry VIII. dedicated to all his faithful Subjects. It was called the King's Book, and was defigned for a Hift. Ref. Standard of Christian Belief. The Reader therefore Vol. III. will judge by the following Abstract, of the Senti-P. 153. ments of our first Reformers in fundry Points of Do-Arine and Discipline. " It begins with a Description of Faith, of which of Faith." " (fays the Book) there are two Acceptations, (1.) It " is sometimes taken for a Belief or Perswasion wrought " by God in Mens Hearts, whereby they affent and take " for true all the Words and Sayings of God revealed in " Scripture. This Faith, if it proceeds no further, is

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s. About but a dead Faith. (2.) Faith is sometimes considered in Conjunction with Hope and Charity, and so fo it signifies a sure Considence and Hope to obtain whatsoever God has promised for Christ's sake, and is accompanied with a hearty Love to God, and Obedience

" to bis Commands. This is a lively and effectual

"Faith, and is the perfect Faith of a Christian.

"Tie by this Faith that we are instiffed as it is

"Tis by this Faith that we are justified, as it is joined with Hope and Charity, and includes an Obedience to the whole Doctrine and Religion of

"Christ. But whether there be any special particu"lar Knowledge, whereby Men may be certain and
"affured that they are among the Prædestinate,

" which shall to the End persevere in their Calling, "we cannot find either in the Scriptures or Doctors;

"the Promises of God being conditional, so that tho' his Promise stands, we may fail of the Bleffing

" for want of fulfilling our Obligation.

King

After the Chapter of Faith follows an excellent Hen. VIII. Paraphrase on the 12 Articles of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, or the Salutation of the Angel to the Bleffed Virgin, and the ten Commandments; and here the fecond Commandment is shorten'd, the Words for I the Lord thy God, &c. being left out, and only those that go before set down. Images are faid to be profitable to ftir up the Mind to Emulation, though we may not give them godly Honour; nevertheless centing and kneeling before them is allowed. Invocation of Saints as Interceffors is declared lawful; and the fourth Commandment only ceremonial and obliging the Jews.

Then follows an Article of Free-Will, which is de-

scribed, " A certain Power of the Will joined with Rease son, whereby a reasonable Creature without constraint in Things of Reason, discerneth and willeth Good and " Evil; but it willeth not that that is acceptable to God

Of Free-Will.

> or unless it be holpen with Grace, but that which is ill it " willetb of it felf. Our Wills were perfect in the " State of Innocence, but are much impaired by " the Fall of Adam; the high Powers of Reason and " Freedom of Will being wounded and corrupted, " and all Men thereby brought into fuch Blindness " and Infirmity that they can't avoid Sin except they " are made free by special Grace, that is, by the fu-" pernatural working of the Holy Ghoft. The " Light of Reason is unable to conceive the Things " that appertain to eternal Life, though there re-" mains a sufficient Freedom of Will in Things per-" taining to the present Life. Without me (fays the " Scripture) you can do nothing; therefore when Men

" feel, that notwithstanding their Diligence they are " not able to do that which they defire, they ought " with a stedfast Faith and Devotion to ask of him, " who gave the beginning, that he would vouchfafe " to perform it. But Preachers are to take care for " to moderate themselves, that they neither so preach

" the Grace of God as to take away Free-Will, and ee make ap. I. Chap. I. " make God the Author of Sin; nor fo extol Free- King ellent Hen.VIII. " Will as to injure the Grace of God. , the In the Article of Justification it afferts, "That all on of " the Posterity of Adam are born in Original Sin, of gusti-Com-" and are hereby guilty of everlasting Death and fication, ent is be-" Damnation, but that God fent his own Son, being lown. " naturally God, to take our Nature and redeem us; ind to " which he could not have done but by Virtue of the godly "Union of his two Natures. It then speaks of a " twofold Justification: The first is upon our beliepefore effors " ving, and is obtained by Repentance, and a lively nt on-" Faith in the Passion and Merits of our blessed Sa-" viour, and joining therewith a full Purpose to is de-" amend our Lives for the future. The fecond or " final Justification at Death, or the last Judgment, Rea-" implies further, the Exercise of all Christian Gra-Braint od and " ces, and a following the Motions of the Spirit of to God "God in doing good Works, which will be confider-" ed and recompensed in the Day of Judgment. s ill it "When the Scripture speaks of Justification by n the " Faith, without mentioning any other Grace, it ed by " must not be understood of a naked Faith, but of a on and " lively, operative Faith, as before described, and upted, " refers to our first Justification; thus we are justified ndness " by Free-Grace: And whatever Share good Works t they " may have in our final Justification, they cannot dehe fu-The " rogate from the Grace of God, because all our hings " good Works come of the free Mercy and Grace " of God, and are done by his Affistance; so that re re-" all boafting is excluded. s per-This leads to the Article of good Works, "Which of good ys the " are faid to be absolutely necessary to Salvation; Works. n Men " but they are not outward corporal Works, but ey are " inward spiritual Works; as the Love and Fear ought f him, " of God, Patience, Humility, &c. Nor are they " fuperstitious Works of Mens Invention; nor chfafe " only moral Works done by the Power of Reason, are fo " and the natural Will of Man, without Faith in reach l, and " Christ; which though they are good in Kind, do

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make

" not merit everlasting Life; but such outward and Hen. VIII. " inward good Works as are done by Faith in Christ, 1543. " out of Love to God, and in Obedience to his " Commands; and which cannot be performed by " Man's Power without Divine Affistance. Now these are of two Sorts, (1.) Such as are done by " Persons already justified; and these, tho' imper-" feet, are accepted for Christ's fake, and are Me-" ritorious towards the attaining everlasting Life. " (2.) Other Works are of an inferior Sort, as Fast-

ing, Almf-deeds, and other Fruits of Penance, which are of no avail without Faith. But after all,

" Justification and Remission of Sins is the free Gift of the Grace of God; and it does not derogate from that Grace to ascribe the Dignity to good

"Works abovementioned, because all our good

Works come of the Grace of God.

Of praying for the Dead.

The Chapter of Prayer for Souls departed, leaves the Matter in suspense; "'Tis good and charitable " to do it; but because 'tis not known what Condi-"tion departed Souls are in, we ought only to recom-

" mend them to the Mercy of God.

In the Chapter of the Sacraments; "All the feven Sacraments are maintained; and in particular, " the corporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Of Bifbops

In the Sacrament of Orders the Book maintains no and Priests. real Distinction between Bishops and Priests; it says, that "St. Paul confecrated and ordered Bishops by "Imposition of Hands; but that there is no certain " Rule prescribed in Scripture for the Nomination,

> " Election, or Presentation of them; this is left to the positive Laws of every Country. That the " Office of the faid Ministers is to preach the Word,

> to minister the Sacraments, to bind and loose, to " excommunicate those that will not be reformed,

> and to pray for the Universal Church; but that 44 they may not execute their Office without Licence

> " from the Civil Magistrate. The Sacraments do " not receive Efficacy or Strength from the Ministra-

ee tion

"tion of the Priest or Bishop, but from God; the " faid Ministers being only Officers, to administer Hen, VIII. " with their Hands those corporal Things by which 1543. "God gives Grace, agreeable to St. Ambrose, who " writes thus, The Priest lays his Hands upon us, but it " is God that gives Grace; the Priest lays on us his be-" feeching Hands, but God bleffeth us with his mighty " Hand.

Concerning the Order of Deacons, the Book fays, "Their Office in the Primitive Church was partly " to minister Meat and Drink, and other Necessaries

" to the Poor; and partly, to minister to the Bishops " and Priefts. Then follows this remarkable Paf-" fage, Of these two Orders only, that is to say, Priests

" and Deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and " bow they were conferred of the Apostles by Prayer and " Imposition of Hands; but the Primitive Church after-

" wards appointed inferior Degrees, as Sub-deacons, " Acolytes, Exorcists, &c. but least peradventure it

" might be thought by some, that such Authorities, Pow-" ers, and Jurisdictions, as Patriarchs, Primates, Arch-

" bishops and Metropolitans now have, or heretofore at " any Time have had justly and lawfully over other Bi-

" shops, were given them by God in holy Scripture, we " think it expedient and necessary, that all Men should

" be advertised and taught, that all such lawful Power " and Authority of any one Bishop over another, were

" and be given them by the Consent, Ordinances, and

" positive Laws of Men only, and not by any Ordinance " of God in boly Scripture; and all such Power and Au-" thority which any Bishop has used over another, which

" has not been given him by such Consent and Ordinance " of Men, is in very deed no lawful Power but plain

" Usurpation and Tyranny.

These were the Sentiments of our first Reformers; Remarks. and this was then the establish'd Doctrine of the Church of England: For by the Statute of the 32d of Henry VIII. cap. 26. it is enacted, "That all Decrees and Ordinanses which shall be made and ordained by the Arch-

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" bishops, Bishops and Doctors, and shall be publish-Hen. VIII. " ed with the King's Advice and Confirmation, by his

" Letters Patents, in and upon the Matters of Christian " Faith, and lawful Rites and Ceremonies, shall be in

every Point thereof believed, obeyed and performed, to all Intents and Purposes, upon the Pains therein com-

" priz'd; provided nothing be ordained contrary to " the Laws of the Realm." How near the Book

abovementioned comes to the Qualifications of this Statute, is obvious to the Reader. It is no less evident, that by the same Act the King was in a manner invested with the Infallibility of the Pope, and had the Consciences and Faith of his People at his absolute

Disposal.

By this Abstract of the Erudition of a Christian Man, it appears further, that our Reformers built pretty much upon the Plan of St. Austin, with relation to the Doctrines of Justification and Grace. The Sacraments and Ceremonies are fo contrived, as to be confistent with the fix Articles established by Parliament. But with regard to Discipline, Cranmer and his Brethren were for being directed wholly by the Civil Magistrate; which has since been distinguished by the Name of Erastianism. Accordingly they took out Commissions to hold their Bishopricks during the King's Pleasure, and to exercise their Jurisdiction by

his Authority only.

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But notwithstanding this Reformation of Doctrine, the old popish Forms of Worship were continued till this Year, when a faint Attempt was made to reform them. A Form of Procession was publish'd in English by the King's Authority, entitled, An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his Majesty and his Clergy, to be read to the People; also a Litany, with Suffrages to be said or sung in time of the Processions. In the Litany they invocate the bleffed Virgin, the Angels, Archangels, and all holy Orders of bleffed Spirits; all holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confeffors, Virgins, and all the bleffed Company of Heablishby his
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Conny of HeaHeaven to pray for them. The rest of the Litany is Ring in a manner the very same now in use, only a few Hen. VIII, more Collects were placed at the End, with some Psalms, and a Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer. The Presace is an Exhortation to the Duty of Prayer, and says, that it is convenient, and very acceptable to God, to use private Prayer in our Mother Tongue, that by understanding what we ask, we may more earnestly and servently desire the same. The Hand of Cranmer was no doubt in this Persorm- hist. Rest. ance, but it was little regarded, though a Mandate Vol. III. was sent to Bonner Bishop of London to publish it.

P. 164

But Cranmer's Power was now very much weaken'd; he strove against the Stream, and could accomplish nothing further, except a small Mitigation of the rigorous Prosecution of the six Articles: For by the 35th of Henry VIII. cap. 5. it is enacted, "That Per-nigour of fons shall not be convicted upon this Statute, but the six Articles aba-

" shall be within a Year; and that if any one preaches ted." against the fix Articles he shall be informed against "within 40 Days." This render'd the Prosecution more difficult; and yet after all several were burnt at this time, for denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as Mrs. Anne Askew, Mr. Belenian, Adams, Lascels, and others. The Books of Tyndal, Frith, Joy, Barnes, and other Protestants, were ordered to be burnt; and the Importation of all foreign Books relating to Religion was forbid, without special Licence from the King.

Upon the whole, the Reformation went very much 1545. backward, the three or four last Years of the King's state of the Life; as appears by the Statute of 35 Henry VIII. Reformacap. 1. which leads the People back into the darkest tion at the Parts of Popery: It says, "That Recourse must be King's Death," had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church for the Decision of Controversies; and therefore all

"Books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tyndal's false Translation, or comprising

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any Matter of Christian Religion, Articles of Hen. VIII. ce Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine 1545. " fet forth by the King [in the fix Articles] 1540, " or to be fet forth by the King, shall be abolished.

" No Person shall sing or rhime contrary to the said

"Doctrine. No Person shall retain any English "Books or Writings against the holy and bleffed

"Sacrament of the Altar; or other Books abolifi-

" ed by the King's Proclamation. There shall be " no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or new

" Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in " English in any Church. No Women, or Artificers,

" Apprentices, Journey-Men, Serving-Men, Husband-men

or Labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. " Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary

" to the King's Instructions. If any spiritual Person

" shall be convict of preaching, or maintaining any "Thing contrary to the King's Instructions already

" made, or hereafter to be made, he shall for the

" first Offence recant, for the second bear a Fagot,

" and for the third be burnt."

Here is Popery and spiritual Slavery in its full Extent. Indeed the Pope is discharged of his Jurisdiction and Authority; but a like Authority is vested in the King. His Majesty's Instructions are as binding as the Pope's Canons, and upon as fevere Penalties. He is absolute Lord of the Consciences of his Subjects. No Bishop or spiritual Person may preach any Doctrine but what he approves; nor do any Act of Government in the Church but by his special Commission. This seems to have been given his Majesty by the Act of Supremacy, and is further confirmed by one of the last Statutes of his Reign, which declares, that "Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons,

37 H. 8. cap. 17.

and other Ecclefiaffical Persons, have no manner of Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, but by, under, and

" from his Royal Majesty; and that his Majesty is the only Supreme Head of the Church of England

se and Ireland; to whom, by Holy Scripture, all Au-66 thority I.

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" thority and Power is wholly given to hear and de-" termine all manner of Causes Ecclesiastical, and Hen. VIII, 1546. " to correct all manner of Herefies, Errors, Vices,

" and Sins whatfoever; and to all fuch Perfons as his

" Majesty shall appoint thereunto."

This was carrying the Regal Power to the utmost length. Here is no reserve of Privilege for Convocations, Councils, or Colleges of Bishops: The King may ask their Advice, or call them in to his Aid and Affistance, but his Majesty has not only a negative Voice upon their Proceedings, but may himself by his Letters Patents, publish Injunctions in Matters of Religion, for correcting all Errors in Doctrine and Worship. His Proclamations have the Force of a Law, and all his Subjects are obliged to believe, obey and profess according to them, under the highest Penalties.

Thus Matters stood when this great and absolute Monarch died of an Ulcer in his Leg, being fo corpulent, that he was forced to be let up and down Stairs with an Engine. The Humour in his Leg made him fo peevish, that scarce any Body durst speak to him of the Affairs of his Kingdom or of another Life. He figned his Will Dec. 30, 1546. and died Jan. 28. following, in the 38th Year of his Reign, and the 56th of his Age. He ought to be ranked (fays Bishop Burnet) among the ill Princes, but not among the worst.



## CHAP. II.

## The Reign of King EDWARD VI.

THE fole Right and Authority of reforming the King Edw. VI. Church of England was now vested in the Crown; and by the Act of Succession, in the King's Council, if he were under Age. This was preferable to a of the En-foreign Jurisdiction; but it can hardly be proved, that either the King or his Council have a Right formation to judge for the whole Nation, and impose upon the argued. People what Religion they think best, without their Consent. The Reformation of the Church of England was begun and carried on by the King, affifted by Regally de- Archbishop Cranmer and a few select Divines. bated. Clergy in Convocation did not move in it, but as they were directed and over-awed by their Superiors; nor did they confent till they were modell'd to the Designs

Hift. Ref. Vol. II. in Pref. of the Court.

Our learned Historian Bishop Burnet endeavour to justify this Conduct, by putting the following Question, What must be done when the major part of a Church is, according to the Conscience of the supreme Civil Magistrate, in an Error, and the lesser part is in the Right? In answer to this Question his Lordship obferves, that There is no Promise in Scripture that the Majority of Pastors shall be in the Right; on the contrary it is certain, that Truth separate from Interest has sew Now, as it is not reasonable that the smaller Votaries. Part should depart from their Sentiments, because opposed by the Majority, whose Interest lead them to oppose the Reformation, therefore they might take Sanctuary in the Authority of the Prince and the Law. But is there any Promise in Scripture that the King or Prince shall be always in the Right? Or, is it reasonable that the Majority should depart from their Sentiments in Religion, because the Prince with the Minority are of another the

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ther Mind? If we ask, what Authority Christian Princes have to bind the Consciences of their Subjects by Edw. VI. penal Laws to worship God after their manner? His Lordship answers, This was practised in the Jewish State. But it ought to be remember'd, that the Tewish State was a Theocracy; that God himself was their King, and their chief Magistrates only his Vicegerents or Deputies; that the Laws of Moles were the Laws of God; and the Penalties annexed to them as much of Divine Appointment as the Laws themselves. It is therefore abfurd to make the special Commission of the Jewish Magistrates a Model for the Rights of Christian Princes. But his Lordship adds, It is the first Law in Justinian's Code, made by the Emperor Theodosius, That all should every where, under severe Pains, follow that Faith that was received by Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria. And why might not the King and Laws of England give the like Authority to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York? I answer, because Theodosius's Law was an unreasonable Usurpation upon the Right of Conscience. If the Apostle Paul, who was an inspired Person, had not Dominion over the Faith of the Churches, how came the Roman Emperor, or other Christian Princes, by fuch a Jurisdiction, which has no Foundation in the Law of Nature nor in the New Testament?

His Lordship goes on, It is not to be imagined bow any Changes in Religion can be made by Sovereign Princes, unless an Authority be lodged with them of giving the Santion of a Law to the sounder, though the lesser Part of a Church; for as Princes and Lawgivers are not tied to an implicit Obedience to Clergymen, but are lest to the Freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a Power to choose what side to be of, where Things are much enquired into. And why have not the Clergy and the common People the same Power? Why must they be tied to an implicit Faith in their Princes and Lawgivers? Is there any Promise in the Word of God that Princes and Lawgivers shall be infallible, and always

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Edw. VI. Part of a Church? If (as his Lordship adds) the 1547. major Part of Synods cannot be supposed to be in Matters

of Faith so assisted from Heaven, that the lesser Part must necessarily acquiesce in their Decrees; or that the civil Powers must always make Laws according to their Votes, especially when Interest does visibly turn the Scale; how can the Prince or civil Magistrate depend upon such Assistance? Can we be sure that Interest or Prejudice will never turn the Scale with him? Or that he has a better Acquaintance with the Truths of the Gospel than his Clergy or People? 'Tis highly reasonable that the Prince should choose for himself what Side he will be of, when Things are much enquired into; but then let the Clergy and People have the fame Liberty, and neither the major nor minor Part impose upon the other, as long as they entertain no Principles inconsistent with the Safety of the Government. When the Christian Belief had not the Support of Law, every Bishop taught his own Flock the best be could, and gave his Neighbours such an Account of his Faith, at, or soon after his Consecration, as satisfied them; and so (says his Lordship) they maintained the Unity of the Church. And why might it not be so still? Is not this better upon all Accounts, than to force People to profess what they can't believe, or to propagate Religion with the Sword, as was too much the Cafe with our Reformers? If the penal Laws had been taken away, and the Points in Controversy between Protestants and Papists had been left to a free and open Debate, while the civil Magistrate had stood by, and only kept the Peace, the Reformation would certainly have taken Place in due Time, and proceeded in a much more unexceptionable Manner than it did.

To return to the History. King Edward VI.came to the Crown at the Age of nine Years and four Months; a Prince, for Learning and Piety, for Acquaintance with the World, and Application to Business, the very Wonder of his Age. His Father, by his last Will and Testament, named 16 Persons Executors of his Will, and Regents of the Kingdom, Edw. VI. till his Son should be 18 Years of Age: Out of these the Earl of Hartford, the King's Uncle, was chosen King Ed-Protector of the King's Realms, and Governor of his ward's Person. Besides these, twelve were added as a Privy Council, Council, to be affifting to them. Among the Regents fome were for the old Religion, and others for the New; but it foon appeared that the Reformers had the Ascendant, the young King having been educated in their Principles by his Tutor Dr. Cox, and the new Protector his Uncle being on the fame fide. The Heads of the two Parties were thefe,

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King Edward, Dr. Cranmer, Abp. Cant. Dr. Holgate, Abp. York, Sir W. Paget, Sec. State, L. V. Lisle, Lord Admiral, Dr. Holbeach, Bp. Lincoln, Dr. Goodrick, Bp. Ely, Dr. Latimer, Bp. Worcester, Dr. Ridley, elect of Rochester.

For the Old Religion.

Heads of the two Parties.

Princess Mary, Duke of Somerset, Protector, Wriothesley, E. of Southampton, Lord Chancellor, Dr. Tonstal, Bp. Durbam, Dr. Gardiner, Bp. Winche-Iter,

Dr. Bonner, Bp. London.

The Majority of the Bishops and inferior Clergy were on the Side of Popery, but the Government was in the Hands of the Reformers, who began immediately to relax the Rigors of the late Reign. The Persecution upon the fix Articles was stopt; the Prison Doors were let open; and several who had been forced to quit the Kingdom for their Religion returned home, as Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter; John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester; John Rogers, the Proto-Martyr, and many others, who were preferr'd to considerable Benefices in the Church. reforming Divines being delivered from their too aw-

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ful Subjection to the late King, began to open against Edw. VI. the Abuses of Popery. Dr. Ridley and others preached vehemently against Images in Churches, and inflamed the People, fo that in many Places they out-run the Law, and pulled them down without Authority. Some preached against the Lawfulness of Soul Masses and Obits; though the late King, by his last Will and Testament, had left a large Sum of Money to have them continued at Windfor where he was buried, and for a frequent Distribution of Alms for the Répose of his Soul, and its Deliverance out of Purgatory; but this Charity was foon after converted to other Uses. The Popish Clergy were alarmed at these Things, and insisted strongly, that till the King their supreme Head was of Age, Religion should continue in the State in which King Henry left it. But the Reformers averr'd, that the King's Authority was the same while he was a Minor, as when he was of Age; and that they had heard the late King declare his Resolution to turn the Mass into a Communion if he had lived a little longer, upon which they thought it their Duty to proceed. After the Solemnity of the King's Coronation, the

Royal Vifitation.

Regents appointed a Royal Visitation, and commanded the Clergy to preach no where but in their Parish Churches without Licence, till the Visitation was over. The Kingdom was divided into fix Circuits; two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Register being appointed for each. The Divines were by their preaching to instruct the People in the Doctrines of the Reformation, and to bring them of from their old Superstitions. The Visitation began in the Month of August; fix of the gravest Divines, and most popular Preachers, attended it; their Names were Dr. Ridley, Dr. Madew, Mr. Briggs, Cottisford, Joseph, and Farrar. A Book of Homilies

M. S. p. 881.

or Sermons, upon the chief Points of the Christian Faith, drawn up chiefly by Archbishop Cranmer,

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was printed, and ordered to be left with every Parish Ring Priest, to supply the Defect of Preaching, which sew Edw. VI; of the Clergy of that Time were capable of performing. Cranmer communicated it to Gardiner, and would First Book fain have gained his Approbation of it; but he was so of Homilies inflamed at being left out of the King's Will, that he constantly opposed all Innovation till the King should be of Age. The Book consisted of twelve Discourses, on the following Arguments.

1. Concerning the Use of the Scriptures.

2. Of the Misery of Mankind by Sin.

Of their Salvation by Christ.
 Of a true and lively Faith.

5. Of good Works.

Of Christian Love and Charity.
 Against Swearing and Perjury.

8. Against Apostaly.

9. Against the Fear of Death.

10. An Exhortation to Obedience.

11. Against Whoredom and Adultery.

12. Against Strife and Contention about Matters

of Religion.

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With these Homilies the Visitors were to deliver fundry Injunctions from the King, to the Number of thirty fix; the chief were,

1. " That all Ecclesiastical Persons observe the Injunctions,

" Laws relating to the King's Supremacy.

2. "That they preach once a Quarter against Pil-"grimages, and praying to Images, and exhort to

" Works of Faith and Charity.

3. "That Images abused with Pilgrimages and Of-"ferings be taken down; that no wax Candles or

"Tapers be burnt before them; but only two
"Lights upon the High Altar before the Sacrament

" shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the

" Light of the World.

The Limitation in this Article giving Occasion to great Heats among the People, some affirming their Images

King Images had been so abused, and others not, the Edw. VI. Council sent Orders to see them all taken down.

1547.

4. "That when there is no Sermon the Pater Nofer, the Creed and ten Commandments shall be re-

" cited out of the Pulpit to the Parishioners.

5. "That within three Months every Church be provided with a Bible; and within twelve Months with Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament.

9. "That they examine such who come to Con-"fession, whether they can recite the Pater Noster,

" Creed, and ten Commandments in English, before

" they receive the Sacrament of the Altar, else they

" ought not to come to God's Board.

21. " That in Time of high Mass the Epistle and

"Gospel shall be read in English; and that one

" Chapter in the New Testament be read at Mattins,

" and one in the Old at Even Song.

23. " No Processions shall be used about

" Churches or Church-yards; but immediately before high Mass the Litany shall be said or sung in

" English; and all ringing of Bells (fave one) utterly

" forborn.

24. "That the Holy Day, at the first beginning god" ly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God,

" in hearing the Word of God read and taught; in

" private and publick Prayers; in acknowledging

their Offences to God, and promising Amendment; in reconciling themselves to their Neighbours, re-

" ceiving the Communion, visiting the Sick, &.

"Only it shall be lawful in Time of Harvest to la-

" bour upon holy and festival Days, in order to save

" that Thing which God hath fent; and that fcrupulofity to abstain from working on those Days

" does grievously offend God.

28. "That they take away all Shrines, Coverings

" of Shrines, Tables, Candlefticks, Trindills, or Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other

" Monuments of feigned Miracles, fo that no Memo- was

" ry of them remain in Walls or Windows; exhort-

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orting " ing the People to do the like in their feveral King Edw. VI. " Houses."

The rest of the Articles related to the Advancement of Learning, to the Encouragement of Preaching, and correcting fome very groß Abuses. Bishops were enjoined to see the Articles put in Execution, and to preach themselves four Times a Year, unless they had a reasonable Excuse. They were to give Orders to none but fuch as were able to preach, and to recal their Licences from others. The Injunctions were to be observed under the Pains of Excom-

munication, Sequestration or Deprivation.

In Bidding of their Prayers they were to re-Original member the King their supreme Head, the Queen of bidding Dowager, the King's two Sifters, the Lord Prote-Prayers. ctor and the Council; the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Commons of this Realm. The Custom of bidding Prayer, which is still in Use in the Church, is a Relick of Popery. Bishop Burnet has preserved the Hist. Ref. Form, as it was in Use before the Reformation, Vol. II, which was this: After the Preacher had named and p. 20. opened his Text, he called on the People to go to their Prayers, telling them what they were to pray for. Ye shall pray (fays he) for the King, for the Pope, for the boly Catholick Church, &c. After which all the People faid their Beads in a general Silence, and the Minister kneeled down likewise and said his; they were to fay a Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Deus misereatur nostri, Domine salvum fac Regem, Gloria Patri, &c. and then the Sermon proceeded. How fadly this Bidding of Prayer has been abused of late, by some Divines, to the entire Omission of the Duty it self, is too well known to need a Remark!

Most of the Bishops complied with the Injunctions. except Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Winchester. Bonner offered a Reserve, but that not being accepted, he made an absolute Submission; nevertheless he was fent for some Time to the Fleet for Contempt. Gardiner having protested against the Injunctions and

Edw. VI. fo to the Fleet, where he continued till after the Parliament was over, and was then released by a general Act of Grace.

ParliaThe Parliament that met November Ath, made sevement reral Alterations in savour of the Reformation. They
peals severepealed all Laws that made any Thing Treason but
Laws and what was specified in the Act of 25 Edward III; and
makes new two of the Statutes against Lollardies. They repeal-

ed the Statute of the fix Articles, with the Acts that followed in explanation of it; all Laws in the late Reign, declaring any Thing Felony that was not fo declared before; together with the Act that made the King's Proclamation of equal Authority with an Act of Parliament. Besides the Repeal of these Laws

agreeably to Christ's first Institution, and the Practice of the Church for 500 Years; and that all private

At for ap-Masses should be put down: An Act concerning the pointing Bishops.

Admission of Bishops into their Sees; which sets forth, that the Manner of choosing Bishops by a Conge d'Elire, being but the Shadow of an Election, all Bishops hereaster shall be appointed by the King's Letters Patents only, and shall continue the Exercise of

their Jurisdiction durante beneplacite, or durante vita naturali, si tam diu se bene gesserint. One of the first Patents with this Clause is that of Dr. Barlow Bishop

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of Bath and Wells, bearing Date Feb. 3. in the second Hist. Ref. Year of the King's Reign; but all the rest of the Bishops afterwards took out Letters Patents for their Bishopsicks with the same Clause. In this the Archbishop had a principal Hand; for it was his Judgment, that the Exercise of all Episcopal Jurisdiction depended upon the Prince; and that as he gave it he might restrain or take it away at his Pleasure: Cranmer thought the Exercise of his own Episcopal Authority ended with

Archbishop till he had a new Commission from King Edward.

In the same Statute it is declared, "That since all Ring
"Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal was de"rived from the King, therefore all Processes in
"the Spiritual Court should from henceforward be
"carried on in the King's Name, and be sealed with
"the King's Seal, as in the other Courts of Common Law, except the Archbishop of Canterbury's
"Courts only in all Faculties and Dispensations;
"but all Collations, Presentations, or Letters of
"Orders were to pass under the Bishops proper Seals
"as formerly." By this Law Causes concerning
Wills and Marriages were removed into the Courts
of Westminster hall; but this was repealed in the next

Reign.

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Lastly, The Parliament gave the King all the Chauntries Lands for Maintenance of Chauntries not possessed iven to by his Father; all Legacies given for Obits, Anthe Crowns niversaries, Lamps in Churches; together with all cap. 14. Guild Lands which any Fraternity enjoyed on the same Account: The Money was to be converted to Los Cran. the Maintenance of Grammar Schools; but the hun-p. 156. gry Courtiers shared it among themselves. After this the Houses were prorogued from the 24th of December to the 20th of April following.

The Convocation that fat with the Parliament did little; the Majority being on the Side of Popery, the Archbishop was afraid of venturing any Thing of Importance with them; nor are any of their Proceedings upon Record; but Mr. Strype has collected from the Notes of a private Member, That the lower House agreed to the Communion in both Kinds; and that upon a Division, about the Lawfulness of Priests Marriages, 53 were for the Af-

firmative, and 22 for the Negative.

The Reformation in Germany lying under great Foreign Discouragements, by the victorious Arms of Charles Protestants. V. who had this Year taken the Duke of Saxony Pritake San-foner, and dispossessed him of his Electorate; several Euary in of the foreign Reformers, who had taken Sanctuary England;

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in those Parts, were forced to feek it elsewhere. Edw. VI. Among these, Peter Martyr a Florentine, was invited by the Archbishop, in the King's Name, into England, and had the Divinity Chair given him at Oxford; Bucer had the same at Cambridge; Ochinus and Fagius, two other learned Foreigners, had either Penfions, or Canonries with a Dispensation of Residence, and did good Service in the Universities; but Fagius soon after died.

The common People were very much divided in 1548. their Opinions about Religion; fome being zea-Images taken down lous for preferving the Popish Rites, and others out of no less averse to them. The Country People were Churches. very tenacious of their old Shews, as Processions, and old Rites abo-Wakes, carrying of Candles on Candlemas-Day, and Palms on Palm-Sundays, &c. while others looked lifbed. upon them as Heathenish Rites, absolutely inconfiftent with the Simplicity of the Gospel. This was fo effectually represented to the Council by Cranmer, that a Proclamation was published Feb. 6. forbidding the Continuance of them. And for putting an End to all Contests about Images that had been abused to Superstition, an Order was published Feb. 11th, that all Images what soever should be taken out of Churches; and the Bishops were commanded to execute it in their feveral Dioceses. Thus the Churches were Hift. Ref. emptied of all those Pictures and Statues, which had

V.I. p.61 for divers Ages been the Objects of the Peoples Adoration.

All Preach- The Clergy were no less divided than the Laity; ing forbid. the Pulpits clashing one against the other, and tending to ftir up Sedition and Rebellion: The King therefore, after the Example of his Father, and by Advice of his Council, iffued out a Proclamation, Sept. 3. in the 2d Year of his Reign, to prohibit all Preaching throughout all his Dominions: The Words are these, " The King's Highness minding " fhortly to have one uniform Order throughout " this Realm, and to put an End to all Controver-

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" fies in Religion, fo far as God shall give Grace; King doth at this present, and till such Time as the said Edw. VI.

"Order shall be set forth, inhibit all Manner of 1548.

"Persons whatsoever, to preach in open Audience in the Pulpit or otherwise; to the Intent that the

" whole Clergy, in the mean Space, may apply

"themselves in Prayer to Almighty God, for the

" better atchieving the same most godly Intent and

" Purpose."

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At the same Time a Committee of Divines was ap-First Repointed to examine and reform the Offices of the formation Church: These were the Archbishops of Canterbury of the Comand York; the Bishops of London, Durbam, Worcester, Hift. Ref. Norwich, St. Ajaph, Salifbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Vol. II. Carlisle, Bristol, St. Davids, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, p. 61. Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester; with the Doctors Cox, May, Taylor, Heins, Robertson, and Redmayn. They began with the Sacrament of the Eucha. rift, in which they made but little Alteration, leaving the Office of the Mass as it stood, only adding to it fo much as changed it into a Communion in both Kinds. Auricular Confession was left indifferent. The Priest having received the Sacrament himself, was to turn to the People and read the Exhortation; then followed a Denunciation, requiring such as had not repented to withdraw, left the Devil should enter into them as he did into Judas. After a little Pause to fee if any would withdraw, followed a Confession of Sins and Absolution, the same now in Use; after which the Sacrament was administer'd in both Kinds without Elevation. This Office was published with a Proclamation, declaring his Majesty's Intentions to proceed to a further Reformation; and willing his Subjects not to run before his Direction, affuring them of his earnest Zeal in this Affair, and hoping they would quietly tarry for it.

In reforming the other Offices they examined and And of compared the Romish Missals of Sarum, York, Here, other officerd, Bangor, and Lincoln; and out of them composed ces.

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King 1548.

the Morning and Evening Service, almost in the Edw. VI. same Form it stands at present; only there was no Confession, nor Absolution. It would have obviated many Objections if the Committee had thrown afide the Mass-Book, and composed an uniform Service in the Language of Scripture, without any Regard to the Church of Rome; but this they were not aware of, or the Times would not bear it. From the same Materials they compiled a Litany, confifting of many short Petitions, interrupted by Suffrages; 'tis the fame with that which is now used, except the Petition to be delivered from the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable Enormities; which in the Review of the Liturgy in Queen Elizabeth's Time was struck out.

Baptism.

In the Administration of Baptism a Cross was to be made on the Child's Forehead and Breaft, and the Devil was exorcifed to go out, and enter no more into him. The Child was to be dipt three Times in the Font, on the right and left Side, and on the Breast, if not weak. A white Vestment was to be put upon it in token of Innocence; and it was to be anointed on the Head, with a short Prayer for the Unction of the Holy Ghost.

Confirmazion.

In order to Confirmation, Those that came were to be catechifed; then the Bishop was to sign them with the Cross, and lay his Hands upon them, in the Name of the Father Son and Holy Ghoft.

Anointing the Sick.

If fick Persons desired to be anointed, the Priest might do it upon the Forehead and Breast, only making the Sign of the Cross, with a short Prayer for his Recovery.

Burial.

In the Office of Burial the Soul of the departed Person is recommended to the Mercy of God; and the Minister is to pray, that the Sins which he committed in this World may be forgiven him, and that he may be admitted into Heaven, and his Body raised at the last Day.

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This was the first Service Book or Liturgy of King King Edward VI. We have no certain Account of the Edw. VI. Use of any Liturgies in the first Ages of the Church; those of St. Mark, St. James, and that of Alexandria, Antiquibeing manifestly spurious. 'Tis not till the latter end ty of Liof the fourth Century that they are first mentioned; turgies. and then it was left to the Care of every Bishop to draw up a Form of Prayer for his own Church. In St. Austin's Time they began to confult about an Agreement of Prayers, that none should be used without common Advice; but still there was no Uniformity. Nay, in the darkest Times of Popery, there was a Variety of Forms in different Sees, witness the Offices secundum Usum Sarum, Bangor, York, &c. But our Reformers split upon this Rock, sacrificing the Peace of the Church to a mistaken Necessity of an exact Uniformity of Doctrine and Worship, in which it was impossible for all Men to agree. Had they drawn up divers Forms, or left a discretionary Latitude for tender Consciences, as to some particular Phrases, all Men would have been easy, and the Church more firmly united than ever.

The like is to be observed as to Rites and Ceremo- of retainnies of an indifferent Nature. Nothing is more cer-ing the Potain, than that the Church of Rome indulged a Varie-pif Rites. ty. Every religious Order (fays Bishop Burnet) had Hift. Ref. their peculiar Rites, with the Saints Days that be-Vol. II. long'd to their Order, and Services for them: But P. 72. our Reformers thought proper to infift upon an exact Uniformity of Habits and Ceremonies for all the Clergy; though they knew many of them were exceptionable, having been abused to Idolatry; and were a Yoke which some of the most resolved Protestants could not bear. Nay, so great a Stress was laid upon the square Cap and Surplice, that rather than dispense with the Use of them to some tender Minds, the Bishops were content to part with their best Friends, and hazard the Reformation into the Hands of the Papists. If there must be Habits

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and Ceremonies for Decency and Order, why did Edw. VI. they not appoint new ones, rather than retain the 1548. old, which had been idolized by the Papists to such a Degree, as to be thought to have a magical Virtue or a facramental Efficacy? Or if they meant this, Why did they not speak out, and go on with the Confecration of them?

Of the Habits.

The Council had it some Time under Consideration, whether those Vestments in which the Priests used to officiate should be continued? It was objected against them, by those who had been Confessors for the Protestant Religion, and others, that the Habits were parts of the Train of the Mass; that the People bad such a superstitious Opinion of them, as to think they gave an Efficacy to their Prayers, and that Divine Service said without this Apparel was insignificant; whereas at best they were but Inventions of Popery, and ought to be destroyed with that idolatrous Religion. But it was faid on the other hand, by those Divines that had stay'd in England, and weather'd the Storm of King Henry's Tyranny by a politick Compliance, and concealment of their Opinions, that Church Habits and Ceremonies were indifferent, and might be appointed by the Magistrates; that White was the Colour of the Priests Garments in the Mosaical Dispensation; and that it was a natural Expression of the Purity and Decency that became Priests. That they ought to depart no further from the Church of Rome than she had departed from the Practice of the Primitive Church. Besides, the Clergy were then so poor, that they could scarce afford to buy themselves decent Cloaths. But did the Priests buy their own Garments? Could not the Parish provide a Gown, or fome other decent Apparel for the Priest to minister in facred Things, as well as a square Cap, a Surplice, a Cope, or a Tippet? Were these the Habits of the Primitive Clergy before the Rife of the Papacy? But upon these slender Reasons the Garments were continued, which foon after divided the Reformers among themselves, and gave Rise to the two Parties

of Conformists and Nonconformists; Archbishop Cran-Ring mer and Ridley being at the Head of the former; and Edw. VI. Bishop Hooper, Rogers, with the foreign Divines, 1548.

being Patrons of the latter.

The Parliament after feveral Prorogations, met Parliathe 24th of November, and on the 15th of January ment confollowing, the Act confirming the new Liturgy paf-firms the fed both Houses; the Bishops of London, Durbam, surgy, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, protesting. The Preamble sets forth, " That the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other " learned Bishops and Divines, having by the Aid of " the Holy Ghost, with one uniform Agreement, " concluded upon an Order of Divine Worship, " agreeable to Scripture and the Primitive Church, " the Parliament having confidered the Book, gave " the King their most humble Thanks, and enacted, " That from the Feast of Whitsunday 1549. all Di-" vine Offices should be performed according to it; " and that fuch of the Clergy as refused to do it, or officiated in any other manner, should upon the first Conviction suffer six Months Imprisonment, and forfeit a Year's Profits of his Benefice; for the second Offence forfeit all his Church Perfer-" ments, and fuffer a Year's Imprisonment; and for the third Offence Imprisonment for Life. Such as writ or printed against the Book were to be fined 101. for the first Offence; 201. for the se-' cond; and to forfeit all their Goods, and be im-" prisoned for Life for the third." It ought to be observed, that this Service Book was not laid before he Convocation, nor any representative Body of the Clergy: And whereas it is faid to be done by one uniorm Agreement, 'tis certain that four of the Bishops mployed in drawing it up protested against it, viz. the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westinster. But if the Liturgy had been more perfect Hift. Ref. han it was, the Penalties by which it was imposed Vol. II. ere severe and unchristian, contrary to Scripture P. 94. nd Primitive Antiquity. As

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As foon as the Act took Place, the Council appoint Edw. VI. ed Visitors to see that the new Liturgy was received 1549.

all over England. Bonner, who resolved to comply in every Thing, fent to the Dean and Residentiary St. Paul's to use it; and all the Clergy were so pliable, that the Visitors returned no Complaints; only that the Lady MARY continued to have Mass said in her House, which upon the Intercession of the Emperor was indulged her for a Time. Gardiner Bishop of Winchester continued still a Prisoner in the Tower, with out being brought to a Trial, for refusing to submit to the Council's Supremacy while the King was under Age; and for some other Complaints against him

Bp. Gardi- His Imprisonment was certainly illegal; it was unner bardly justifiable to keep a Man in Prison two Years upon a mfed.

bare Complaint; and then without producing and Evidence in Support of the Charge, to fift him by Articles and Interrogatories: This looked too much

like an Inquisition; but the King being in the Pope's Hift. Ref. room (says Bishop Burnet) there were some Thing

> gathered from the Canon Law, and from the Proceedings ex Officio, that rather excused than justified the hard Measures he met with. When the Cound

> fent Secretary Petre to the Bishop, to know whether he would subscribe to the Use of the Service Book, he

> confented with fome Exceptions, which not being at

mitted, he was threaten'd with Deprivation.

Rebellions on behalf of the old Religion.

Vol. II.

P. 152.

But the new Liturgy did not fit well upon the Mind of the Country People, who were for going on in the old Way, of Wakes, Processions, Church Ales, Ho lidays, cenfing of Images, and other Theatrica Rites which strike the Minds of the Vulgar: The being encouraged by the old Monks and Friars roll up in Arms in feveral Counties, but were foon di perfed. The most formidable Infurrections were those of Devonsbire and Norfolk. In Devonsbire the were 10000 ftrong, and fent the following Articles Demands to the King ;

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King Edw. VI.

1549.

1. " That the fix Articles should be restored.

2. "That Mass should be said in Latin,

3. " That the Hoft should be elevated and adored.

4. "That the Sacrament should be given but in one kind,

5. " That Images should be fet up in Churches.

6. "That the Souls in Purgatory should be pray-

7. "That the Bible should be called in, and pro-

8. "That the new Service Book should be laid

" afide, and the Old Religion restored."

An Answer was fent from Court to these Demands; but nothing prevailed on the enraged Multitude, whom the Priefts inflamed with all the Artifice they could devise, carrying the Host about the Camp in a Cart, that all might fee and adore it. They befreged the City of Exeter and reduced it to the last Extremity; but the Inhabitants defended it with uncommon Bravery, till they were relieved by the Lord Ruffell. who with a very small Force entered the Town and dispersed the Rebels. The Insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Ket a Tanner, who affumed to himfelf the Power of Judicature under an old Oak, called from thence the Oak of Reformation. He did not pretend much of Religion, but to place new Counfellors about the King, in order to suppress the Greatness of the Gentry, and advance the Privileges of the Commons. The Rebels were 20000 strong; but the Earl of Warwick with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horse, quickly dispersed them. Several of the Leaders of both Rebellions were executed, and Ket was hanged in Chains.

The Hardships the Reformers underwent in the Hereticks late Reign from the fix Articles, should have made burnt. them tender of the Lives of those who differed from the present Standard. Cranmer himself had been a Papist, a Lutheran, and was now a Sacramentary; and in every Change guilty of inexcusable Severities: While he was a Lutheran he consented to the burning of John

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Edw. VI. for which himself afterward suffered. He bore hard upon the Papists, stretching the Law to keep their most active Leaders in Prison; and this Year he im-

brued his Hands in the Blood of a poor frantick Woman, Joan Bocher, more fit for Bedlam than a Stake; which was owing not to any Cruelty in the Archbishop's Temper, but to those miserable persecuting

Principles by which he was govern'd.

Among others that fled out of Germany into England, from the Rustick War, there were some that went by the Name of Anabaptists, who, besides the Principle of Adult Baptism, held several wild Opinions about the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and the Person of Christ. Complaint being made of them to the Council April 12th, a Commission was ordered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, and some other Divines, any Three being a Quorum, to examine and fearch after all Anabaptists, Hereticks, or Contemners of the Common Prayer, whom they were to endeavour to reclaim, and after Penance to give them Absolution; but if they continued obstinate they were to excommunicate, imprison, and deliver them over to the fecular Arm. This was little better than a Protestant Inquisition. People had generally thought that all the Statutes for burning Hereticks had been repeal'd; but it was now said, that Hereticks were to be burnt by the Common Law of England; and that the Statutes were only for directing the manner of Conviction; fo that the repealing them did not take away that which was grounded upon a Writ at Common Law. Several Tradesmen that were brought before the Commissioners abjured; but Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, obstinately maintained, that Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose Flesh being sinful be could not partake of it; but the Word, by the Consent of the inward Man in the Virgin, took Flesh of ber. These were her Words: A Scholastick Nice-

Joan of Kent.

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Nicety, not capable of doing much Mischief, and far from deferving so severe a Punishment. The poor Wo-Edw. VI. man could not reconcile the spotless Purity of Christ's Human Nature, with his receiving Flesh from a finful Creature; and for this she is declared an obstinate Heretick, and delivered over to the fecular Power to be burnt. When the compassionate young King could not prevail with himself to sign the Warrant for her Execution, Cranmer with his superior Learning was employed to perfuade him; he argued from the Practice of the Jewish Church in stoning Blasphemers, which rather filenced bis Highness than satisfied him: For when at last he yielded to the Archbishop's Importunity, he told him with Tears in his Eyes, Hift. Ref. That if he did wrong, fince it was in Submission to Vol. II. his Authority, he should answer for it to God. Thisp. 112. ftruck the Archbishop with Surprize, but yet he suffered the Sentence to be executed.

Nor did his Grace renounce his burning Prin-George ciples as long as he was in Power; for about two Van Paris Years after, he went through the same bloody Work burnt. again. One George Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of faying, that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God, was dealt with to abjure, but refusing, he was condemned in the same manner with Joan of Kent, and on the 25th of April 1551. was burnt in Smithfield: He was a Man of a Burnet. strict and virtuous Life, and very devout; he suffered with great Constancy of Mind, kissing the Stake and Faggots that were to burn him. No part of Archbishop Cranmer's Life exposed him more than his: It was now faid by the Papists, that they saw Men of harmless Lives might be put to Death for Heely by the Confession of the Reformers themselves. nall the Books published in Queen Mary's Days jutifying her Severities against Protestants, these Instanes were always produced; and when Cranmer himelf was brought to the Stake they called it a just Retaliation. But neither this, nor any other Argu-

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King ments, could convince the Divines of this Age, of Edw. VI. the Absurdity and Wickedness of putting Men to Death for Conscience sake.

Bonner deprived.

Bonner Bishop of London being accused of remis. ness in not settling the new Service Book through out his Diocese; and being suspected of Disaffection parto the Government, was enjoined to declare publickly in a Sermon at Paul's Cross, his Belief of the the King's Authority while under Age, and his Approbation of the new Service Book, with some other Articles; which he not performing to the Council Satisfaction, was cited before the Court of Delegates and after feveral Hearings, in which he behave with great Arrogance, Sentence of Deprivation was we pronounced against him September 23d, by the Arch was bishop of Canterbury, Ridley Bishop of Rochester, Secretary Smith, and the Dean of St. Paul's. It was thought hard to proceed to such Extremities with a Man for some meer Omission; for Bonner pleaded, that he forgot the Article of the King's Authority in his Sermon; lish and it was yet harder, to add Imprisonment to his Leg Deprivation: But he lived to take a severe Revenge By upon his Judges in the next Reign. The vacant Serion.

Succeeded upon his Judges in the next Reign. The vacant Seeing by Ridley. was filled up with Dr. Ridley, who on the 24th of Judges in the next Bishop of London and Well on minster, the two Bishopricks being united in him; but he do his Confecration was deferr'd to the next Year.

minster, the two Bishopricks being united in him; but his Confecration was deferr'd to the next Year.

ReformaThe Parliament that met the 14th of November revision of the vived the Act of the late King, impowering his Marion of the vived the Act of the late King, impowering his Marion of Ecclesiasti-jesty to reform the Canon Law, by naming 32 Performs, (viz.) 16 of the Spirituality, of whom four to be Bishops; and 16 of the Temporality, of whom for four to be common Lawyers, who within three Year by should compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws, which is not being contrary to the Statute Law, should be seal, and have the Force of Laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts. This Design was formed, and very seal advanced in King Henry VIII's Time, but the Trouble blook thi

hat attended the last part of his Reign prevented that attended the last part of his Reign prevented the finishing it. It was now resumed, and in pursu-Edw. VI. the finishing it. It was now resumed, and in pursu-Edw. VI. 1550. Persons, (viz.) two Bishops, two Divines, two Doctors of Law, and two common Lawyers, who were to prepare Materials for the Review of the 32; but the Present face to the printed Book says, that Cranmer did almost the whole himself. It was not finished till the Month of Lof Cran:

February 1553. when another Commission was granted Prezzi. February 15; 3. when another Commission was granted p. 271.

10 32 Persons to revise it, of whom the former eight were a part (viz.) 8 Bishops, 8 Divines, 8 Civilians, and 8 common Lawyers; they divided themselves into sour Classes, and the Amendments of each Class were communicated to the whole. Thus the Work was finished, being digested into fifty one Titles. It was translated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir some stranslated in the King died; nor was it ever revived in take place. The some stranslated in the Year 1571. under the Title of Reformatio the sum Anglicarum, &c. and it was reprinted 1640.

By this Book Cranmer seems to have softned his burnse sing Principles; for though under the third Title of the sum of sum o ing Witness in any Court; or of baving Power to make a Me mo mention of capital Proceedings.

Per Another remarkable Act passed this Session, was Ast for our to for Ordaining Ministers; it appoints, that such Confectation of Bi-Year by the Advice of fix Prelates and fix Divines, to be ordaining which is named by the King, and authorized under the Great Priefts is Seal, should be used after April next, and no other." and Deadler is no mention again of a Convocation or Synod cons. If all of Divines; nor do the Parliament reserve to them Edw. 6th. The felves a Right of Judgment, but intrust every Thing cap. 12. In the Committee from the constant of the

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finished their Ordinal, which is almost the same with Edw. VI. that now in use. They take no Notice in their Book of the lower Orders in the Church of Rome, as Sub deacons, Readers, Acolytes, &c. but confine them felves to Bishops, Priests and Deacons; and here it observable, that the Form of ordaining a Priest and Bishop is the fame, there being no express mention in the Words of Ordination whether it be for the one or the other Office: This has been altered of late Years, fince a Distinction of the two Orders ha been so generally admitted; but that was not the received Doctrine of these Times. The Committee struck out most of the modern Rites of the Church of Rome, and contented themselves (fays Bishop Burnet) with those mention'd in Scriptur (viz.) Imposition of Hands and Prayer. The Gloves, the Sandals, the Mitre, the Ring and Crofier, which had been used in consecrating Bishops, were laid aside The Anointing, the giving confecrated Vestments the delivering into the Hands, Vessels for confecrating the Eucharist with a Power to offer Sacrifice for the Dead and Living, which had been the Custom in the Ordination of a *Prieft*, were also omitted. But when the Bishop ordained, he was to lay one Hand on the Priest's Head, and with his other to give him a Bible with a Chalice and Bread in it. The Chalice and Bread are now omitted; as is the pastoral Staff in the Conse cration of a Bishop. By the Rule of this Ordinal a Deacon was not to be ordained before 21, a Priest before 24, nor a Bishop before he was 30 Years of Age. The Council went on with preffing the new Litur-

Mass ty,

Books called gy upon the People, who were still inclined in many Places to the old Service; but to put it out of their Power to continue it, it was ordered that all Clergymen should deliver up to such Persons whom the King should appoint, all their old Antiphonals, Mis-Sals, Grayls, Processionals, Legends, Pies, Portuases, &c. and to fee to the observing one uniform Order in the Church; which the Parliament confirmed,

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requiring further, all that had any Images in their Ring Houses, that had belong'd to any Church, to deface Edw. VI. them; and to dash out of their Primers all Prayers 1550. to the Saints.

Ridley being now Bishop of London, resolved upon Altars a Visitation of his Diocese. His Injunctions were as changed usual, to enquire into the Doctrines and Manners of munion the Clergy; but the Council fent him a Letter in his rables. Majesty's Name, to see that all Altars were taken down, and to require the Church Wardens of every Parish to provide a Table decently covered, and to place it in such part of the Choir or Chancel as should be most meet, so that the Ministers and Communicants should be separated from the rest of the People. The same Order's were given to the rest of the Bishops, as appears by the Collection of Bishop Sparrow. Ridley began with his own Cathedral at St. Paul's, where he ordered the Wall on the Back-fide of the Altar to be broken down, and a decent Table to be placed in its room; and this was done in most Churches throughout the Province of Canterbury. The Reaions for this Alteration were these:

1. "Because our Saviour instituted the Sacrament Reasons" at a Table, and not at an Altar. for it,

2. "Because Christ is not to be facrificed over again, but his Body and Blood to be spiritually

" eaten and drunk at the Holy Supper; for which

" a Table is more proper than an Altar.

3. " Because the Holy Ghost speaking of the "Lord's Supper, calls it the Lord's Table, I Cor.

" x. 21. but no where an Altar.

4. "The Canons of the Council of Nice, as well as the Fathers St. Chrysoftom and St. Augustine, call it the Lord's Table; and though they fometimes

" call it an Altar it is to be understood figuratively.

5. "An Altar has relation to a Sacrifice; so that

" if we retain the one we must admit the other;

" which would give great Countenance to Mass-

" Priests.

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6. " There are many Passages in ancient Writers, Edw. VI. cc that flew that Communion Tables were of "Wood, that they were made like Tables; and " that those who fled into Churches for Sanctuary Hift. Ref.

" did hide themselves under them. Vol. II. p. 158.

7. " The most learned foreign Divines have decla-" red against Altars; as Bucer, Oecolampadius, Zuince glius, Bullinger, Calvin, P. Martyr, Joannes Alasco, Hedio, Capito, &c. and have removed them out

of their feveral Churches: Only the Lutheran

" Churches retain them.

Ibid. Vol. III. p. 187.

Ridley, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of the English Reformers, were unanimously of Opinion, that the retaining Altars would ferve only to nourish in Peoples Minds the superstitious Opinion of a propitiatory Mass, and would minister an Occasion of Offence and Division among the godly; and the next Age will shew they were not mistaken in their Conje-Etures. But some of the Bishops refused to comply with the Council's Order; as Day Bishop of Chichefter, and Heath of Worcester, insisting on the Apostle's Words to the Hebrews, We have an Altar; and rather than comply they suffered themselves to be deprived of their Bishopricks for Contumacy, Octob. 1551. Preachers were fent into the Countries to rectify the Peoples Prejudices, which had a very good effect; and if they had taken the same Methods with respect to the Habits, and other Relicks of Popery; these would hardly have kept their Ground, and the Reformers would have acted a more confiftent and prudent Part.

Rife of the Habits.

The fad Consequences of retaining the Popish Garcontroversy ments in the Service of the Church, began to appear this Year: A Debate, one would think, of small Consequence; but at this Time apprehended of great Importance to the Reformation. The People having been bred up in a superstitious Veneration for the Priefts Garments, were taught that they were facred; that without them no Administrations were valid; that there was a fort of Virtue conveyed into I.

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nto em them by Consecration; and in a Word, that they king were of the same Importance to a Christian Clergy-Edw. VI. man, as the Priests Garments of old were in their Ministrations; it was Time therefore to disabuse them. The Debate began upon Occasion of Dr. Hooper's Nomination to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, in the Room of Dr. Wakeman, who died in December last.

Dr. HOOPER was a zealous, pious, and learned Bishop Man: He went out of England in the latter end of Hooper's King Henry's Reign, and lived at Zurich at a Time when all Germany was in a Flame on account of the Interim; which was a Form of Worship contrived to keep up the exterior Face of Popery, with the Softnings of some other Senses put upon Things. Upon this arose a great and important Question Hift. Ref. among the Germans, concerning the Use of Things Vol. III. indifferent. It was faid, If Things were indifferent in P. 199. themselves they were lawful; and that it was the Subjects Duty to obey when commanded. So the old Popish Rites were kept up, on purpose to draw the People more easily back to Popery. Out of this another Question arose, Whether it was lawful to obey in Things indifferent, when it was certain they were injoin'd with an ill Defign? To which it was replied, That the Defigns of Legislators were not to be inquired into. This created a vast Distraction in the Country: Some conformed to the Interim; but the major Part were firm to their Principles, and were turned out of their Livings for Disobedience. Those who complied were for the most part Lutherans, and carried the Name of Adiaphorists, from the Greek Word, that fignifies, Things indifferent. But the rest of the Reformed were for shaking off all the Relicks of Popery, with the Hazard of all that was dear to them in the World; particularly at Zurich, where Hooper was, they were zealous against any Compliance with the Interim, or the Use of the old Rites prescribed by it.

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Chap. II.

King

With these Principles Hooper came over to Eng-Edw. VI. land, and applied himself to preaching and explaining the Scriptures to the People; he was in the Pulpit almost every Day in the Week, and his Sermons were fo popular, that all the Churches were crouded where he preached. His Fame foon reach'd the Court, where Dr. Poynet and he were appointed to preach all the Lent Sermons. He was also fent to preach throughout the Counties of Kent and Effex, in order to reconcile the People to the Reformation. At length, in the Month of July 1550. he was appointed Bishop of Gloucester by Letters Patents from the King, but declined it for two Reasons,

1. Because of the Form of the Oath, which he calls foul

and impious. And,

2. By reason of the Aaronical Habits.

By the Oath is meant the Oath of Supremacy, which was in this Form, By God, by the Saints, and by Hift. Ref. the Holy Ghost; which Hooper thought impious, because God only ought to be appealed to in an Oath, for as much as he only knows the Thoughts of Men. The young King being convinced of this, struck out the Words with his own Pen.

He refuses

Vol. III.

p. 203.

But the Scruple about the Habits was not fo eafily the Habits. got over. The King and Council were inclined to difpense with them; but Ridley and the rest of the Bishops that had wore the Habits were of another Mind, faying, The Thing was indifferent, and therefore the Law ought to be obeyed. This had fuch an Influence upon the Council, that all Hooper's Objections were afterwards heard with great Prejudice. It discovered but an ill Spirit in the Reformers, not to fuffer Hooper to decline his Bishoprick, nor yet to dispense with those Habits which he thought unlawful. Hooper was as much for the Clergy's wearing a decent and diftinct Habit from the Laity, as Ridley, but prayed to be excused from the old symbolizing Popish Garments.

1. Because they had no Countenance in Scripture of His Reafons. Primitive Antiquity.

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2. Because they were the Inventions of Antichrift, and King were introduced into the Church in the corruptest Ages of Edw. VI. Christianity.

3. Because they had been abused to Superstition and Idolatry; particularly in the pompous Celebration of the

Mass; and therefore were not indifferent.

4. To continue the Use of these Garments, was in his Opinion, to symbolize with Antichrist, to mislead the People, and was inconsistent with the Simplicity of the Christian Religion.

Cranmer was inclined to yield to these Reasons; but Ridley and Goodrick insisted strongly on Obedience to the Laws, affirming, that in Matters of Rites and Ceremonies, Custom was a good Argument for the Continuance of those that had been long used. But this Argument seemed to go too far, because it might be used for the retaining all those other Rites and Ceremonies of Popery which had been long used in the Church, but were now abolished by these Reformers themselves.

Hooper not willing to rely upon his own Judgment, gudgment writ to Bucer at Cambridge, and to Peter Martyr at of foreign Oxford, who gave their Opinions against the Habits, Divines. as Inventions of Antichrift, and wished them removed out of the Church; as will appear more fully in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; but were of Opinion, fince the Bishops were so resolute, that he might acquiesce in the Use of them for a Time till they were taken away by Law: And the rather, because the Reformation was in its Infancy, and it would give Occalion of Triumph to the common Enemy to fee the Reformers at Variance among themselves. The Divines of Switzerland and Geneva were of the same Mind, being unwilling that a Clergyman of fo much Learning and Piety, and so zealous for the Reformation as Hooper was, should be filenced; they therefore adviled him to comply for the prefent, that he might be the more capable by his Authority and Influence in the Church, to get them laid aside. But these Reafons not fatisfying Hooper's Conscience, he continued to refuse for above nine Months.

F 3

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King 1550. Hooper bardly ufed.

The governing Prelates being provoked with his Edw. VI. Stiffness, resolved not to suffer such a Precedent of Disobedience to the Ecclesiastical Laws to go unpunished. Hooper must be a Bishop, and must be confecrated in the manner others had been, and wear the Habits the Law appointed; and to force him to comply he was served with an Order of Council, first to filence him, and then to confine him to his House, The Doctor thought this Usage very severe: To miss his Promotion was no Disappointment, but to be persecuted about Cloaths, by Men of the same Faith with himself, and to lose his Liberty because he would not be a Bishop, and in the Fashion, this (fays Mr. Collier) was possibly more than he well understood. After some Time Hooper was committed to the Custody of Cranmer, who not being able to bring him to Conformity, complained to the Council, who thereupon ordered him into the Fleet, where he continued some Months, to the Reproach of the Reform-At length he laid his Case before the Earl of Warwick, who by the King's own Motion writ to the Archbishop to dispense with the Habits at his Consecration: But Cranmer alledg'd the Danger of a Pramunire; upon which a Letter was fent from the King and Council to the Archbishop, and other Bishops to be concerned in the Consecration, warranting them to dispense with the Garments, and discharging them of all manner of Dangers, Penalties and Forfeitures they might incur any manner of way by omitting the fame: But though this Letter was dated August the 5th, yet such was the Reluctance of Cranmer and Ridley, that Hooper was not confecrated till March The Diffe- following; in which Time, fays Bishop Burnet, the vence com- Matter was in some fort compromised; Hooper confenting to be robed in his Habits at his Confecration, and once at Court; but to be dispensed with at other Times. Accordingly being appointed to preach once before the King, he came forth (fays Mr. Fox) like a new Player on the Stage: His upper Garment

Hift. Ref. Vol. III. p. 210. promised.

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was a long scarlet Chymere down to the Foot, and under that a white linen Rochet that covered all his Edw. VI. Shoulders, and a four square Cap upon his Head; but he took it patiently for the publick Profit of the Church. After this Hooper retired to his Diocese, Fuller, and preached sometimes two or three Times a Day, to crouds of People that hungred for the Word of Life: He was impartial and zealous in the faithful Discharge of every Branch of his episcopal Character, even beyond his Strength, and was himself a Pattern of what he taught to others.

In the King's Letter to the Archbishop, Hooper is said to be a Divine of great Knowledge, deep Judgment, and long Study both in the Scriptures and prophane Learning; as also, a Person of good Discretion, ready Utterance, and of an honest Life: But all these Qualifications must be buried in Silence and a Prison, at a Time when there was a Famine of the Word, rather than the above-mentioned Unifor-

mity in Dress be dispensed with.

Most of the reforming Clergy were with Hooper in sentiments this Controversy: Several that had submitted to the of the re-Habits in the late Reign, laid them aside in this; as forming the Bishops Latimer and Coverdale; Dr. Taylor, Phil-bout the pot, Bradford, and others, who laid down their Lives Habits. for the Protestant Faith. In some Ordinations Cranmer and Ridley dispensed with the Habits; for Mr. Tho. Sampson, Parson of Bread-street London, afterwards one of the Heads of the Puritans, and fucceffively Dean of Chichester and Christ Church, in a Letter to Secretary Cecil writes, " That at his Ordination Life of " by Cranmer and Ridley, he excepted against the Ap- Cranmer, " parel, and was nevertheless permitted and admitted." p. 192. If they had not done so on some Occasions, there Ridley and would not have been Clergymen to support the Refor- Cranmer mation. Bishop Burnet says, they saw their Error, relax their and designed to procure an Act to abolish the Popish the Habits. Garments; but whether this were fo or not, 'tis certain that in the next Reign they repented their Con-

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King duct; for when Ridley was in Prison he writ a Let-Edw. VI. ter to Hooper, in which he calls him his dear Brother and fellow Elder in Christ; and desires a mutual Forgiveness and Reconciliation. And when he and Cranmer came to be degraded, they smiled at the ridiculous Attire with which they were clothed, and declared they had long since laid aside all regards to that

Pageantry.

German Church established.

This Behaviour of the Bishops towards the King's natural born Subjects was the more extraordinary, because a Latitude was allowed to foreign Protestants to worship God after the Manner of their Country, without any Regard to the Popish Vestments: For this Year a Church of German Refugees was established at St. Austin's in London, and erected into a Corporation under the Direction of John a Lasco, Superintendent of all the foreign Churches in London, with whom were joined four other Ministers; and as a Mark of Favour 380 of the Congregation were made Denizens of England. The Preamble to the Patent fets forth, That the German Church made Profession of pure and uncorrupted Religion; and was instructed in truly Christian and Apostolical Opinions and Rites. In the Patent which incorporates them there is the following Clause: Item, "We " command, and peremptorily enjoin our Lord " Mayor, Aldermen, and Magistrates of the City

Burnet's Hift. Ref. in Records.

of London, and their Successors, with all Archbishops, Bishops, Justices of the Peace, and all
Officers and Ministers whatsoever, That they permit the said Superintendent and Ministers to enjoy and
exercise their own proper Rites and Geremonies, and
their own proper and peculiar Ecclesiastical Discipline,
though differing from the Rites and Ceremonies used in
our Kingdom, without Impediment, Let, or Disturbance; any Law, Proclamation, or Injunction heretofore published to the contrary notwithstanding." John
a Lasco was a Polander of noble Birth; and according
to the Words of the Patent, a Man very famous for
Learning, and for Integrity of Life and Manners.
He

He was in high Esteem with the great Erasmus, who lays, that he, though an old Man, had profited much Edw. VI. by his Conversation. And Peter Martyr calls him 1551. his most learned Patron. But he did not please the L. of Cran. Court Prelates, because he took part with Hooper, p. 238. and writ against the popish Garments, and for the Posture of fitting rather than kneeling at the Lord's

Supper.

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Upon the Translation of Ridley to the See of Lon-Gardiner don, Dr. Poynet was declared Bishop of Rochester, and deprived. Coverdale Coadjutor to Veysey Bishop of Exeter. The See of Winchester had been two Years as good as 1551. vacant by the long Imprisonment of Gardiner, who had been confined all this Time without being brought to a Trial: The Bishop complained of this to the Council, who thereupon iffued out a Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, with Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, two Civilians, and two Masters in Chancery, to proceed against him for Contempt. It was objected to him, that he refused to preach concerning the King's Power while under Age; that he had been negligent in obeying the King's Injunctions, and was so obstinate that he would not ask the King Mercy. It was the declared Opinion of the popish Clergy at this Time, that the King's Laws were to be obey'd, but not the Orders of his Council; and therefore that all Things should remain as the late King left them, till the present King, now a Child, came of Age. This the Rebels in Devon pleaded, as well as the Lady Mary and others. For the same Opinion Gardiner was deprived of his Bi- L. of Cran. shoprick April 18th, upon which he appealed to the p. 192. King when at Age; and so his Process ended, and he was fent back to the Tower, where he lay till Queen Mary discharg'd him. Nothing can be said in vindication of this Severity but this, that both he and Bonner had taken out Commissions, with the rest of the Bishops, to hold their Bishopricks only during

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King 1551.

the King's Pleafure; which gave the Regents a Right Edw. VI. to displace them whensoever they pleased. Dr. Poynt was translated from Rachester to Winchester; Dr. Ston was made Bishop of Rochester; and Veysey resigning Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter in his room: Si that now the Bench of Bishops had a Majority for the Reformation.

Doctrines of the Ch. reformed.

It was therefore resolved in Council to reform the Doctrine of the Church. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley were appointed to this Work, who framed 42 Articles upon the chief Points of the Christian Faith; Copies of which were fent to the other Bishops and learned Divines, for their Correction and Amendments; after which the Archbishop re-

Vol. III. p. 210.

viewed them a fecond Time, and having given them his last hand prefented them to the Council, where Hift. Ref. they received the Royal Sanction. This was ano ther high Act of the Supremacy; for the Anticles were not brought into Parliament, nor agreed upon in Convocation, as they ought to have been, and as the Title feems to express: When this was afterwards objected to Cranmer as a Fraud in the next Reign, he owned the Charge, but faid, he was ignorant of the Title, and complained of it to the Council, who told him, the Book was fo entitled, because it was published in the Time of the Convocation; which was no better than a Collusion. It is entitled, Articles agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned Men in the Convocation held at London in the Year 1552. for the avoiding Diversity of Opinions, and establishing Consent touching true Religion. Publish'd by the King's Authority. These Articles are for Substance the same with those now in use, being reduced to the Number of Thirty nine in the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, where the Reader will meet with the Corrections and Alterations. The controverted Clause of the Twentieth Article, that The Church bas Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith, is not in King Edward's Ar

Articles; nor does it appear how it came into Queen Elizabeth's. 'Tis evident by the Title of the Articles, Edw. VI. that they were design'd as Articles of Truth, and not of Peace, as some have since imagin'd, who sub-remarks. scribed them rather as a Compromise, not to teach any Doctrine contrary to them, than as a Declaration that they believed according to them. This was a Notion the Imposers never thought of, nor does there appear any Reason for this Conceit. So that (says Hift. Ref. Bishop Burnet) those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossy prevaricate.

With the Book of Articles was printed a short Ca-1bid.
techism, with a Preface prefix'd in the King's Name. Vol. III.
'Tis supposed to be drawn up by Bishop Poynet, but P. 214revised by the rest of the Bishops and other learned
Men. 'Tis dated May 7th, about seven Weeks before

the King's Death.

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The next Work the Reformers were employed in, Common was a fecond Correction of the Common Prayer Book. Prayer Some Things they added, and others that had been Book reviretained through the Necessity of the Times were cond Time. The most considerable Amendments itruck out. were these. The daily Service began with a short Confession of Sins, and of Absolution to such as should repent. The Communion began with a rehearfal of the ten Commandments, the Congregation being on their Knees; and a Pause was made between the Rehearfal of every Commandment, for the People's Devotions. A Rubrick was also added, concerning the Posture of Kneeling, which declares that there was no Adoration intended thereby to the Bread and Wine, which was gross Idolatry; nor did they think the very Flesh and Blood of Christ there present. This Clause was struck out by Queen Elizabeth, to give a Latitude to Papists and Lutherans; but was inferted again at the Restoration of King Charles II. at the Request of the Puritans. Besides these Amendments, sundry old Rites and Ceremonies, which had been retained in the tor-

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p. 290.

King 1552.

former Book, were discontinued; as the Use of Oil in Edw. VI. Confirmation and extream Unction; Prayer for the Dead in the Office of Burial, and in the Communion Service Auricular Confession; the Use of the L. of Cran. Cross in the Eucharist, and in Confirmation. In short, the whole Liturgy was in a manner reduced to the Form in which it appears at prefent, excepting fome small Variations that have since been made for the clearing some Ambiguities. By this Book of Common Prayer, fays Mr. Strype, all Copes and Vestments were forbidden throughout England: The Prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their Hoods, and

> the Bishops their Crosses, &c. as by Act of Parliament is more at large fet forth.

ment.

Established When the Parliament met Jan. 23d, the new Comby Parlia-mon Prayer Book was brought into the House, with an Ordinal or Form of ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons; both which passed the Houses without any considerable Opposition. The Act requires "All Per-" fons after the Feast of Allballows next, to come to

" Common Prayer every Sunday and Holy Day, under " pain of the Censures of the Church. All Archbishops

" and Bishops are required to endeavour the due Execution of this Act; and whereas divers Doubts

had been raised about the Service Book, 'tis said,

" the King and Parliament had now caused it to be " perused, explained, and made more perfect."

The new Service Book was to take Place in all Hift. Ref. Vol. II. Churches after the Feaft of All Saints, under the same Penalties that had been enacted to the former

Book three Years before.

Marriages mated.

p. 190.

By another Act of this Seffion the Marriages of of the Clery, if performed according to the Service Book, were declared good and valid, and their Children inheritable according to Law; and by another the Bishoprick of Westminster was suppressed, and reunited to the See of London. Dr. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were both deprived this Year, with Tonstal Bishop of Durbam, whose Bishoprick.

1553.

hoprick was designed to be divided into two; but King

the Act never took effect.

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One of the last Things the King set his Hand to was a Royal Visitation, in order to examine what Plate, Jewels, and other Furniture, were in the Churches. The Visitors were to leave in every Church one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linen for the Communion Table and for Surplices, but to bring in the best of the Church-Furniture into the King's Treasury; and to sell the Linen Copes, Altar Cloths, &c. and give the Money to the Poor. The Pretence was, the calling in the superfluous Plate that lay in Churches more for Pomp than Use. Some have called this by no better a Name than Sacrilege, or Church Theft; and it was really no better. But it ought to be remember'd, the young King was now languishing under a Confumption, and near his End.

It must however be consessed, that in the Course of Blemises this, as well as the last Reign, there was a very great of the Resolution of Church Lands: The Chauntry Lands formation; were sold among the Laity, some of whom held sive or six Prebendaries or Canonries, while the Clergy themselves were in want. Bishop Latimer complains in one of his Sermons, "That the Revenues of the Alienation is the control of Church was a sixth a sixth and the set of Church

"Church were seized by the rich Laity, and that the of Church, "Incumbent was only a Proprietor in Title. That ma-Lands.

"ny Benefices were let out to farm by fecular Men,

or given to their Servants, as a Confideration for

" keeping their Hounds, Hawks and Horses; and that the poor Clergy were reduced to such short

"Allowance that they were forced to go to Service; "to turn Clerks of the Kitchin, Surveyors, Re-

" ceivers, &c." And Cambden complains, " That " Avarice and Sacrilege had strangely the Ascendant

" at this Time: That Estates formerly settled for the Support of Religion and the Poor, were ridi-

" cul'd as superstitious Endowments; first miscalled and then plundered." The Bishops were too easy

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Edw. VI. their Bishopricks, and the Courtiers were too eager in grasping at every Thing they could lay their Hand Hist. Ref. upon. If the Revenues of the Church had been abuvol. III. sed to Superstition, they might have been converted p. 218. to other religious Uses; or if too great a Proportion Los Cran. of the Riches of the Kingdom was in the Hands of the P. 290. Church, they should have made an ample Provision for the Maintenance of the Clergy, and the Endowment of smaller Livings, before they had inriched their Friends and Families.

Some of a licentious Life.

Nor were the Lives of many who were zealous for the Reformation free from Scandal: The Courtier and great Men indulg'd themselves in a dissolute and licentious Life; and the Clergy were not without Blemish. Some that embraced the Reformation were far from adorning their Profession, but rather disposed the People to return to their old Superstitions: Nevertheless there were many great and shining Lights among them, who preached and prayed fervently against the Corruptions of the Times, and were an Example to their Flocks, by the Strictness and Severity of their Lives and Manners; but their Numbers were small in comparison to the many that were otherwise, turning the Doctrines of Grace into Lasciviousness.

Reformation left imperfect.

We have now seen the Length of King Edward's Reformation. It was an adventurous Undertaking for a few Bishops and Privy Counsellors, to change the Religion of a Nation only by the Advantage of the Supremacy of a Minor, without the Consent of the People in Parliament or Convocation, and under the Eye of a presumptive Heir, who was a declared Enemy of all their Proceedings; as was the Case in the former part of this Reign. We have taken Notice of the mistaken Principles of the Resormers, in making use of the civil Power to force Men to Conformity; and of their stretching the Laws to reach at those whom they could not fairly come at any other way.

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ay. But notwithstanding these and some other Ble- King lishes, they were great and good Men, and valiant Edw. VI. the Cause of Truth; as appears by their sealing it ith their Blood. They made as quick Advances erhaps in restoring Religion towards its primitive implicity, as the Circumstances of the Times would dmit; but 'tis evident they defigned to go furher, and not make this the purest Standard of Refornation. Indeed Queen Elizabeth thought her Broher had gone too far, by stripping Religion of too nany Ornamen's; and therefore when she came to he Crown, she was hardly perswaded to restore it to he Condition in which he left it. King James I. ling Charles I. Archbishop Land, and all their Adnirers, instead of removing further from the superitious Pomps of the Church of Rome, have been or returning back to them, and have appealed to he Settlement of Queen Elizabeth as the purest Stanard.

But the Reformers themselves were of another Further Mind, as appears by the Sermons of Latimer, Hooper, Progress Bradford and others; by the Letters of Peter Martyr, intended. Martin Bucer, and John a Lasco, who in his Book de Voet. Eccl. Irdinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia, dedi-Pol. lib. 2; ated to Sigismund King of Poland, 1555. fays, cap. 6. That King Edward defired that the Rites and Ce-p. 421. remonies used under Popery should be purged out by Degrees; that it was his Pleasure that Strangers should have Churches to perform all Things according to Apostolical Observation only, that by this means the English Churches might be excited to embrace apostolical Purity with the unanimous Confent of the States of the Kingdom." He dds, "That the King was at the Head of this Project, and that Cranmer promoted it, but that some great Persons stood in the Way." As a further vidence of this, a Passage was left in the Preface of ne of their Service Books to this purpose; That ley had gone as far as they could in reforming the Church,

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King considering the Times they lived in, and hoped they that Edw. VI. came after them would, as they might, do more. King Edward in his Diary laments, That he could not K. Edw. restore the Primitive Discipline according to his Remains, Heart's desire, because several of the Bishops, some Numb. 2. for Age, fome for Ignorance, fome for their Name, and fome out of love to Popery, were unwilling to it. And the Church her felf, in one of her publick Offices, laments the Want of a godin Discipline to this Day.

Bucer's Hift. Ref. Vol. II. p. 156.

Martin Bucer, a German Divine, and Professor of Sentiments Divinity in Cambridge, a Person in high Esteem with the young King, drew up a Plan, and prefented it to his Majesty, in which he writes largely of Ecclesiastical Discipline. The King having read it, set himfelf to write a general Discourse about Reformation but did not live to finish it. Bucer proposed, that there might be a strict Discipline, to exclude scandalous Livers from the Sacrament; that the old popil Habits might be laid aside. He did not like the half Office of Communion, or fecond Service to be faid at the Altar when there was no Sacrament. Heapproved not of Godfathers answering in the Child's Name so well as in their own. He presses much the Sanctification of the Lord's Day; and that there might be many Fastings, but was against the Observation of Lent. He would have the pastoral Function restored to what it ought to be; that Bishops throwing off all fecular Cares, should give themselves to their spiritual Employments. He advises that Coadjutors might be given to fome, and a Council of Presbyters appointed for them all. He would have rural Bishops set over 20 or 30 Parishes, who should gather their Clergy often together, and infpect them closely; and that a provincial Synod should meet twice a Year, when a secular Man in the King's Name, should be appointed to observe their Proceedings.

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Cranmer was of the same Mind. He dislik'd the King present Way of governing the Church by Convoca-Edw. VI. tions as they are now form'd; in which Deans, Archdeacons, and Cathedrals, have an Interest far superi-And Cranor in number to those elected to represent the Clergy.mer's. These (says Bishop Burnet) can in no fort pretend to Hift. Ref. be more than a Part of our civil Constitution. They Vol. III. have no Foundation in Scripture, nor any Warrant P. 214. from the first Ages of the Church; but did arise from Original of the Model fet forth by Charles the Great, and formed English according to the Feudal Law, by which a Right of ons. giving Subfidies was vefted in all who were possessed of fuch Tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the Support of the State. Nor was Cranmer fatisfied with the Liturgy, though it had been twice reformed, if we may give credit to the learned Bullinger, who told the Exiles at Frankfort, "That the Archbishop L.of Cran. " had drawn up a Book of Prayers an hundred times P. 266.

" more perfect than that which was then in being; " but the same could not take Place, for that he " was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Con-

" vocation, and other Enemies."

The King was of the same Sentiments; but his un- King's timely Death, which happen'd in the 16th Year of Death and his Age, and 7th of his Reign, put an End to all his Characters noble Defigns for perfecting the Reformation. was indeed an incomparable Prince, of most promifing Expectations; and in the Judgment of the most impartial Persons, the very Phænix of his Age. was more than whispered that he was poison'd. But Pref. p. 4. It is very furprizing that a Protestant Divine [Heylin] Part VII. in his History of the Reformation should fay, "That p. 141. " he was ill principled; that his Reign was unfortu-" nate; and that his Death was not an Infelicity to "the Church," only because he was apprehensive he would have reduced the Hierarchy to a more primitive Standard. With good King Edward died all further Advances of the Reformation; for the Al-

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Chap. II.

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King terations that were made afterwards by Queen Eliza-Edw. VI. beth hardly came up to his Standard.

Remarks.

We may observe from the History of this Reign, 1. That in Matters of Faith the first Reforment followed the Doctrine of St. Austin, in the controverted Points of Original Sin, Prædestination, Justification by Faith alone, Effectual Grace, and

Good Works.

2. That they were not fatisfied with the present Discipline of the Church, though they thought they might submit to it, till it should be amended by the Authority of the Legislature.

3. That they believed but two Orders of Church-Men in Holy Scripture (viz.) Bishops and Deacons; and consequently, that Bishops and Priests were but

different Ranks or Degrees of the same Order.

4. That they gave the Right-Hand of Fellowship to foreign Churches, and Ministers that had not been ordained by Bishops; there being no Dispute about Reordination in order to any Church Preferment, till the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

In all which Points most of our modern Church-

Men have departed from them.



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## CHAP. III.

## The Reign of Queen MARY.

T will appear in the Course of this Reign, that & Mary, an absolute Supremacy over the Consciences of Men, lodged with a fingle Person, may as well be prejudicial as serviceable to true Religion: For if King Henry VIII. and his Son King Edward VI. reformed some Abuses by their Supremacy against the Inclinations of the Majority of the People, we shall find Queen Mary making use of the same Power to turn Things back into their old Channel, till she had restored the groffest and most idolatrous Part of Popery. This was begun by Proclamations and Orders of Council, till her Majesty could procure a Parliament that would repeal King Edward's Laws for Religion, which she quickly found means to accomplish. 'Tis strange indeed, that when there was but seven or eight Peers that opposed the Laws made in favour of the Reformation under King Edward, the lame House of Lords should almost all turn Papists in the Reign of Queen Mary; but as to the Commons'tis less wonderful, because they are changeable, and the Court took care to new model the Magistrates in the Cities and Corporations before the Elections came on, so that not one almost was left that was not a Roman Catholick. Bribery and Menaces were Rapin, made use of in all Places; and where they could p. 143. not carry Elections by reason of the Superiority of the Reformed, the Sheriffs made double Returns. 'Tis Hift. Ref. fad when the Religion of a Nation is under fuch a Di-Vol. II. rection! But so it will be when the Management of P. 252. Religion falls into the Hands of a bigotted Prince and Ministry. Queen Mary was a sad Example of the Truth of

this Observation, whose Reign was no better than

2. Mary, one continued Scene of Calamity. 'Tis the genuine Picture of Popery, and should be remember'd by all true Protestants with Abhorrence; the Principles of that Religion being fuch as no Man can receive, till he has abjured his Senses, renounced his Understanding and Reason, and put off all the tender Compassions of Human Nature.

King Edw. laft Will.

King Edward VI. being far gone in a Consumption, from a Concern for preferving the Reformation, was perfuaded to fet afide the Succession of his Sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the Queen of Scots, the first and last being Papists, and Elizabeth's Blood being tainted by Act of Parliament; and to fettle the Crown by Will upon the Lady Jane Grey, eldeft Daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, a Lady of extraordinary Qualities, zealous for the Reformation, and next in Blood, after the Princesses abovementioned. One may guess the fad Apprehensions the Council were under for the Protestant Religion, when they put the King, who was a Minor, and not capable of making a Will, upon this Expedient, and fet their Hands to the Validity of it. The King being dead, Queen JANE was proclaimed with the usual Solemnities, and an Army raised to support her Title; but the Princes Mary, then at Norfolk, being inform'd of her Brother's Death, fent a Letter to the Council in which the claims the Crown, and charges them upon their Allegiance to proclaim her in the City of London, and elsewhere. The Council in return insisted upon her laying afide her Claim, and fubmitting as a good Subject to her new Sovereign. But MARY, by the Encouragement of her Friends in the North, resolved to maintain her Right; and to make her Way more easy, she promised the Suffolk Men to make no Alterations in Religion. This gained her an Army, with which she marched towards London; but before she

came thither, both the Council and Citizens of London declared for her: And on the third of August the

made her publick Entry without the Loss of a Drop

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of Blood, four Weeks after the Death of her Brother. 2. Mary, Upon Queen Mary's Entrance into the Tower she released Bonner, Gardiner, and others whom she g. Mary called her Prisoners. August 12. her Majesty decla-enters red in Council, " That though her Conscience was London. " fettled in Matters of Religion, yet she was resolved Her Decla-" not to compel others, but by the preaching of the Word." ration This was different from her Promise to the Suffolk about Reli-Men: She affured them that Religion should be left gion. upon the same Foot she found it at the Death of King Edward, but now she infinuates, that the old Religion is to be restored, but without Compulsion. Next Day there was a Tumult at St. Paul's, occasioned by Dr. Bourne, one of the Canons of that Church, preaching against the late Reformation: He spoke in Commendation of Bonner, and was going on with severe Reflections upon the late King Edward, when the whole Audience was in an Uproar; some calling to pull down the Preacher, others throwing Stones, and one a Dagger, which stuck in the Timber of the Pulpit. Mr. Rogers and Bradford, two popular Preachers for the Reformation, hazarded their Lives to fave the Doctor, and conveyed him in Safety to a neighbouring House; for which Act of Charity they were foon after imprisoned, and then burnt.

To prevent the like Tumults for the future the Queen published an Inhibition, Aug. 18th, forbidding all preaching without special License; declaring further, that she would not compel her Subjects to be of her Religion, till publick Order should be taken in it by common Assent. Here was another Intimation of an approaching Storm: The Subjects were not to be compell'd till publick Order should be taken for it. And to prevent further Tumults a Proclamation was published, for Masters of Families to oblige their Apprentices and Servants to frequent their own Parish Churches on Sundays and Holidays, and to keep them at home at other Times.

G 3

The

2. Mary, 1553. Suffolk Men punifed.

The shutting up all the Protestant Pulpits at once awaken'd the Suffolk Men, who prefuming upon their Merits and the Queen's Promise, sent a Deputation to Court to represent their Grievances; but the Queen check'd them for their Infolence: And one of their Number happening to mention her Promife, was put in the Pillory three Days together, and had his Ears cut off for Defamation. On the 22d of Au. gust, Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Tonsal of Durham, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, Reformers were restored to their Bishopricks. Some of the Re-

imprison'd. formers continuing to preach after the Inhibition were

fent for into Custody, among whom were Hooper Bishop of Gloucester, Coverdale of Exeter, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Rogers the Proto-Martyr, and feveral others. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, Sept. 1. no regard being had to his active Zeal in afferting the Queen's Right in his Sermon against the Title of the Lady Jane; but so fincerely did this good Man follow the Light of his Conscience, when he could not but see what sad Consequences it was like to have. Coverdale of Exeter being a Foreigner, was ordered to keep his Hift. Ref. House till further Order. Burnet says he was a Dane, and had afterwards leave to retire. But according to Fuller he was born in Yorkshire. shop Cranmer was so silent at Lambeth that it was thought he would have returned to the old Religion; but he was preparing a Protestation against it, which taking Air, he was examined, and confessing the

B. III. p. 158.

Vol. III.

D. 221,

Fuller's

Morthies,

239.

before the Council, but he fled beyond Sea. The Storm gathering fo thick upon the Reformers, above eight Hundred of them retired into foreign Parts; among whom were five Bishops (viz.) Poynet of Winchester, who died in Exile; Barlow of Bath and Wells, who was Superintendant of the Con-

Fact, he was fent to the Tower, with Bishop Latimer, about the 13th of September. The beginning of next Month Holgate Archbishop of York was committed to the Tower, and Horn Dean of Durham was fummoned

Foreigners commanded to leave the Kingdom.

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gregation at Embden; Scory of Chichester; Coverdale 2. Mary, of Exon; and Bale of Offory: Five Deans, viz. Dr. Cox, Haddon, Horn, Turner and Sampson; four Archdeacons, and above fifty Doctors of Divinity and eminent Preachers, among whom were Grindal, Tewel, Sandys, Reynolds, Pilkington, Whitehead, Lever, Nowel, Knox, Rough, Fox, Whittingham, Parkburst, and others, famous in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: Besides of Noblemen, Merchants, Tradesmen, Artificers, and Plebeians, many Hundreds. Some fled in Difguise, or went over as the Servants L. of Cran; of foreign Protestants, who having come hither forp. 314. Shelter in King Edward's Time, were now required to leave the Kingdom; among these were Peter Martyr and John a Lasco, with his Congregation of Germans. But to prevent too many of the English embarking with them, an Order of Council was fent to all the Ports, that none should be suffered to leave the Kingdom without proper Passports. The Ro- Hift. Ref. man Catholick Party, out of their abundant Zeal for Vol. III. their Religion, out-run the Laws, and celebrated P. 223. Mass in divers Churches before it was restored by Authority; while the People that favoured the Reformation continued their publick Devotions with great Seriousness and Fervency, as foreseeing what was coming upon them; but the rude Multitude came into the Churches, infulted their Ministers, and ridicul'd their Worship. The Court not only wink'd at these Things, but fined Judge Hales (who alone refused to fign the Act which transferr'd the Crown to Jane Grey) a Thousand Pounds Sterling, because in his Circuit he ordered the Justices of Kent to conform themselves to the Laws of King Edward, not yet repealed; upon which that Gentleman grew melancholy and drowned himself.

The Queen was crowned Octob. 1. by Gardiner, at-popery retended by ten other Bishops, all in their Mitres, stored by Copes and Crossers; and a Parliament was summon-Parliaed to meet the 10th. What Methods were used in ment.

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2 Mary, the Elections has been related. On the 31st of Oato. ber a Bill was fent down to the Commons for repeal. ing King Edward's Laws about Religion, which was argued fix Days, and at length carried. It repeals in general all the late Statutes relating to Religion, and enacts, "That after the 20th of December next, " there should be no other Form of Divine Service but what had been used in the last Year of King

Rapin, p. 146. " Henry VIII." Severe Punishments were decreed against such as should interrupt the publick Service; as should abuse the Holy Sacrament, or break down Altars, Crucifixes, or Croffes. It was made Felony for any Number of Persons above twelve, to affemble together with an Intention to alter the Religion establish. ed by Law. Nov. 3d Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Guilford, Lady Jane, and two other Sons of the Duke of Northumberland, were brought to their Trials for High Treason, in levying War against the Queen, and conspiring to set up another in her Room. They all confessed their Indictments, but Cranmer appealed to his Judges, how unwillingly he had fet his Hand to the Exclusion of the Queen: These Judgments were confirmed by Parliament, after which the Queen's intended Marriage with Philip of Spain being discovered, the Commons sent their Speaker, and 20 of their Members, humbly to entreat her Majesty, not to marry a Stranger; with which she was so displeased, that upon the 6th of December the diffolved the Parliament.

Proceedings of Convocation.

The Convocation that fat with the Parliament was equally devoted to the Court. Care had been taken about their Elections. In the Collection of publick Acts there are found about 150 Presentations to Livings before the Choice of Representatives; fo that the lower House of Convocation was of a piece with the upper, from whence almost all the Protestant Bishops were excluded by Imprisonment, Deprivation, or otherwise. Bonner presided as the first Bishop of the Province of Canterbury. Harpsfield his Chaplain

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breached the Sermon, on Acts xx. 28. Feed the Flock. 2. Mary, and Weston Dean of Westminster was chosen Prolocutor. On the 20th of October it was proposed to the Members to subscribe to the Doctrine of Transubstaniation; which all complied with but the following fix Divines, who by their Places had a Right to fit in Convocation; Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester; Philips Dean of Rochester; Haddon Dean of Exeter; Cheyney Archdeacon of Hereford; Aylmer Archdeacon of Stow; and Young Chaunter of St. David's: These disputed upon the Argument for three Days, Hift. Ref. but the Disputation was managed according to the Vol. II. Fashion of the Times, with Reproaches and Mena-p. 267. ces on the stronger Side; and the Prolocutor ended it with faying, You have the Word but we have the Sword.

This Year began with Wyat's Rebellion, occasioned by a general Dislike of the Queen's Marriage with Wyat's Philip of Spain: It was a raw, unadvised Attempt, and occasioned great Mischiefs to the Protestants, though Religion had no share in the Conspiracy, Wyat himself being a Papist: This Gentleman got together 4000 Men, with whom he marched directly to London; but coming into Southwark Feb. 2. he found the Bridge fo well fortified that he could not force it without Canon; so he marched about, and having croffed the Thames at King ston, he came by Charing Cross to Ludgate next Morning, in hopes the Citizens would have opened their Gates; but being disappointed, he yielded himself a Prisoner at Temple Rapin, Bar, and was afterwards executed; as were the Lady p. 161. Jane Grey, Lord Guilford her Husband, and others; the Lady Elizabeth her felf hardly escaping, Wyat upon his Trial accused her, in hopes of faving his Life; upon which she was ordered into Custody: But when Wyat faw he must die, he acquitted her on the Scaffold; and upon the Queen's Marriage this Summer he obtained her Pardon,

A Vifitation.

2. Mary, As foon as the Nation was a little fettled, her Ma jefty, by virtue of the Supremacy, gave Instruction ons to her Bishops to visit the Clergy. The Injunction ons were drawn up by Gardiner, and contain an angre Recital of all the Innovations introduced into the Church in the Reign of King Edward; and a Charge to the Bishops, "To execute all the Ecclesiastic "Laws that had been in force in King Henry the " VIIIth's Reign; but not to proceed in their " Courts in the Queen's Name. She enjoins them or not to exact the Oath of Supremacy any more but to punish Hereticks and Herefies, and to re-" move all married Clergymen from their Wives; but " for those that would renounce their Wives they " might put them into some other Cures - All the " Ceremonies, Holidays and Fasts, used in King " Henry's Time were to be revived. Those Clergy-" men who had been ordained by the late Service "Book, were to be re-ordained, or have the De " fects of their Ordination supplied; that is, the " Anointing, the giving the prieftly Vestment, " with other Rites of the Roman Pontifical. And

Hift. Ref. Vol. II. p. 290.

" Laftly, It was declared, that all People should be " compell'd to come to Church." The Archbishop of York, the Bishop of St. David's, Chester, and Brifol, were deprived for being married; and the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, were deprived by the Royal Pleasure, as holding their Bishop ricks by fuch a Patent. It was very arbitrary to tun out the married Bishops, while there was a Law subfifting to legitimate their Marriages; and to deprive the other Bishops without any manner of Proces, meerly for the Royal Pleasure. This was acting up to the Height of the Supremacy, which though the Queen believed to be an unlawful Power, yet he claimed and used it for the Service of the Romin The vacant Bishopricks were filled up the latter end of March, with Men after the Queen's Heart, to the number of Sixteen, in the Room of so many deprived or dead. The

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The new Bishops in their Visitation, and particu- 2 Mary, larly Bishop Bonner, executed the Queen's Injunctions with Rigour. The Mass was set up in all Places, and the old Popish Rites and Ceremonies revived. The Carvers and Makers of Statues had a quick Trade for Roods and other Images that were to be let up again in Churches. The most eminent Preachers in Numbers London were under Confinement; and all the married of the Cler-Clergy throughout the Kingdom were deprived. Dr. gy ejetted. Parker reckons, that of 16 Thousand Clergymen 12 Thousand were turn'd out; which is not probable, for if we compute by the Diocese of Norwich, which is al- Hift. Ref. most an eighth Part of England, and in which there were Vol. III. but 335 deprived, the whole Number will fall short of p. 226. 3000. Some were turned out without Conviction, upon common Fame: Some were never cited, and yet turned out for not appearing. Those that quitted their Wives, and did Penance, were nevertheless deprived; which was grounded on the Vow that (as was pretended) they had made. Such was the deplorable Condition of the Reformed this Summer, and fuch the Cruelty of their Adversaries!

The Queen's second Parliament met April 2d. The Queen's 2d Court had taken Care of the Elections by large Pro-Parliamises of Money from Spain: Their Design was to ment and persuade the Parliament to approve of the Spanish Match; which they accomplished, with this Proviso, That the Queen alone should have the Government of the Kingdom; after which the Houses were presently dissolved. King Philip arrived in England, July 20th, and was married to the Queen on the 27th, at Winchester, he being then in the 27th Year of his Age, and the Queen in her 38th. He brought with him a vast Mass of Wealth; 27 Chests of Bullion, every Chest being above a Yard

long; and Ninety nine Horse Loads, and two Cart

Loads of coined Silver and Gold.

The Reformers complaining of their Usage in the Disputational Late Dispute held in Convocation, the Court resolved on at Oxto give them a fresh Mortification, by appointing ford.

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Life of Cranmer,

p. 338.

2 Mary, another at Oxford in Presence of the whole University; 1554 and because Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley and

and because Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley and Latimer, were the most celebrated Divines of the Reformation, they were by Warrant from the Queen removed from the Tower to Oxford, to manage the Dispute. The Convocation sent their Prolocutor and feveral of their Members, who arriving on the 13th of April, being Friday, sent for the Bishops on Satur. day, and appointed them Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, every one his Day, to defend their Doctrine. The Questions were, upon Transubstantiation and the Propitiutory Sacrifice of the Mass. The Particulars of the Dispute are in Mr. Fox's Book of Martyrs, The Bishops behaved with great Modesty and Presence of Mind; but their Adversaries insulted and triumphed in a most barbarous Manner. Bishop Ridley writes, "That there were perpetual Shoutings, Tauntings, " Reproaches, Noise and Confusion." Cranmer and old Latimer were hiss'd and laugh'd at; and Ridley was born down with Noise and Clamour; "In " all my Life (fays be) I never faw any Thing car-" ried more vainly and tumultuously; I could not have thought that there could have been found " any English Man honoured with Degrees in Learn-" ing, that could allow of fuch thrasonical Ostenta-" tions, more fit for the Stage than the Schools." On the 28th of April they were summoned again to St. Mary's, and required by Weston the Prolocutor to subscribe, as having been vanquished in Disputation; but they all refusing, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and no longer Members of the Catholick Church.

It was designed to expose the Reformers by another Disputation at Cambridge; but the Prisoners in London hearing of it published a Paper, declaring That they would not dispute but in Writing, except it were before the Queen and Council, or

" before either House of Parliament, because of the "Misreports and unfair Usage they had every where

es met

"met with." At the same Time they printed a 2. Mary, Summary of their Faith, for which they were ready 1554. to offer up their Lives to the Halter or the Fire, as Hift. Ref. God should appoint.

Vol. II.

And here they declared, "That they believed the p. 285.

"Scriptures to be the true Word of God, and the Reformers

"Judge of all Controversies in Matters of Religion; Declaration and that the Church is to be obeyed as long as she pairly."

" followed this Word.

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"That they adhered to the Apostle's Creed; and those Creeds set out by the Councils of Nice, "Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon; and by the first and sourth Councils of Toledo; and the Symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus.

"They believed Justification by Faith alone; which Faith was not only an Opinion, but a certain Persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illuminate the Mind, and supple the Heart to

" fubmit it felf unfeignedly to God.

"They acknowledged the Necessity of an inherent "Righteousness; but that Justification and Pardon of Sins came only by Christ's Righteousness imputed to them.

"They affirmed, that the Worship of God ought to be performed in a Tongue understood

" by the People.

"That Christ only, and not the Saints, were to

" be prayed to.

"That immediately after Death departed Souls "pass either into the State of the Blessed, or of the

" Damned, without any Purgatory between.

"That Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the "Sacraments of Christ, which ought to be admini"ster'd according to his Institutions; and therefore "they condemned the denying the Cup to the Peo"ple, Transubstantiation, the Adoration or Sa"crifice of the Mass: And afferted the Lawfulness of Marriage to all Ranks and Orders of Men."

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9. Mary, 1554.

These Truths they declare themselves ready to defend, as before; and in conclusion they charged all People to enter into no Rebellion against the Queen, but to obey her in all Points, except where her Commands are contrary to the Law of God. This put an End to all farther Triumphs of the Popili Party for the prefent; and was a noble Testimony to the chief and diftinguishing Doctrines of the Prote. stant Faith. But fince the Reformers were not to be run down by Noise and Clamour, therefore their Stedfastness must undergo the fiery Trial.

The Queen's third Parliament met November 11. In the Writs of Summons the Title of Supreme Head of the Church was omitted, though it was still by Law vested in the Crown. The Money brought from Spain had procured a House of Commons devoted to the Court. The first Bill passed in the House was Card. Pool the Repeal of Cardinal Pool's Attainder. It had the

arrives from the Pope.

ciled to

Rome.

Royal Affent Nov. 22d. and the Cardinal himself arrived in England two Days after in quality of the Pope's Legate, with a Commission to receive the Kingdom of England into the Bosom of the Catholick Church under the Pope as their supreme Pastor. On the 27th he made a Speech in Parliament, inviting them to a Reconciliation with the Apostolick The King-See. Two Days after a Committee of Lords and dom recon- Commons was appointed to draw up a Supplication to the King and Queen, to interceed with the Legate for a Reconciliation; with a Promise to repeal all Acts made against the Pope's Authority. This being presented by both Houses on their Knees to the King and Queen, they made Intercession with the Cardinal, who thereupon made a long Speech in the House, at the Close of which he enjoin'd them for Penance to repeal the Laws abovementioned, and fo in the Pope's Name he granted them a full Absolution, which they received on their Knees; and then absolved the Realm from all Censures.

The

The Act of Repeal was not ready till the begin-2. Mary, ing of January, when it passed both Houses, and 1554. eceived the Royal Assent. It enumerates and rever-Laws as all Acts since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the gainst the sloy See; but then it contains the following Restri-Pope retions, which they pray, through the Cardinal's In-pealed. ercession, may be established by the Pope's Auhority.

1. "That all Bishopricks, Cathedrals or Colleges, now established, may be confirmed for ever.

2. "That Marriages within such Degrees as are not contrary to the Law of God, may be confirmed, and their Issue legitimated.

3. " That Institutions into Benefices may be con-

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4. "That all judicial Processes may be confirmed.
5. "That all the Settlements of the Lands of any
Bishopricks, Monasteries, or other Religious
Houses, may continue as they were, without any
trouble from the Ecclesiastical Courts."

The Cardinal admitted of these Requests, but ended Rapin, with a heavy Denunciation of the Judgments of God P. 173. pon those who had the Goods of the Church in their Hands, and did not restore them. And to make the Clergy more easy, the Statutes of Mortmain were epealed for 20 Years to come. But after all, the Pope refused to confirm the Restrictions, alledging, that the Legate had exceeded his Powers; fo that he Possessors of Church Lands had but a precarious litle to their Estates under this Reign; for even be- Hift. Ref. ore the Reconciliation was fully concluded, the Pope Vol. II. published a Bull, by which he excommunicates all P. 309. hole Persons who were in Possession of the Goods of he Church or Monasteries, and did not restore them. This alarmed the superstitious Queen, who apprehend- Queen reng her felf near her Time of Child-birth, fent for her flores the Ministers of State, and surrender'd up all the Lands Ch. Lands. If the Church that remained in the Crown, to be difosed of as the Pope or his Legate should think fit.

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2. Mary, But when a Proposal of this kind was made to the 1555. Commons in Parliament, some of them boldly laid their Hands upon their Swords, and said, They we knew how to defend their own Properties. But the Queen went on with Acts of Devotion to the Church the repaired feveral old Monasteries and erected new ones; she ordered a strict Enquiry to be made after those who had pillaged the Churches and Monaste. ries, and had been employed in the Visitations of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. She commanded Bi shop Bonner to raze out of the publick Records all that had been done against the Monks; and particularly the Accounts of the Visitations of Monasteries which has render'd the Ecclefiaftical History of this Time defective.

Laws areticks revived.

The next Act brought into the House, was for gainst He- reviving the Statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV. and V. for burning Hereticks; which passed both Houses in six Days, to the unspeakable Joy of the Popish Clergy. The Houses having been informed of fome heretical Preachers, who had prayed in their Conventicles, That God would turn the Queen's Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or else shore ten her Days; they passed an Act, "That all the " prayed after this manner should be adjudged Train " tors." After which, on the 16th of Jan. the Parliament was disfolved.

burnt.

The Kingdom being now reconciled to the Church Protestants of Rome, and the penal Laws against Hereticks re vived, a Council was held about the Manner of dealing with the Reformed. It is faid, that Cardina Pool was for the gentler Methods of Instruction and Persuasion, which is very doubtful; but Gardina was certainly for Rigor, imagining that a few Examples of Severity upon the Heads of the Party would terrify the rest into a Compliance. The Queen was of his Mind, and commanded Gardiner, by Commission to himself and some other Bishops, to make the Experiment. He began with Mr. Rogers the laid the

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Mr. Cardmaker, and Bishop Hooper, who had been 2 Mary, kept in Prison 18 Months without Law. These upon Examination were asked, Whether they would abjure their heretical Opinions about the Sacrament, and submit to the Church as then established; which they refusing, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and delivered over to the fecular Power. Mr. Rogers Mr. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield, Feb. 4. a Pardon being offered him at the Stake, which he refused, though he had a Wife and ten small Children unprovided for. Bi-Bp. Hooper shop Hooper was burnt at Gloucester, Feb. 9. He was not fuffered to speak to the People; and was used so barbaroully in the Fire, that his Legs and Thighs were roafted, and one of his Hands dropt off, before he expired : His last Words were, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit. While he was in Prison he writ several excellent Letters, full of Devotion and Piety, to the foreign Divines. In one to Bullinger, dated Dec. Hift. Ref. 11, 1554. about two Months before his Martyrdom, Vol. III. are these Expressions, - "With us the Wound in Records, " which Antichrift had received is healed, and he is " declared Head of the Church, who is not a Mem-" ber of it. We are still in the utmost Peril, as we " have been for a Year and half: We are kept afun-" der in Prison, and treated with all Kinds of Inhu-" manity and Scorn: They threaten us every Day " with Death, which we do not value. We refo-" lutely despise Fire and Sword for the Cause of "Christ. We know in whom we have believed, " and are fure we have committed our Souls to " him by well-doing. In the mean Time, help us " with your Prayers, That he that has begun the " good Work in us would perform it to the End. "We are the Lord's, let him do with us as seemeth

"good in his fight."
About the same Time Mr. Saunders, another Mi-Mr. Saunnister was burnt at Coventry. When he came to the ders and Stake he said, Welcome the Cross of Christ; Welcome Dr. Tay-werlasting Life. Dr. Taylor Parson of Hadley, suf-lor.

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fered

2. Mary, fered next: Gardiner used him very roughly, and after condemning and degrading him fent him to his own Parsonage to be burnt; which he underwent with great Courage Feb. 9. though he had barbarous Usage in the Fire, his Brains being beat out with one of the Halberts.

Bonner's Cruelty.

Gardiner feeing himself disappointed, medled no further, but committed the Profecution of the bloody Work to Bonner Bishop of London. This Clergyman behaved more like a Cannibal than a Christian; he condemned without Mercy all that came before him; ordering them to be kept in the most cruel Durance till they were delivered over to the Civil Magistrate. He tore off the Beard of Tomkins a Weaver in Shore. ditch, and held his Hand in the Flame of a Candle till the Sinews and Veins shrunk and burst, and the Blood spurted out in Harpsfield's Face, who was standing by. He put others in Dungeons, and in the Stocks, and fed them with Bread and Water; and when they were brought before him infulted over their Mifery in a most brutish Manner.

In the Month of March were burnt, Bishop Ferrars at St. Davids; Mr. Lawrence a Priest at Colchester; Mr. Tomkins a Weaver in Smithfield; Mr. Hunter an Apprentice of 19 Years of Age, at Brentwood; Mr. Causton and Mr. Higden, Gentlemen of good Estates in Essex; Mr. William Pigot at Braintree; Mr. Stephen Knight at Malden; Mr. Rawlins White 1 poor Fisherman at Cardiff. In the next Month, Mr. March a Priest, at Chester; and one Flower, a young Man in St. Margaret's Church-yard, West-

minster.

Petition Martyrs.

These Burnings were disliked by the Nation, which frombeyond began to be aftonished at the Courage and Constanbalf of the cy of the Martyrs; and to be startled at the unrelenting Severity of the Bishops, who being reproached with their Cruelties, threw the Odium upon the King and Queen. At the same Time a Petition was printed by the Exiles beyond Sea, and addressed to II.

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the Queen, putting her in mind, " That the Turks 2. Mary, " tolerated Christians, and the Christians in most " Places tolerated Jews. That no Papist had been " put to Death for Religion in King Edward's "Time. And then they befeech the Nobility and " common People, to interceed with her Majetty, " to put a stop to this Issue of Blood, and at least " grant her Subjects the fame Liberty she allowed " Strangers, of transporting themselves into so-" reign Parts." But it had no Effect, King Philip being informed of the Artifices of the Bishops, caused his Confessor Alphonsus to preach against these Severities, which he did in the Face of the whole Court; Bonner himself pretended to be sick of them; but after some little Recess he went on. And though Philip pretended to be for milder Measures, yet on the 24th of May he and the Queen fign'd a Letter to Rapin, p. Bonner, to quicken him to his pastoral Duty; where- 184, 188. upon he redoubled his Fury, and in the Month of fune condemned nine Protestants at once to the Stake in Effex; and the Council writ to the Sherills, to gather the Gentry together to countenance the Burnings with their Presence.

In the Month of July Mr. John Bradford late Pre- Mr. Bradbendary of St. Paul's, and a most celebrated Preach-tord burni. er in King Edward's Days suffered Martyrdom. He was a most pious Christian, and is faid to do as much Service to the Reformation by his Letters from Prison, as by his Preaching in the Pulpit. vours were used to turn him, but to no purpose. He was brought to the Stake with one John Leafe, an Apprentice of 19 Years old; he kiffed the Stake and the Faggots; but being forbid to speak to the People, he only prayed with his Fellow-Sufferer, and quietly submitted to the Fire. His last Words were, Strait is the Gate, and narrow the Way, that leadeth unto eterhal Life, and few there be that find it. From Smithfield the Perfecution spread all over the Country; in the Months of June and July eight Men and one Woman

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2 Mary, were burnt in feveral Parts of Kent; and in the Months of August and September Twenty five more 1555. in Suffolk, Effex, and Surrey.

Bp. Ridley mer.

ner's

Death.

with him.

But the greatest Sacrifice to Popish Cruelty was and Lati yet to come : For on the 16th of October the Bishops Ridley and Latimer, were burnt at one Stake in Ox. ford. Latimer died presently; but Ridley was a long Time in exquisite Torments, his lower Parts being burnt before the Fire reach'd his Body. His last Words to his Fellow-Sufferer were, Be of good Heart, Brother, for God will either affwage the Fury of the Flame, or enable us to abide it. Latimer replied, Be of good Comfort, for we shall this Day light such a Candle in England, as I trust by God's Grace shall never be put Bp. Gardi- out. The very fame Day Gardiner their great Perfecutor, was struck with the Illness of which he died; it was a Suppression of Urine, which held him in great Agonies till the 12th of November, when he expired. He would not fit down to Dinner till he had received the News from Oxford of the Burning of the two Bishops, which was not till four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and while he was at Dinner he was feized with the Distemper that put an End to his Life. When Bishop Day spoke to him of Justification through the Blood of Christ, he said, If you open that Gap to the People, then farewel all again. He confessed he had sinned with Peter, but had not repented

> On the 18th of December Mr. Archdeacon Philpot was burnt, and behaved at the Stake with the Courage and Refolution of the Primitive Martyrs.

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On the 21st of March following Archbishop Cranmer burnt. mer suffered. He had been degraded by the Bishops Thirlby and Bonner on Feb. 14th. Bonner infulted him in an indecent Manner, but Thirlby melted into Tears. After this by much Persuasion, and in hope of Life, he fet his Hand to a Paper, in which he renounced the Errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and acknowledged his belief of the Corporal Presence, the Pope's Supremacy,

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nacy,

premacy, Purgatory, and Invocation of Saints, &c. 2. Mary, This was quickly published to the World with great Triumph among the Papists, and Grief to the Reformers. But the unmerciful Queen was still resolved to have his Life, and accordingly fent down a Writ for his Execution: She could never forgive the Share he had in her Mother's Divorce, and in driving the Pope's Authority out of England. Cranmer suspecting the Design prepared a true Confession of his Faith, and carried it in his Bosom to St. Mary's Church on the Day of his Martyrdom, where he was raised on an Eminence, that he might be seen by the People, and hear his own Funeral Sermon. Never was a more awful and melancholy Spectacle; an Archbishop, once the second Man in the Kingdom, now clothed in Rags, and a gazing Stock to the World! Cole the Preacher magnified his Conversion as the immediate Hand of God, and affured him of a great many Masses to be said for his Soul. After Sermon he defired Cranmer to declare his own Faith, which he did with Tears, declaring his Belief in the holy Scriptures, and the Apostles Creed; and then came to that, which he faid troubled his Conscience more than any Thing he had done in his Life, and that was his Subscribing the abovementioned Paper out of fear of Death and love of Life; and therefore when he came to the Fire he was resolved, that Hand that fign'd it should burn first. The Affembly was all in Confusion at this Disappointment; and the broken-hearted Archbishop shedding abundance of Tears was led immediately to the Stake; and being tied to it, he stretched out his right Hand to the Flame, never moving it but once to wipe his Face, till it dropt off. He often cried out, That unworthy Hand! which was confumed before the Fire reached his Body. His last Words were, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit. He died in the 67th Year of his Age, and 23d of his Archbishoprick, and was succeeded by Cardinal Pool.

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9. Mary. 1555. Further Cruelties.

It is not within the Compass of my Design to write a Martyrology of these Times; nor to follow Bishop Bonner and his Brethren through the Rivers of Protestant Blood which they spilt. The whole Year 1556 was one continued Perfecution, in which Pope. ry triumphed in all its false and bloody Colours, Bonner not content to burn Hereticks fingly, fent them by Companies to the Flames. Such as were fuspected of Heresy were examined upon the Articles of the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, Auricular Confession, and the Mass; and if they did not make fatisfactory Answers, they were without any farther Proofs condemned to the Fire. Women were not spared, nor Infants in the Womb. In the Isle of Guernsey a Woman with Child being ordered to the Fire, was delivered in the Flames, and the Infant being taken from her, was ordered by the Magistrates to be thrown back into the Fire. At length the butcherly Work growing too much for the Hands that were employed in it, the Queen erected an extraordinary Tribunal for trying of Herefy, like the Spanish Inquisition, confisting of 31 Commissioners, most of them Laymen; and in the Month of June 1555. The issued out a Proclamation, That fuch as received heretical Books should be immediately put to Death by martial Law. She forbid Prayers to be made for the Sufferers, or even to fay, God bless them: So far did her fiery Zeal transport her. Upon the whole, the Number of them that suffered Death for the Reformed Religion in this Reign, were no less than 277 Persons, of whom were 5 Bishops, 21 Clergymen, 8 Gentlemen, 84 Tradelmen, 100 Husbandmen, Labourers and Servants, 55 Women, and 4 Children. Besides these, there were 54 more under Profecution, 7 of whom were whipt, and 16 perished in Prison; the rest who were making themselves ready for the Fire, were delivered by the merciful Interpolure of Divine Providence in the Queen's Death. In

Clark's Martyr. p. 506.

The Numbers that quere burnt in this Reign.

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In a Book corrected, if not writ by Lord Burleigh 2. Mary, in Queen Elizabeth's Time, entitled The Executions 1555. for Treason, it is said 400 Persons suffered publickly Hist. Ref. in Queen Mary's Reign, besides those who were se-vol. III, cretly murdered in Prison; of these, 20 were Bishops p. 264. and dignified Clergymen; 60 were Women, of whom fome were big with Child; and one was delivered of a Child in the Fire, which was burnt; and above 40 Men-Children. I might add, these merciless Papists carried their Fury against the Reformed beyond the Grave; for they cauled the Bones of Fagius and Bucer, and of the Wife of Peter Martyr, to be dug out of their Graves, and having ridiculously cited them by their Commissioners to appear, and give an Account of their Faith, they caused them to be burnt for Non-appearance. Is it possible after such a Relation of Things, for any Protestant to be in love with High Commissions, with Oaths ex officio, and Laws to deprive Men of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, for Matters of meer Conscience? And yet these very Reformers, when the Power returned into their Hands, were too much inclined to these Engines of Cruelty.

The Controversy about Prædestination and Free-Rise of the Will appeared first among the Reformers at this Time. Controver-Some that were in the King's Bench Prison for the Pro-Sy about fession of the Gospel denied the Doctrines of absolute Pradesti-Prædestination and Original Sin. They were Men of ftrict and holy Lives, but warm for their Opinions, and unquiet in their Behaviour. Mr. Bradford had frequent Conferences with them, and gained over tome to his own Perswasion. The Names of their Teachers were Harry Hart, Trew, and Abingdon; they ran their Notions as high as the modern Arminians, or as Pelagius himself, despising Learning, and utterly rejecting the Authorities of the Fathers. Bradford was apprehensive that they would do a great deal of Mischief in the Church, and therefore in concert with Bishop Ferrar, Taylor and Phil-

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pot,

2. Mary, pot, he writ to Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, at Oxford, to take some Cognizance of the Matter, and confult together about remedying it. Upon this Occasion Ridley writ back a Letter of God's Election and Prædestination, and Bradford writ another upon the fame Subject. But the Free-Willers treated him rudely; "They told him, he was a great Slander to the "Word of God in respect of his Doctrine, because " he believed and affirmed the Salvation of God's "People to be fo certain, that they should affured-" ly enjoy the fame. They faid, it hanged part-1 ly upon our Perseverance to the End, but Brad-" ford faid it hung upon God's Grace in Christ, and " not upon our Perseverance in any Point, otherwise " Grace was no Grace." When this holy Martyr faw he could not convince them, he defired they might pray one for another. I leve you (fays he) my dear Hearts, though you have taken it otherwise without

to my Father and your Father; to my Christ and your Christ; to my Home and your Home.

Mr. Careless, another eminent Martyr, had much Conference with these Men in the King's Bench Prison, of whose Contentiousness he complained in a Letter to Philpot. In answer to which Philpot writes, That he was sorry to hear of the Contentions that these Schismaticks raised, but that he should not cease to do his Endeavours in Defence of the Truth, against these arrogant, self-willed, and blinded Scatterers: That these Sects were necessary for the Trial of our Faith. He advises Mr. Careless to be modest and humble, that others seeing his grave Conversation among those contentious Bablers might glorify God in the Truth. He then beseeches the Brethren in the Bowels of Christ, to keep the Bond of Peace, and not to let any Root of Bitterness spring up among them.

cause: I am going before you to my God and your God;

But this Contention could not be laid afleep for some Time, notwithstanding their common Sufferings for the Cause of Religion. They writ one against another in Prison, and dispersed their Writings abroad in the

World.

World. Mr. Careless writ a Confession of his Faith; one 9. Mary, rticle of which was for Prædestination, and against ree-Will. This Confession he sent to the Protestant risoners in Newgate, whereunto they generally subribed, and particularly twelve that were under Senence of Condemnation to be burnt. Hart having ot a Copy of Careless's Confession, writ his own in pposition to it on the back-side; and would have erswaded the Prisoners in Newgate to subscribe it, ut could not prevail. I don't find any of these Free-Villers at the Stake; or if any of them suffered, they nade no mention of their diftinguishing Opinions then they came to die. But these unhappy Divisions mong Men that were under the Cross, gave great Advantage to the Papifts, who took Occasion from ence to fcoff at the Professors of the Gospel, as disgreeing among themselves. They blazed abroad heir Infirmities, and faid, They were suffering for they new not what. Dr. Martin, a great Papilt, expoled heir Weaknesses; but when Martin came to visit he Prisoners, Careless took the Opportunity to proeft openly against Hart's Doctrines, saying, He had keived many simple Souls with his Pelagian Opinions.

Besides these Free-Willers, it seems there were some Arians. we in Prison for the Gospel that were Arians, and inbelieved the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of hem lay in the King's Bench, and raised such untemly and quarrelsome Disputes, that the Markal was forced to separate the Prisoners from one another; and in the Year 1556. the Noise of their Con-Los Cran. entions reached the Ears of the Council, who sent Dr. p. 232. Martin to the King's Bench to examine into the Af-

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I mention these Disputes, to shew the Frailty and Corruption of human Nature, even under the Cross, and to point the Reader to the first Beginnings of those Debates which afterwards occasioned unspeakable dischiefs to the Church; for though the Pelagian Doctrine was espoused but by a very sew of the English

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2. Mary, Reformers, and was buried in that Prison where i began for almost 50 Years, it revived in the latte End of Queen Elizabeth, under the Name of Armi nianism, and within the Compass of a few Years sup planted the received Doctrine of the Reformation. Many of the Clergy that were zealous Professor

of the Gospel under King Edward VI. through fee

Some recant.

of Death recanted and subscribed; some out of Weakness, who as foon as they were out of Danger, revoked their Subscriptions, and openly confesse their Fall: Of this Sort were Scory and Barlow B shops, the famous Mr. Jewel and others. Among the common People some went to Mass to preserv the r Lives, and yet frequented the Assemblies of the Gospellers, holding it not unlawful to be present with their Bodies at the Service of the Mass, as long L. of Cran. their Spirits did not consent. Bradford and other writ with great Warmth against these Temporizers and advised their Brethren not to trust, or confor They also published a Treatise up on this Argument, entituled, The Mischief and Hur of the Mass; and recommended the reading it to a that had defiled themselves with that idolatrous Ser

Private Congregazions of Protestants vice.

But though many complied with the Times, and fome concealed themselves in Friends Houses, shift ing from one Place to another, others refolved with the Hazard of their Lives to join together and wor ship God, according to the Service Book of King Edward. There were several of these Congregation up and down the Country, which met together i the Night, and in fecret Places, to cover themselve Great Num from the Notice of their Persecutors. bers in Suffolk and Effex constantly frequented the private Affemblies of the Gospellers, and came not a all to the publick Service; but the most consider able Congregation was in and about London. It was formed foon after Queen Mary's Accession, and con fifted of above 200 Members. They had diver Preach ere i

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Preachers, as Mr. Scambler afterwards Bishop of 2 Mary, latte Peterborough, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Rough a Scots Man, Arm who was burnt; Mr. Bernher, and Mr. Bentham who furvived the Perfecution, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign was made Bishop of Lichfellow field and Coventry: Mr. Cuthbert Simpson was Deacon field and Coventry: Mr. Cuthbert Simpson was Deacon of the Church, and kept a Book with the Names of all that belonged to it: They met sometimes about nger, Aldgate, sometimes in Blackfriars, sometimes in these Thames-street, and sometimes on board of Ships, when we like they had a Master for their purpose: Sometimes when assembled in the Villages about London, to continue they assembled in the Villages about London. mong they affembled in the Villages about London, to co- Their sufver themselves from the Bishop's Officers and Spies; ferings. and especially at Islington; but here, by the Treachery of a false Brother, the Congregation was at length discovered and broke up: Mr. Rough their Minister, and Mr. Simpson their Deacon, were apprehended and burnt, with many others. Indeed the whole Church was in the utmost Danger; for whereas Simpson the Deacon used to carry the Book wherein the Names of the Congregation were contained, to their private Assemblies, he happen'd that Day, through the good Providence of God, to leave it with Mrs. Rough the Minister's Wife. When he was in the Tower the Recorder of London examined him strictly, and because he would neither discover the Book nor the Names, he was put upon the Rack three Times in one Day. He was then fent to Bonner, who faid to the Spectators, "You fee what a per-Clarke's " sonable Man this is; and for his Patience, if he Martyr." " was not an Heretick, I should much commend P. 497. " him, for he has been thrice rack'd in one Day, " and in my House has endured some Sorrow, and " yet I never faw his Patience moved." But notwithstanding this, Bonner condemned him, and ordered him first into the Stocks in his Coal-House, and from thence to Smithfield, where with Mr. Fox and Davenish, two others of the Church taken at Islington, he ended his Life in the Flames.

Chap. III

2. Mary, 1556.

Many go into a voluntary Exile.

Many escaped the Fury of the Persecution, by withdrawing from the Storm, and flying into fo reign Countries. Some went into France and Flanders, some to Geneva, and others into those Parts of Germany and Switzerland where the Reformation had taken place; as Basil, Francfort, Embden, Strasburgh Doesburgh, Arrow, and Zurich, where the Magi. strates received them with great Humanity, and allowed them Places for publick Worship. But the Uncharitableness of the Lutherans on this Occasion was very remarkable; they hated the Exiles because they were Sacramentarians, and when any Eng. lish came among them for Shelter, they expelled them their Cities; fo that they found little Hospitality in Saxony and other Places of Germany where Lutheranism was professed. Philip MelanEthon interceded with the Senate on their behalf, but the Clergy were fo zealous for their Consubstantiation, that they irritated the Magistrates every where against them. The Number of the Refugees are computed at above 800; the most considerable of whom have been mentioned, as the Bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Exeter, and Osfory; the Deans of Christ Church, Exeter, Durham, Wells, and Chichester; the Archdeacons of Canterbury, Stow, and Lincoln; with

P. 354. of Distinction were the Dutchess of Suffolk with her Husband, Sir Tho. Wroth, Sir Rich. Morison, Sir Anthews Cook, Sir The Charles and the Sir

thony Cook, Sir John Cheeke, and others.

The Exiles were most numerous at Frankfort, Rise of the where that Contest and Division began which gave Puritans. rise to the Puritans, and to that Separation from the Church of England which continues to this Day. It will therefore be necessary to trace it from its Original. On the 27th of June 1554. Mr. Whittingham, Williams, Sutton and Wood, with their Families and Friends, came to settle at the City of Frankfort; and upon Application to the Magistrates were admitted to a Partnership in the French Church

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or a Place of Worship; the two Congregations be- 2. Mary, ng to meet at different Hours, as they should agree mong themselves, but with this Proviso, That before bey enter'd they should subscribe the French Confession of Faith, and not quarrel about Ceremonies, to which Their Manthe English agreed; and after Consultation among ner of Worthemselves they concluded, by universal Consent of all present, not to answer aloud after the Minister, nor to use the Litany and Surplice; but that the publick Service should begin with a general Confession of Sins, then the People to fing a Pfalm in Metre in a plain Tune, after which the Minister to pray for the Affistance of God's Holy Spirit, and so proceed to the Sermon; after Sermon, a general Prayer for all Estates, and particularly for England, at the End of which was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a Rehearfal of the Articles of Belief; then the People were to fing another Pfalm, and the Minister to dismiss them with a Bleffing. They took Poffession of their Church July 29th, 1554. and having chosen a Minister and Deacons to serve for the present, they sent to their Brethren that were dispersed, to invite them to come to Francfort, where they might hear God's Word truly preached, the Sacraments rightly minister'd, and Scripture Discipline used, which in their own Country could not be obtained.

The more learned Clergymen, and some younger Hist. of the Divines, settled at Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basil, for Troubles of the Benefit of the Libraries of those Places, and of Francfort, the learned Conversation of the Professors, as well 1575. as in hopes of some little Employment in the way of Printing. The Congregation at Francfort sent Letters to these Places of the 2d of August, 1554. beseeching the English Divines to send some of their Number, whom they might choose, to take the Oversight of them. In their Letter they commend their new Settlement, as nearer the Policy and Order of Scripture than the Service Book of King Edward. The Strasburgh Divines demurring upon the Affair,

the

2. Mary, the Congregation at Francfort fent for Mr. Know from Geneva, Mr. Haddon from Strasburgh, and Mr. Leve from Zurich, whom they elected for their Ministers about Cere- At length the Students of Zurich fent them Word monies and that unless they might be affured, that they would the Service use the same Order of Service concerning Religion Book. as was fet forth by King Edward, they would no come to them, for they were fully determined to ad-To this the Francfort Congre mit and use no other. gation replied, That they would use the Service Box as far as God's Word commanded it; but as for the unprofitable Ceremonies, though fome of them were tolerable, yet being in a strange Country they could not be fuffered to use them; and indeed, they though it better that they should never be practised, "I " any (fay they) think that the not using the Book " in all Points should weaken our godly Fathers and Brethrens Hands, or be a Difgrace to the worthy " Laws of King Edward, let them confider, that " they themselves have upon Consideration and Cir-" cumftances altered many Things in it heretofore; " and if God had not in these wicked Days otherwise determined, would hereafter have altered mores

" and in our case we doubt not but they would have done as we do." So they made use of part of the Book, but omitted the Litany and Responses.

But this not giving Satisfaction, Mr. Chambers and Mr. Grindal came with a Letter from the learned Men of Strasburgh, subscribed with 16 Hands, in which they exhort them in most pressing Language to a sull Conformity. They say they make no question but the Magistrates of Francsort will consent to the Use of the English Service, and therefore they cannot doubt of the Congregation's good Will, and ready Endeavours to reduce their Church to the exact Pattern of King Edward's Book, as far as possible can be obtained; "Should they deviate from it at this Time, they apprehend they should seem to condemn those who were now seal-

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ing it with their Blood, and give Occasion to their 2. Mary, Adversaries to charge them with Inconstancy." he Francfort Congregation in their Letter of Decem-2. reply, that "They had omitted as few Ceremonies as possible, so that there was no danger of their being charged with Inconstancy. They apprehended that the Martyrs in England were not dying in defence of Ceremonies, which they allow may be alter'd; and as for Doctrine there is no difference; therefore if the learned Divines of Strafburgh should come to Francfort with no other Views, but to reduce the Congregation to King Edward's Form, and to establish the popish Ceremonies, they give them to understand, that they had better stay away." This was figned by John Knox, ow come from Geneva, John Bale, John Fox the lartyrologist, and fourteen more.

Things being in this uncertain Posture at Francfort; They aping Edward's Book being used in part, but not peal to holly; and there being no Prospect of an Accom-Calving to a straspurgh, they resoluted the straspurgh, they resoluted the straspurgh to the straspurgh they resoluted the straspurgh to th

or of the Church at Geneva; who having perused the wish Liturgy, took Notice, "That there were many tolerable Weaknesses in it, which because at sirst they could not be amended were to be suffered; but that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ to enterprize farther, and to set up something more filed from Rust, and purer. If Religion (says be) had shourished till this Day in England, many of these Things should have been corrected. But since the Reformation is overthrown, and a Church is to be set up in another Place, where you are at liberty to establish what Order is most for Edification, I cannot tell what they mean, who are so fond of the Leavings of popular Draws." Have this Leavesters.

of popish Dregs." Upon this Letter the Francfort ongregation agreed not to submit to the Strasburgh livines, but to make use of so much of the Service

Book

2. Mary, Book as they had done, till the End of April, 1555 and if any new Contention arose among them in the mean Time, the Matter was to be referr'd to Calvin Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger and Vyret.

Dr. Cox Use of the Service Book.

But upon the 13th of March Dr. Cox, who has reflores the been Tutor to King Edward VI. a Man of an high Spirit; but of great Credit with his Countrymen coming to Francfort with some of his Friends, broke through the Agreement, and interrupted the public Service by answering aloud after the Minister; and the Sunday following one of his Company, without the Confent of the Congregation, ascended the Pulpi and read the whole Litany. Upon this Mr. Knox the Minister taxed the Authors of this Disorder in his Ser mon with a Breach of their Agreement; and further affirmed, That some Things in the Service Book were fuperstitious and impure. The zealous Dr. Cox repro ved him for his Cenforiousness; and being admitted with his Company to vote in the Congregation, go the Majority to forbid Mr. Knox to preach any more But Knox's Friends applied to the Magistrate, who commanded them to unite with the French Church both in Discipline and Ceremonies, according to their fin Mr. Knox Agreement. Dr. Cox and his Friends finding Knox's la to an unchristian Method to get rid of him.

banish'd.

terest among the Magistrates too strong, had recoun Divine some Years before when he was in England had published an English Book, called An Admonition to Christians; in which he had faid, That the Empero was no less an Enemy to Christ than Neto: For which and some other Expressions in the Book, these Gen tlemen accused him of High Treason against the Em peror. The Senate being tender of the Emperor Honour, and not willing to embroil themselves in Controversy of this Nature, defired Mr. Knox, in respectful manner, to depart the City, which he di accordingly, March 25, 1556.

After this Cox's Party being strengthen'd by th Addition of several English Divines from other Places p.II

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fixteen of them (viz.) 3 Doctors of Divinity, and 32 Mary, Batchelors, petitioned the Magistrates for the free Use of King Edward's Service Book, which they were pleased to grant. Thus the old Congregation was broke up by Dr. Cox and his Friends, who now carried all before them. They chose new Church-Officers, taking no Notice of the old ones, and fet up the Service Book of King Edward without Interruption. Knox's Friends would have left the Matter to the Arbitration of Divines, which the others refused, but writ to Mr. Calvin to countenance their Proceedings, which that great Divine could not do; but after a modest Excuse for intermedling in their Affairs, told them, that "In his Opinion they were " too much addicted to the English Ceremonies; nor " could he fee to what purpose it was to burden the " Church with fuch hurtful and offenfive Things, " when there was liberty to have a fimple and more " pure Order. He blamed their Conduct to Mr. " Knox, which he faid, was neither godly nor brother-" ly; and concludes, with befeeching them to prevent "Divisions among themselves." This pacifick Letter having no Effect, the old Congregation left their Countrymen in possession of their Church and departed the City. Mr. Fox the Martyrologist with congregat a few more went to Basil; and the rest to Geneva, tion diwhere they were received with great Humanity, and vides. having a Church appointed them, they chose Mr. Part go to Knox and Goodman their Pastors. Here they set up the Geneva Discipline, which they published in Eng-1/6, under the Title of The Service, Discipline, and form of Common Prayers and Administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva: With a Dedication to their Brethren in England and elsewhere. Dated from Geneva, Feb. 10th, 1556. The Liturgy s too long to be inferted in this Place, but is agreeable to that of the French Churches. In their Dedication they fay, "That their Discipline is limited. " within the Compass of God's Word, which is sufse ficient

9. Mary, " ficient to govern all our Actions. That the di-

1556. " latory Proceedings of the Bishops in reforming " Church Discipline, and removing offensive Cere. monies, is one Cause of the heavy Judgments of God upon the Land. That the late Ser. vice Book of King Edward being now fet aside by Parliament according to Law, it was in no Sense the Established Worship of the Church of England, and consequently they were under no " Obligation to use it, any further than it was confonant to the Word of God. Being therefore at 1 liberty, and in a strange Land, they had set up " fuch an Order as in the Judgment of Mr. Calvin and other learned Divines, was most agreeable to " Scripture, and the best reformed Churches." Their Reasons for laying aside the late Rites and Ceremonies were thefe; "Because being invented by " Men, though upon a good Occasion, yet they had fince been abused to Superstition, and made a " necessary Part of Divine Worship. Thus Hezekiah was commended for breaking in pieces the Brazen Serpent, after it had been erected 800 Years, and the High Places that had been abused to Idolatry were commanded to be destroyed. In the New " Testament, the washing the Disciples Feet, which " was practifed in the Primitive Church, was for " wise Reasons laid aside, as well as their Love-Feasts. Besides, these Rites and Ceremonies have occasioned great Contentions in the Church " in every Age. The Galatian Christians objected to St. Paul, that he did not observe the Jewish Ce-" remonies as the other Apostles did; and yet he " observed them while there was any hopes of gain-" ing over weak Brethren; for this reason he cir-" cumcifed Timothy; but when he perceived that " Men would retain them as necessary Things in " the Church, he called that which before he made " indifferent wicked and impious, faying that "Whosoever was circumcised, Christ could nothing profit 66 bim.

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bim. The like Contentions have been between 9. Mary, the Greek and Latin Church in later Ages. For 1556. which, and other Reasons, they have thought fit to lay afide these human Inventions which have done fo much Mischief; and have contented themselves with that Wisdom that is contained in God's Book; which directs them to preach the Word of God purely; to minister the Sacraments fincerely; and use Prayers and other Orders thereby approved, to the Edification of the Church, and Encrease of God's " Glory."

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The Reader has now feen the first Breach or Remarks, Schism between the English Exiles, on the Account of the Service Book of King Edward; which made way for the Distinction, by which the two Parties were afterwards known, of Puritans and Conformists. Tis evident that Dr. Cox and his Friends were the Aggressors, by breaking in upon the Agreement of the Congregation of Francfort, which was in peace, and had consented to go on in their way of Worship for a limited Time, which Time was not then expired. He artfully ejected Mr. Knox from his Ministry among them, and brought in the Service Book with a high Hand; by which those who had been in Posfession of the Church almost two Years, were obliged to depart the City, and fet up their Worship in another Place. The Doctor and his Friends discovered an ill Spirit in this Affair. They might have used their own Forms without imposing them upon others, and breaking a Congregation to pieces that had fettled upon a different Foundation with the leave of the Government under which they lived. But they infifted, that because the Congregation of Francfort was made up of English Men, they ought to have the Form of an English Church; that many of them had subscribed to the Use of the Service Book; and that the departing from it at this Time was pouring Contempt on the Martyrs who were fealing it with

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2. Mary, their Blood. But the others replied, That the Laws 1557. of their Country relating to the Service Book were repealed; and as for their Subscription, it could not bind them from making nearer Approaches to the Purity and Simplicity of the Christian Worship, especially when there was no established Protestant Church of England, and they were in a strange Country where the Vestments and Ceremonies gave Of fence. Besides, it was allowed on all hands that the Book it felf was imperfect; and it was credibly reported, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had drawn up a Form of Common Prayer much more perfect, but that he could not make it take place, because of the Corruption of the Clergy. As for Discipline, it was out of the Question that it was imperfect, for the Service Book it felf lament the want of it; and therefore they apprehend, that if the Martyrs themselves were in their Circumstances they would practife with the same Latitude, and reform those Imperfections in the English Service Book, which they attempted, but could not obtain in their own Country.

1557. Congregation at Francfort divided a fecond Time.

To return to Dr. Cox's Congregation at Francfor! The Doctor having fettled Mr. Horn in the Pastoral Office in the Room of Mr. Whitehead who refigned, after some Time left the Place. But within fix Months a new Division happen'd among them, occasioned by a private Dispute between Mr. Horn the Minister, and Mr. Ashby, one of the principal Members. Mr. Horn fummoned Albby to appear at the Vestry before the Elders and Officers of the Church; Ashby appealed from them as Parties, to the whole Church, who appointed the Caufe to be brought before them; but Mr. Horn and the Officers protested against it, and chose rather to lay down their Ministry and Service in the Church, than submit to a popular Decision. The Congregation being affembled on this Occasion gave it as their Opinion, that in all Controversies among themselves, and especially WS

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cially in Cases of Appeals, the dernier Resort should 2. Mary, be in the Church. It is hardly credible what Heats and Divisions, Factions and Parties, these personal Quarrels occasioned among a handful of Strangers, to the Scandal of Religion and their own Reproach with the People among whom they lived. The Magi-At length the Magistrate interposed, and advised strates Adthem to bury all past Offences in Oblivion, and to them. choose new Church Officers in the room of them that had laid down; and fince their Discipline was defective as to the Points of Controversy that had been before them, they commanded them to appoint certain Persons of their Number todraw up a new Form of Their new Discipline, or correct and amend the old one; and to Discipline. do this before they chose their Ecclesiastical Officers, that being all private Persons they might agree upon that which was most reasonable in it self, without respect of Persons or Parties. This Precept was delivered in writing, March 1st, 1557, and figned by Mr. John Glauburge. Hereupon fifteen Persons were appointed to the Work, which after some Time was finished; and having been subscribed by the Church, to the Number of 57, was confirmed by the Magistrate; and on the 21st of December 28 more were added to the Church and subscribed; but Mr. Horn and his Party, to the Number of 12 differted, and appealed to the Magistrates, who had the Patience to hear their Objections, and the others Reply. But Mr. Horn and his Friends not prevailing, left the Congregation to their new Discipline and departed the City; from which Time they continued in Peace till the Death of Queen Mary.

During these Troubles died Dr. Poynet, late Bi. Death of shop of Winchester, born in Kent, and educated in Bp. Poynet. Queen's Coll. Oxon, a very learned and pious Divine, who was in such Favour with King Edward for his practical Preaching, that he preferr'd him first to the Bishoprick of Rochester, and then to Winchester. Up-Fuller's on the Accession of Queen Mary he fled to Strasburgh, Worthies,

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2. Mary, where he died, Aug. 2, 1556. before he was full 40 1557. Years old, and was buried with great Lamentations of his Country Men.

A Vifitation of the Universities.

To return to England; both the Universities were visited this Year. At Cambridge they burnt the Bo. dies of Bucer and Fagius, with their Books and hereical Writings. At Oxford the Visitors went through all the Colleges, and burnt all the English Bibles, and fuch heretical Books as they could find. They took up the Body of Peter Martyr's Wife out of one of the Churches and buried it in a Dunghill, because having been once a Nun, she had broke her Vow; but her Body was afterwards taken up again in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and mixed with the Bones of St. Fridifwide, that they might never more be disturbed by Papists. The Persecution of the Reformed was carried on with all imaginable Fury; and a Defign was fet on foot to introduce the Inquifition, by giving Commissions to certain Laymen to search for Persons suspected of Heresy, and present them to their Ordinaries, as has been related. Cardinal Pool being thought too favourable to Hereticks, because he had released several that were brought before him upon their giving ambiguous Answers, had his Legantine Power taken from him, and was recalled; but upon his Submission he was forgiven, and continued here till his Death, but had little Influence afterwards either in the Courts of Rome or England, being a Clergyman of too much Temper for the Times he lived in.

Prince s ber Sufferings.

Princess ELIZABETH was in constant Danger of Elizabeth, her Life throughout the whole Course of this Reign. Upon the breaking out of Wyat's Conspiracy she was fent to the Tower, and led in by the Traitors Gate; her own Servants being put from her, and no Person allowed to have access to her: The Governor used her hardly, not fuffering her to walk in the Gallery, or upon the Leads. Wyat and his Confederates were examined about her, and some of them put to the Rack; but they all cleared her except Wyat, who once

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once accused her, in hopes to save his Life, but de- 2. Mary, clared upon the Scaffold to all the People, that he only did it with that View. After some Time she was fent to Woodstock in Custody of Sir Henry Benefield, who used her so ill, that she apprehended they defigned to put her privately to Death. Here she was under close Confinement, being seldom allowed to walk in the Gardens. The politick Bishop Gardiner often moved the Queen to think of putting her out of the Way, faying, It was to no purpose to lop off the Branches while the Tree was left standing. But King Philip was her Friend; who fent for her to Court, where she fell upon her Knees before the Queen, and protefted her Innocence, as to all Conspiracies and Treasons against her Majesty; but the Queen still hated her: However after that, her Guards were discharged, and she was suffered to retire into the Country, where she gave her felf wholly to study, medling in no Sort of Business, for she was always apprehensive of Spies about her. The Princess complied outwardly with her Sifter's Religion, avoiding as much as fhe could all Discourses with the Bishops, who suspected her of an Inclination to Heresy from her Education. The Queen her felf was apprehenfive of the Danger of the popish Religion if she died without Iffue; and was often urged by her Clergy, especially when her Health was visibly declining, to fecure the Roman Catholick Religion, by delivering the Kingdom from fuch a prefumptive Heir. Majesty had no scruple of Conscience about spilling human Blood in the Cause of Religion; the Preservation of the Princess was therefore little less than a Miracle of Divine Providence, and was owing under God, to the Protection of King Philip, who despairing of Issue from his Queen, was not without Expectations from the Princels.

But the Hand of God was against Queen Mary and Calamities her Government, which was hardly attended with of the Natione prosperous Event; for instead of having Issue by tion.

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2. Mary, her Marriage, she had only a false Conception, so 1558. that there was little or no hopes afterwards of a Child, This encreased the Sowerness of her Temper; and her Husband being much younger than she, grew weary of her, flighted her Company, and then left her to look to his hereditary Dominions, after he had lived with her about 15 Months. There being a War between Spain and France, the Queen was obliged to take part with her Husband; this exhausted the Treasure of the Nation, and was the Occasion of the Loss of all the English Dominions upon the Continent. In the beginning of this Year the strong Town of Calais was taken, after it had been in the Possession of the English 210 Years: Afterwards the French took Guines, and the rest of that Territory; nothing being left but the Mes of Fersey and Guernsey. The English (fays a learned Writer) had loft their Hearts; the Government at home being fo unacceptable that they were not much concerned to support it, for they began to think Heaven it felf was against it.

Bif. Ref. Vol. II. p. 366.

Indeed there were strange and unufual Accidents in the Heavens. Great Mischief was done in many Places by Thunder and Lightnings; by Deluges; by excessive Rains; and by stormy Winds. There was a contagious Distemper like the Plague, that swept away great Numbers of People; fo that in many Places there were not Priests to bury the Dead, nor Men enough to reap the Harvest. Many Bishops died, which made way for Protestant ones in the next Reign. The Parliament was diffatisfied with King Philip's Demands of Men and Money for the Recovery of Calais; and the Queen her felf grew melancholy upon the Loss of that Place and the other Misfortunes of the Year. She had been declining in Health ever fince her pretended Miscarriage, which was vaftly encreased by the Absence of her Husband, her despair of Issue, and the cross Accidents that attended her Government, Her Spirits were now decayed, and a Dropfy coming violently upon her put

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an End to her unhappy Life and Reign, Nov. 17, 2, Mary, 1558. in the 43d Year of her Age, and 6th of her 1558. Reign; Cardinal Pool Archbishop of Canterbury dy-2. Mary's ing the same Day.

Death

Queen Mary was a Princess of severe Principles, and Chaconstant at her Prayers, and very little given to Di-rafter. versions. She did not mind any of her Affairs so much as the Church, being entirely at the Disposal of her Clergy, and forward to give a Sanction to all their Cruelties. She had deep Resentments of her own ill Usage in her Father's and Brother's Times. which eafily induced her to take Revenge, though the coloured it over with a Zeal against Herefy. She was perfectly blind in Matters of Religion, her Conscience being absolutely directed by the Pope and her Confessor, who encouraged her in all the Cruelties that were exercised against the Protestants, assuring her, that she was doing God and his Church good Service. There is but one Instance of a Pardon of any condemned for Herefy in her whole Reign. Her natural Temper was melancholy; and her Infirmities together with the Misfortunes of her Government, made her so peevish, that her Death was lamented by none but her popish Clergy. Her Reign was in every respect calamitous to the Nation, and ought to be transmitted down to Posterity in Characters of Blood.



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## CHAP. IV.

From the beginning of Queen ELIZABETH Reign, to the Separation of the Protestant Non-Conformifts.

UEEN Elizabeth's Accession to the Crown

Elizabeth, 1558. State of

gave new Life to the Reformation: As foon as it was known beyond Sea most of the Exiles returned home; and those who had hid themselves in the Nation. the Houses of their Friends began to appear; but the publick Religion continued for a Time in the fame Posture the Queen found it: The popish Priest kept their Livings and went on in celebrating their Mass. None of the Protestant Clergy that had been ejected in the last Reign were restored; but Orden were given against all Innovations without publick Authority. Though the Queen had complied with all the Changes in her Sifter's Reign, it was well known she was a Favourer of the Reformation; but her Majesty proceeded with great Caution, for fear of raising Disturbances in her infant Government No Prince ever came to the Crown under greater Disadvantages. The Pope had pronounced her illegitimate; upon which the Queen of Scots put in her Claim to the Crown. All the Bishops and Clergy of the present Establishment were her Enemies. The Nation was at War with France, and the Treasury exhausted; the Queen therefore by the Advice of her Privy Council, refolved to make Peace with her Neighbours as foon as possible, that she might be more at leifure to proceed in her intended Alterations of Religion, which though very confiderable, were not so entire as the best and most learned Protestants of these Times desired. The Queen had the Spirit of her Father, and affected a great deal of Magnificence in her Devotions, as well as in her Court Court. She was fond of many of the old Rites and Ceremonies in which she had been educated. She Elizabeth, thought her Brother had stript Religion too much of its Ornaments; and made the Doctrines of the Church too narrow in some Points. It was therefore with difficulty that she was prevailed with to go the

length of King Edward's Reformation.

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The only Thing her Majesty did before the Meet-Preaching ing of the Parliament, was to prevent Pulpit Disputes; forbid. for some of the Reformed that had been Preachers in King Edward's Time, began to make use of his Service Book without Authority or Licence from their Superiors; this alarm'd the popish Clergy and gave Occasion to a Proclamation, dated Dec. 27. by which all Preaching of Ministers, or others, was prohibited; and the People were charged to hear no other Doctrine or Preaching, but the Epifile and Gospel for the Day, and the ten Commandments in English, without any Exposition or Paraphrase whatsoever. The Proclamation admits of the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed in English; but no publick Prayers were to be read in the Church but fuch as were appointed by Law, till the Meeting of the Parliament which was to be upon the 23d of January.

While the Exiles were preparing to return home, Return of conciliatory Letters past between them: Those of the Exiles-Geneva defired a mutual Forgiveness, and prayed their Brethren of Arrow, Basil, Francfort, Strasburgh, and Worms, to unite with them in preaching God's Word, and in endeavouring to obtain such a Form of Worship as they had seen practised in the best Reformed Churches. The others replied, that it would not be in their Power to appoint what Ceremonies should be observed; but they were determined to submit in Things indifferent, and hoped those of Geneva would do so too; however, they would join with them in petitioning the Queen, that nothing burdensome might be imposed. Both

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Parties congratulated her Majesty's Accession, in Queen Elizabeth, Poems, Addresses, and Dedications of Books; but they were reduced to the utmost Poverty and Diftress. They came Thread-bare home, bringing nothing with them (fays Mr. Strype) but much Ex. perience, as well as Learning. Those that could comply with the Queen's Establishment were quickly preferr'd, but the rest were neglected, and after fome Time suspended, deprived, and reduced to as

great Poverty as before.

vines about mation.

It had been happy, if their Sufferings had taught foreign Di- them a little more Charity and mutual Forbearance; the Refor- or that they had followed the Advice of their learned Friends and Patrons beyond Sea, who advised them to go through with the Reformation, and clear the Church of all the Relicks of Popery and Superstition at once. This was the Advice of GUALTER, one of the chief Divines of Zurich, who in his Letter to Dr. Masters, the Queen's Physician, Jan. 16, 1519. wishes, " That the Reformers among us would not 66 hearken to the Counfels of those Men, who when "they faw that Popery could not be honeftly de-" fended, nor entirely retained, would use all Arti-" fices to have the outward Face of Religion to re-" main mixed, uncertain and doubtful; fo that while " an evangelical Reformation is pretended, those " Things should be obtruded on the Church which " will make the returning back to Popery, Super-" stition and Idolatry very easy. --- We have " had the Experience of this ( fays be ) for some "Years in Germany, and know what Influence fuch " Persons may have: Their Counsels seem to a " carnal Judgment, to be full of Modesty, and well " fitted for carrying on an universal Agreement; " and we may well believe the common Enemy of " our Salvation will find out proper Instruments, by whose means the Seeds of Popery may still remain " among you. - I apprehend, that in the first beginnings, while Men may study to avoid the " giving

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"giving some small Offence, many Things may be Queen " fuffered under this Colour, that they will be conti- Elizabeth, " nued but for a little while, and yet afterwards it will " scarce be possible by all the Endeavours that Hift. Ref. " can be used to get them removed, at least not Vol. III. " without great struglings." The Letter seems P. 273. to be writ with a prophetick Spirit; MASTERS laid it before the Queen, who read it all over, but without effect. Letters of the same Strain were writ by the learned Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Weidner, to the Earl of Bedford, who had been some Time at Zurich; and to Jewel, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Grindal, and the rest of the late Exiles, pressing them vehemently to act with Zeal and Courage, and to take care in the first Beginnings to have all Things settled upon fure and found Foundations.

The Exiles in their Answers seem resolved to fol-Resolution low their Advices, and make a bold Stand for a tho-of the rough Resormation; and if they had done so, they might have obtained it. Jewel in his Letter of May 22, thanks Bullinger for quickening their Zeal and Courage; and adds, "They were doing what they could; and that all Things were coming into a better State." In another of April 10. "He laments the want of Zeal and Industry in promoting the Resormation; and that Things were managed in so show and cautious a Manner, as if the Word of God was not to be received on his own Authority." In another of Nov. 16. "He complains of the Queen's keeping a Crucifix in her Chapel, with lighted Candles; that there was worldly Po-

"licy in this, which he did not like: That all Ibid.

"Things were so loose and uncertain with them, p. 289.

"that he did not know whether he should not be

"obliged to return back to Zurich. He complains

"of the popish Vestments, which he calls the Re
"licks of the Amorites, and wishes they were extir-

"pated to the deepest Roots." The like Complaints were made by Cox, Grindal, Horn, Pilkington,

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and others; but they had no Courage: For had they Elizabeth, united Counsels and stood by one another, they might at this Juncture have obtained the removal of those Grievances which afterwards occasioned the Separation.

Proceedings of Parliament.

To return to the Parliament. The Court took fuch Measures about Elections as seldom fail of Success; the Magistrates of the Counties and Corporations were changed, and the People who were weary of the late Persecutions were affifted, and encouraged to exert themselves in favour of such Representatives as might make them easy; so that when the Houses met, the Majority were on the Side of the Re. formation. The Temper of the House was first tried by a Bill to restore to the Crown the First Fruits and Tenths, which Queen Mary had returned to the Church. It paffed the Commons without much Opposition, Feb. 4th. but in the House of Lords all the Bishops voted against it. By another Act they repealed some of the penal Laws, and enacted, That no Person should be punished for exercising the Religion used in the last Year of King Edward. They appointed the publick Service to be performed in the vulgar Tongue. They empowered the Queen to nominate Bishops to the vacant Bishopricks by Conge d' Elire, as at present. They suppressed the Religious Houses founded by Queen Mary, and annexed them to the Crown; but the two principal Acts passed this Session were the Acts of SUPRE-MACY, and of UNIFORMITY OF COMMON PRAYER.

Strype, p. 67.

The Act of Supremacy.

The former is entitled, An AEt for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual; and for abolishing foreign Power. It is the same for Substance with the 25th of Henry VIII. already mentioned, but the Commons incorporated feveral other Bills into it; for besides the Title of supreme Governor in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal which is restored to the Queen, the Act revives those Laws

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aws of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. hich had been repealed in the late Reign. It for-Elizabeth; ids all Appeals to Rome, and exonerates the Subets from all Exactions and Impositions heretofore aid to that Court; and as it revives King Edward's aws, it repeals a fevere Act made in the late Reign or punishing Herefy; and three other old Statutes nentioned in the faid Act. " Moreover, all Persons in any publick Employs, whether Civil or Ecclefastical, are obliged to take an Oath in Recognition of the Queen's Right to the Crown, and of her Supremacy in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, on penalty of forfeiting all their Promotions in the Church, and of being declared incapable of holding any publick Office." In short, by this finele Act of the Supremacy, all that had been done by Oueen Mary was in a manner vacated, and the exteral Policy of the Church was put upon the fame foot s it flood at the Death of King Edward VI.

Further, " The Act forbids all writing, printing, " teaching, or preaching, and all other Deeds or " Acts whereby any foreign Jurisdiction over these "Realms is defended, upon pain that they and " their Abettors being thereof convicted, shall for " the first Offence forfeit their Goods and Chattles; " and if they are not worth 20 Pounds, fuffer a Year's "Imprisonment; Spiritual Persons shall lose their " Benefices, and all Ecclefiastical Preferments; for " the second Offence they shall incur the Penalties " of a Præmunire; and the third Offence shall be

" deemed High Treason."

There is a remarkable Clause in this Act, which Original of gave Rise to a new Court, called the Court of the Court HIGH COMMISSION. The Words are these, Commission "The Queen and her Successors shall have Power, on. " by their Letters Patents under the Great Seal, Strype, " to affign, name, and authorize, as often as they p. 69.

" shall think meet, and for as long Time as they " shall please, Persons being natural born Subjects,

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Queen "to use, occupy, and exercise under her and them, Elizabeth, all manner of Jurisdiction, Privileges, and President all manner of Jurisdiction, Privileges, and President aftical Jurisdiction within the Realms of England p. 236. "and Ireland, &c. to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all Errors, Heresse, Cohisms, Abuses, Contempts, Offences and Enormities whatsoever. Provided, that they have no Power to determine any Thing to be Heresy, but

" Power to determine any Thing to be Herefy, but what has been adjudged to be so by the Authority of the Canonical Scripture, or by the first four general

"Councils, or any of them; or by any other general Council, wherein the same was declared Heresy by the express and plain Words of Canonical Scripture; or

" fuch as shall hereafter be declared to be Heresy by
the High Court of Parliament, with the Assent

" of the Clergy in Convocation."

Remarks.

Upon the Authority of this Clause the Queen appointed a certain Number of Commissioners for Ecclefiaftical Causes, who exercised the same Power that had been in the Hands of one Vicegerent in the Reign of King Henry VIII. and how fadly they abused their Power in this and the two next Reigns will appear in the fequel of this History. They did not trouble themselves much with the express Words of Scripture, or the four first general Councils, but entangled their Prisoners with Oaths ex Officio, and the inextricable Mazes of the popish Canon Law; and though in all Ecclefiastical Courts there is, and ought to be a Prohibition or Appeal to the Courts at Westminster, this Privilege was feldom allowed by the Commissioners. The Act makes no mention of an arbitrary Jurisdiction of fining, imprisoning, or inflicting corpora Punishments on the Subjects, and therefore can be construed to extend no further than to Suspension of Deprivation; and in all criminal Cases must refer to the Laws of the Land; but notwithstanding this these Commissioners sported themselves in all the wanton Acts of Tyranny and Oppression, till their very

very Name became odious to the whole Nation; infomuch that their Proceedings were condemned by the Elizabeth, united Voice of the People, and the Court diffolved by Act of Parliament, with a Claufe, that No fuch Jurifdition should be revived for the future in any Court what-

foever.

obeyed by all bis Subjects.

all

Bishop Burnet says, that the Supremacy granted Hist. Ref. by this Act is short of the Authority that King Vol. II. Henry had; nor is it the whole that the Queen p. 386. claimed, who fometimes stretch'd her Prerogative beyond it. But fince it was the Basis of the Reformation, and the Spring of all its future Movements, it will be proper to enquire what Powers were thought to be yielded the Crown by this Ast of Supremacy, and some others made in support of it. King Henry VIII. in his Letter to the Convocation of Powers York affures them, that He claimed nothing more by vefted in the SUPREMACY, than what Christian Princes in the by the ASE Primitive Times assumed to themselves in their own Do- of suprethe first Christian Emperors und ...

the first Christian Emperors und ...

Henry did, who by the Act of the 31st of his Reign, was made absolute Lord over the Consciences of his similar than the first control of t minions. But it is capable of Demonstration, that macy.

'Tis very certain, that the Kings and Queens of England never pretended to the Character of Spiritual Persons, or to discharge any part of the Ecclesiastical Function in their own Persons; they neither preached or administer'd the Sacraments, or Censures of the Church; nor did they ever consecrate to the Episcopal Office, though the Right of Nomination is in them: These Things were done by Spiritual Persons, but by proper Officers in the Spiritual Courts, dering their Powers from the Crown. When the Adtraction of the Supremoder of the etfaries of the Supremacy objected the Abfurdity la Lay Persons being Head of a Spiritual Body, the

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Dueen 1558.

Elizabeth, claring in her Injunctions to her Visitors, "That she " did not, nor would the ever challenge Authority

" and Power to minister Divine Service in the Church; nor would the ever challenge any other

" Authority, than her Predecessors King Henry

" VIII. and Edward VI. ufed."

But abating this Point, it appears very probable, that all the Jurisdiction and Authority claimed by the Pope as Head of the Church in the Times preceding the Reformation, was transferr'd to the King by the Act of Supremacy and annexed to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, as far as was consistent with the Laws of the Land then in being, though fince it Eccles. Pol. has undergone some Abatements. The Words of

B. VIII. 6.8.

the learned Mr. Hooker are very express: "If the " whole Ecclefiaftical State should stand in need of 46 being vifited and reformed: Or when any part

of the Church is infested with Errors, Schisms, " Herefies, &c. whatsoever Spiritual Powers the

" Legates had from the See of Rome, and exercise

" in Right of the Pope for remedying of Evils without violating the Laws of God or Nature; a

" much in every Degree have our Laws fully grant

" ed to the King for ever, whether he thinks fit to do it by Ecclefiaftical Synods, or otherwise ac

" cording to Law."

The Truth of this Remark will appear, by con fidering the Powers claimed by the Crown in this and

the following Reigns.

With Regard to Doctrine.

1. The Kings and Queens of England claimed Author rity in Matters of Faith, and to be the ultimate Judges what is agreeable or repugnant to the Word of God. The Act of Supremacy fays expresly, " That the Kin " has Power to redress and amend all Errors and He

" refies; he might enjoin what Doctrines he would

" to be preached, not repugnant to the Laws of the " Land: And if any should preach contrary, he wa

" for the third Offence to be judged an Heretick an

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" fuffer Death; his Majesty claimed a Right to for-" bid all Preaching for a Time, as King Henry VIII. Elizabeth " King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Elizabeth did; " or to limit the Clergy's Preaching to certain of the "Thirty nine Articles established by Law, "King Charles I. did." All the forementioned Kings and Queens published Instructions or Injunctions concerning Matters of Faith, without Confent of the Clergy in Convocation affembled; and enforced them upon the Clergy under the Penalties of a Pramunire; which made it a little difficult to understand that Clause of the 20th Article of the Church, which fays, the Church bas Authority in Matters of Faith.

2. With regard to Discipline the Kings of England Discipline. feem to have had the Keys at their Girdle; for tho' the old Canon Law be in force, as far as is confiftent with the Laws of the Land, and the Prerogative of the Crown, yet the King is the supreme and ultimate Judge in the Spiritual Courts by his Delegates. His Majesty might appoint a single Person of the Laity to be his Vicar General in all Caufes Ecclefiaftical to reform what was amis, as King Henry VIII. and Charles I. did, which very much refembled the Pope's Legate in the Times before the Reformation. By Authority of Parliament the Crown was empowered to appoint 32 Commissioners, some of the Laity, and some of the Clergy, to reform the Canons or Ecclefiaftical Laws; and though the Defign was not executed, the Power was certainly in the King, who might have ratified the new Canons, and given them the Force of a Law, without Confent of the Clergy in Convocation, or of the Parliament; and therefore at the Coronation of King Charles I. the Bishop was directed to pray, "That " God would give the King Peter's Key of Discipline, " and Paul's Dostrine."

3. As to Rites and Ceremonies the Act of Unifor-Ceremonies mity fays expresly, "That the Queen's Majesty, I Eliz. " by Advice of her Ecclefiastical Commissioners, or cap. 1,

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" of her Metropolitan, may ordain and publish such Elizabeth, " Ceremonies or Rites, as may be most for the Ad-" vancement of God's Glory, and the Edifying of " the Church." Accordingly her Majesty published her Injunctions, without fending them into Convocation or Parliament, and erected a Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, consisting of Commissioners of her own Nomination to see them put in Execution. Nay, fo jealous was Queen Elizabeth of this Branch of her Prerogative that she would not fuffer her high Court of Parliament to pass any Bill for the Amendment or Alteration of the Ceremonies of the Church, it being (as fhe faid) an Invasion of her Prerogative.

Nomination of Bi-Cops.

4. The Kings of England claimed the fole Power of the Nomination of Bishops; and the DEANS and CHAP-TERS were obliged to choose those whom their Majesties named, under Penalty of a Præmunire; and after they were chosen and consecrated, they might not att but by Commission from the Crown. They held their very Bishopricks for some Time durante beneplacito; and by the Statute of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. chap. 1. it was enacted, "That Archbishops and Bi-" shops shall punish by Censures of the Church all " Persons that offend, &c." Which plainly implies, that without fuch a Licence or Authority they might not do it.

5. No Convocations or Synods of the Clergy can affemble Convocatibut by a Writ or Precept from the Crown; and when af-Stat 25 H. sembled, they can do no Business without the King's Letters Patents, appointing them the particular Subjects they are Pramun. to debate upon; and after all, their Canons are of no force without the Royal Sanction.

Upon the whole it is evident, by the expres 37 Hen. 8. cap. 17. Words of several Statutes, That all Jurisdiction Ec-Eliz.c. r. clefiaftical as well as Civil, was given to the King, and taken away from the Bishops except by Delegation from him. The King was chief in the Determination of all Causes in the Church; he had Autho-

rity

rity to make Laws, Ceremonies and Constitutions, Queen and without him no fuch Laws, Ceremonies or Con-Elizabeth, 1558. stitutions, are or ought to be of force. And, Lastly, All Appeals which before were made to Rome, are for ever hereafter to be made to his Majesty's Chancery, to be ended and determined, as the manner

now is, by Delegates.

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I am fenfible, that the Conftitution of the Church has been altered in some Things since that Time: But let the Reader judge, by what has been recited from Acts of Parliament, of the high Powers that were then intrusted with the Crown; and how far they were agreeable with the natural or religious Rights of Mankind. The whole Body of the Papifts refused the Oath of Supremacy, as inconsistent with their Allegiance to the Pope; but the Puritans took it under all these Disadvantages, with the Queen's Explication in her Injunctions; that is, that no more was intended, than That ber Majesty, under God, had the Sentiments Sovereignty and Rule over all Persons born in ber Realms, of the Pueither Ecclesiastical or Temporal, so as no foreign Power had, or ought to have Authority over them. They apprehended this to be the natural Right of all Sovereign Princes in their Dominions, though there had been no Statute Law for it; but as they did not admit the Government of the Church to be Monarchical, they were of Opinion, that no fingle Person, whether Layman or Ecclefiastick, ought to assume the Title of supreme Head of the Church on Earth, in the Sense of the Acts abovementioned. This appears from the Writings of the famous Mr. Cartwright, in his Admonition to the Parliament.

"The Christian Sovereign (Jays be) ought not to Admoni-" be called Head under Christ of the particular and vi-tion to " sible Churches within his Dominions: 'Tis a Title not ment,

" fit for any mortal Man; for when the Apostle says Lib. II. " that Christ is xepann, the Head, it is as much as if p. 4, 11.

" he had faid, Christ and no other is Head of the " Church, No civil Magistrate in Councils or Assem-

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Queen 1558.

" blies for Church Matters, can either be chief Mo. Eliz beth, " derator, Over-ruler, Judge, or Determiner; nor " has he fuch Authority as that without his Confent, " it should not be lawful for Ecclesiastical Persons " to make any Church Orders or Ceremonies. \_\_\_\_ Church Matters ought ordinarily to be handled by " Church Officers. — The principal Direction of " them, is by God's Ordinance, committed to the " Ministers of the Church, and to the Ecclesiastical Governors: As these medle not with the making " Civil Laws, fo the Civil Magistrate ought not to ordain Ceremonies, or determine Controversies in the Church, as long as they do not intrench upon " his temporal Authority. - Nevertheless, our meaning is not to seclude the Magistrate from our Church Affemblies: He may call a Council " of his Clergy, and appoint both Time and Place; " he may be there by himself or his Deputy, but not as Moderator, Determiner or Judge; he may " have his Voice in the Assembly, but the Orders " and Decrees of Councils are not made by his Au-" thority; for in ancient Times the Canons of the "Councils were not called the Decrees of the Empe-" rors but of the Bishops. - 'Tis the Prince's " Province to protect and defend the Councils of his " Clergy, to keep the Peace, to fee their Decrees " executed, and to punish the Contemners of them, " but to exercise no spiritual Jurisdiction.".

We shall meet with a fuller Declaration of the Puritans upon this Head hereafter; in the mean Time it may be observed, that the just Boundaries of the Civil and Ecclefiaftical Powers were not well

understood and stated in this Age.

Remarks.

The Powers of the Civil Magistrate seem chiefly to regard the Civil Welfare of his Subjects: He is to protect them in their Properties, and in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Civil and Religious Rights; but there is no Passage in the New Testament that gives him a Commission to be Lord of the ConsciS

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ences of his Subjects, or to have Dominion over Queen their Faith. Nor is this agreeable to Reafon, for Elizabeth, Religion ought to be the Effect of a free and Why must we believe as deliberate Choice. the King believes, any more than as the Church or Pope? If every Man could believe as he would; or if all Men's Understandings were exactly of a Size; or if God would accept of a meer outward Devotion when commanded by Law, then it would be reasonable there should be but one Religion, and one uniform Manner of Worhip: But to make Ecclefiaftical Laws, obliging Mens Practice under severe Penalties, without or against the Light of their Consciences, looks like an Invasion of the kingly Office of Christ, and must be subversive of all Sincerity and Virtue.

On the other hand, the Jurisdiction of the Church is purely spiritual. No Man ought to be compelled by Rewards or Punishments to become a Member of any Christian Society, or to continue of it any longer than he apprehends it to be his Duty. All the Ordinances of the Church are spiritual, and so are her Weapons and Cenfures, The Weapons of the Church are Scripture and Reason, accompanied with Prayers and Tears. These are her Pillars and the Walls of her Defence, The Cenfures of the Church are Admonitions, Reproofs, or Declarations of Perions Unfitness for her Communion, commonly called Excommunications, which are of a spiritual Nature, and ought not to affect Men's Lives, Liberties or Estates. No Man ought to be cut off from the Rights and Privileges of a Subject, meerly because he is disqualified for Christian Communion. Nor has any Church upon Earth Authority from Christ to inflict corporal Punishments upon those whom she may justly expel her Society: These are the Weapons of Civil Magistrates, who may punish the Breakers of the Laws of their Countries, with corpo-K 4

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Queen ral Pains and Penalties, as Guardians of the Civil Elizabeth, Rights-of their Subjects; but Christ's Kingdom is not

of this World.

If these Principles had obtained at the Reformation, there would have been no room for the Disturbance of any, whose religious Principles were not inconfistent with the Safety of the Government. and Charity would have prevailed; the Civil Pow. ers would have protected the Church in her spiritual Rights; and the Church, by instructing the People in their Duty to their Superiours, would have fupported the State. But the Reformers, as well Puritans as others, had different Notions. They were for one Religion, one uniform Mode of Worship, one Form of Discipline or Church Government for the whole Nation, with which all must comply outwardly, whatever were their inward Sentiments; it was therefore resolved to have an Act of Parliament to establish an UNIFORMITY of publick Worship, without any Relaxation to tender Consciences: Neither Party had the Wisdom or Courage to oppose fuch a Law, but both endeavoured to be included in it.

Dispute between Papists and Protestants.

1559.

To make way for this, the Papists who were in Possession of the Churches were first to be vanquish'd; the Queen therefore appointed a publick Disputation in Westminster Abbey, before her Privy Council and both Houses of Parliament, March 31st, between nine of the Bishops and the like Number of Protestant Divines, upon these three Points.

1. "Whether it was not against Scripture and the Custom of the ancient Church, to use a Tongue

" unknown to the People in the Common Prayers

" and Sacraments?

2. "Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies, and

66 Ecclefiaftical Rites, so the same were done to

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3. "Whether it could be proved by the Word of **Suceri** "God, that in the Mass there was a propitiatory Elizabeth, 1559.

" Sacrifice for the Dead and Living?"

The Disputation was to be in writing; but the Papilts finding the Populace against them broke it off after the first Day, under pretence that the Catholick Caufe ought not to be fubmitted to fuch an Arbitration, though they had not these Scruples in the Reign of Queen Mary, when the Issue of the Conference was known before-hand. The Bishops of Winchefter and Lincoln faid, The Doctrine of the Catholick Church was already established, and that it was too great an Encouragement to Hereticks, to admit them to discourse against the Faith before an unlearned Multitude. They added, That the Queen had deferved to be excommunicated; and talked of thundering out their Anathema's against the Privy Council, for which they were both fent to the Tower. The Reformed had a great Advantage by their Adversaries quitting the Field in this manner, for it was concluded from hence, that their Cause would not bear the Light, which prepared the People for further Changes.

The Papilts being vanquished, the next Point K. Edw. was to unite the Reformed among themselves, and get Liturgy such an Establishment as might make them all easy; reviewed. for though the Troubles at Francfort were husht, and Letters of Forgiveness had pass'd between the contending Parties; and though all the Reformers were of one Faith, yet they were far from agreeing about Discipline and Ceremonies, each Party being for fettling the Church according to their own Model; some were for the late Service and Discipline of the English at Geneva; others were for the Service Book of King Edward VI. and for withdrawing no farther from the Church of Rome than was necessary to recover Purity of Faith, and the Independency of the Church upon a foreign Power. Rites and Ceremoples were (in their Opinion) indifferent; and those of

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the Church of Rome preferable to others, because they Elizabeth, were venerable and pompous, and because the People , had been used to them: These were the Sentiments of the QUEEN, who therefore appointed a Committee of Divines to review King Edward's Liturgy, and to fee if in any particular it was fit to be changed; their Names were Dr. Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir Tho. Smith, Doctor of the Civil Law. Their Instructions were, to strike out all offensive Passages against the Pope, and to make People easy about the Belief of the Corporal Prefence of Christ in the Sacrament; but not a Word in favour of the stricter Protestants.

> Her Majesty was afraid of Reforming too far; she was defirous to retain Images in Churches, Crucifixes and Croffes, vocal and instrumental Musick, with all the old popish Garments; 'tis not therefore to be wonder'd, that in reviewing the Liturgy of King Edward, no Alterations were made in favour of those who now began to be called PURITANS, from their attempting a purer Form of Worship and Discipline than had yet been established. The Queen was more concerned for the Papists, and therefore, in the Litany this Passage was struck out, From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable Enormities, good Lord deliver us. The Rubrick that declared, that by kneeling at the Sacrament no Adoration was intended to any corporal Presence of Christ, was expunged. The Committee of Divines left it at the People's Liberty to receive the Sacrament kneeling or standing, but the Queen and Parliament restrain'd it to kneeling; so that the enforcing this Ceremony was purely an act of the State. The old Festivals with their Eves, and the popish Habits, were continued, as they were in the 2d Year of King Edward VI. till the Queen should please to take them away; for the Words of the Statute are, They shall be retained till wher Order shall be therein taken by the Authority of the Queen's

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nuthorized under the Great Seal of England for Causes Ec-Elizabeth, desiastical. Some of the Collects were a little altered; 1539 and passed into a Law, being hardly equal to that Ann. p.83. which was set out by King Edward, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth Year of his Reign. For whereas in that Liturgy all the Garments were laid asside but the Surplice, the Queen now returned to King Edward's first Book, wherein Copes and other Garments were ordered to be used.

The Title of the Act is, An Act for the Uniformi- Act of Unily of Common Prayer, and Service in the Church, andformity. Administration of the Sacraments. It was brought into the House of Commons April 18. and was read a third Time April 20. It passed the House of Lords April 28. and took Place from the 24th of June 1559. Heath Archbishop of York made an elegant Speech against it, in which among other Things he observes very justly, That an Act of this Consequence ought to have had the Confent of the Clergy in Convocation before it passed into a Law, " Not only the Orthodox, but even "the Arian Emperors (says be) ordered that Points " of Faith should be examined in Councils; and "Gallio by the Light of Nature knew that a Civil " Judge ought not to meddle with Matters of Reli-"gion." But he was over-ruled, the Act of Supremacy having already vefted this Power in the Crown. This Statute lying open to common View at the beginning of the Common Prayer Book, 'tis not worth while to transcribe it in this Place. I shall only take notice of one Claufe, by which all Ecclefiaftical Jurisdiction was again delivered up to the Crown; "The Queen is hereby empowered with the Advice " of her Commissioners or Metropolitan, to ordain " and publish fuch further Ceremonies and Rires as " may be for the Advancement of God's Glory,

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Elizabeth, "Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments." And

1559. had it not been for this Clause of a Reserve of Power
to make what Alterations her Majesty thought sit,
she told Archbishop Parker, that she would not have
passed the Act.

Remarks.

Upon this fatal Rock of Uniformity in Things meerly indifferent (in the Opinion of the Impofers) was the Peace of the Church of England split. The Pretence was Decency and Order; but it feems a little odd that Uniformity should be so necessary to the decent Worship of God, when in most other Things there is a greater Beauty in Va-'Tis not necessary to a decent Dress that Mens Clothes should be always of the same Colour and Fashion; nor would there be any Indecency or Disorder, if in one Congregation the Sacrament was administred kneeling, in another sitting, and in a third standing; or if in one and the same Congrega. tion the Minister was at liberty to read Prayers in a black Gown or a Surplice, supposing the Garments were indifferent, which the Makers of this Law admitted, tho' the Puritans denied. The rigorous pressing of this Act was the Occasion of all the Mischiefs that befel the Church for above 80 Years. What good End could it answer to press Mens Bodies into the publick Service, without convincing their Minds beforehand? If there must be one established Form of Worship, there should certainly have been an Indulgence for tender Consciences. there was a Difference in the Church of the Romans about eating Flesh, and observing Festivals, the Apostle did not pinch them with an Act of Uniformity, but allowed a Latitude, Rom. xiv. 5. Let not bim that eateth judge bim that eateth not; but let every Man be fully persuaded in his own Mind. - Why dost thou judge thy Brother? or, Why dost thou set at nought thy Brother? For we must all stand before the Judgment Seat

Seat of Christ. Had our Reformers followed this Queen apostolical Direction, the Church of England would Elizabeth, have made a more glorious Figure in the Protestant World, than it did by this compulsive Act of Uniformity.

Sad were the Consequences of these two Laws, both proceedto the Papists and Puritans. The Papists in Convo-ings of
cation made a Stand for the old Religion; and in their Convoca6th Session agreed upon the following Articles, to
be presented to the Parliament for disburdening their

Consciences.

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1. "That in the Sacrament of the Altar the natu-"ral Body of Christ is really present, by virtue of "the Words of Consecration pronounced by the "Priest.

2. "That after the Consecration there remains "not the Substance of Bread and Wine, nor any

" other Substance but God-Man.

3. "That in the Mass the true Body of Christ is offered as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead.

4. "That the supreme Power of seeding and ru"ling the Church is in St. Peter and his Succes-

" fors.

5. "That the Authority of determining Matters of Faith and Discipline belongs only to the Pastors

" of the Church, and not to Laymen."

These Articles or Resolutions were presented to the Lord Keeper by their Prolocutor Dr. Harpsfield, but his Lordship gave them no Answer; nor did the Convocation move any further in Matters of Religion, it being apparent that they were against the Resormation.

As foon as the Sessions was over the Oath of Su-Popis Bipremacy was tender'd to the Bishops, who all resu-sops deprised it, except Dr. Kitchen Bishop of Landaff, to the sed.
Number of sourteen; the rest of the Sees being vacant. Of the deprived Bishops three retired beyond
Sea, (viz.) Dr. Pate Bishop of Worcester, Scot of Che-

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Parker.

ster, and Goldwell of St. Asapb; Heath Archbishop Queen Elizabeth, of York, was suffered to live at his own House, where 1559. the Queen went sometimes to visit him; Tonstal and Thirleby Bishops of Durham and Ely, lived at Lambell in the House of Archbishop Parker with freedom and ease; the rest were suffered to go at large upon their Parole; only Bonner Bishop of London, White of Win. chefter, and Watson of Lincoln, whose Hands had been deeply stained with the Blood of the Protestants in the late Reign, were made close Prisoners; but they had a sufficient Maintenance from the Queen. Mot of the Monks returned to a secular Life; but the Nuns went beyond Sea, as did all others who had

> Some of the Reformed Exiles were offered Bishop ricks, but refused them, on the Account of the Habin and Ceremonies, &c. as Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Bernan Gilpin, old Father Miles Coverdale, Mr. Knox, Mr The. Sampson, and others. Many that accepted, die it with trembling; from the Necessity of the Times and in hopes by their Interest with the Queen to ob tain an Amendment in the Constitution of the Church among these were Grindal, Parkburst, Sandys, Pil

mind to live where they might have the free Exercise

kington, and others.

of their Religion.

any of the old Bishops would conform; but neither Time, nor any Thing else could move them; length after 12 Months, Dr. Matthew Parker was con sion of Abp. secrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, b some of the Bishops that had been deprived in the late Reign, for not one of the present Bishops would be concerned. This, with fome other Accidents gave Rife to the Story of his being confecrated at the Nags-Head-Tavern in Cheapside, a Fable that ha been fufficiently confuted by our Church Historians

The Sees were left vacant for some Time, to see

L. of Par- the Persons concerned in the Consecration were Bar ker, p. 38, low and Scory Bishops elect of Chichester and Hereford 60, 61. Miles Coverdale the deprived Bishop of Exeler, and

Hodgka

Hodgkins Suffragan of Bedford; the two former appeared in their Chimere and Surplice, but the two latter Elizabeth, wore long Gowns open at the Arms, with a falling Cape on the Shoulders; the Ceremony was performed in a plain manner without Gloves or Sandals, Ring or Slippers, Mitre or Pall, or even without any of the Aaronical Garments, only by Imposition of Hands and Prayer. Strange! That the Archbishop should be satisfied with this, and yet be so zealous to impose the popish Garments upon others.

But still it has been doubted, whether Parker's

Confecration was perfectly canonical.

1. Because the Persons concern'd in it had been legally deprived in the late Reign, and were not yet restored. To which it was answered, That having been once consecrated, the Episcopal Character remained, and therefore they might convey it; though Coverdale and Hodgkins never exercised it after this Time.

2. Because the Consecration ought by Law to have been directed according to the Statute of the 25th of Henry VIII. and not according to the Form of King Edward's Ordinal for ordaining and consecrating Bishops, forasmuch as that Book had been set aside in the late Reign, and was not yet

restored by Parliament.

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These Objections being frequently thrown in the way of the new Bishops by the Papists, made them uneasy; they began to doubt of the Validity of their Consecrations, or at least of their legal Title to their Bishopricks. The Affair was at length brought into Parliament, and to silence all suture Clamours Parler's Consecration, and those of his Brethren, were confirmed by the two Houses, about seven Years after they had filled their Chairs.

The Archbishop was installed Dec. 17. 1559. soon after which he consecrated several of his Brethren, whom the Queen had appointed to the vacant Sees,

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as Grindal to the Bishoprick of London, Horn to Win. Jucen Elizabeth, chefter, and Pilkington to Durbam, &c. Thus the Re. formation was restored, and the Church of England fettled on its present Basis. The new Bishops being poor made but a mean Figure in comparison of their Predecessors: They were unacquainted with Cours and Equipages, and numerous Attendants, but as they grew rich they quickly raised their Deportment,

> The Hierarchy being now at its Standard, it will not be improper to let before the Reader in one View the Principles upon which it stands; with the different Sentiments of the Puritans, by which he will discover the Reasons why the Reformation proceeded

> and assumed a lordly Superiority over their Brethren.

no further.

Principles formers with the opposite

1. The Court Reformers apprehended, That every of the Re- Prince bad authority to correct all Abuses of Doctrine and Worship, within his own Territories. From this Principle the Parliament submitted the Consciences and sentiments Religion of the whole Nation to the disposal of the of the Pu- King; and in case of a Minority to his Council; so that the King was fole Reformer, and might by Commissioners of his own Appointment remove all manner of Errors, Herefies, &c. and model the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church into what Shape he pleased, provided his Injunctions did not expressy contradict the Statute Law of the Land.

Thus the Reformation took place in fundry material Points in the Reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, before it had the Sanction of Parliament or Convocation: And though Queen Mary difallowed of the Supremacy, she made use of it to restore the old Religion, before the Laws which had abolished it were repealed. Hence also they indulged the foreign Protestants with the Liberty of their separate Discipline, which they denied to their own

Countrymen.

The Puritans difown'd all foreign Authority and Jurisdiction over the Church as much as their Bre-

thren,

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thren, but could not admit of that extensive Power which the Crown claimed by the Supremacy, ap-Elizabeth; prehending it unreasonable, that the Religion of a whole Nation should be at the Disposal of a single Lay-Person; for let the Apostle's Rule, That all Things be done decently and in order, mean what it will, it was not directed to the Prince or Civil Magistrate. However they took the Oath with the Queen's Explication in her Injunctions, as restoring her Majesty only to the ancient and natural Rights of Sovereign Princes over their Subjects.

2. It was admitted by the Court Reformers, that the Church of Rome was a true Church, though corrupt in some Points of Doctrine and Government; that all ber Ministrations were valid, and that the Pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not of the universal Church. It was thought necessary to maintain this, for the fupport of the Character of our Bishops, who could not otherwise derive their Succession from the

Apostles.

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But the Puritans affirmed the Pope to be Antichrift, the Church of Rome to be no true Church, and all her Ministrations to be superstitious and idolatrous; they renounced her Communion, and durst not hang the Validity of their Ordinations upon an uninterrupted Line of Succession from the Apostles

through their Hands.

3. It was agreed by all, that the Holy Scriptures were a perfect Rule of Faith; but the Bishops and Court Reformers did not allow them a Standard of Discipline or Church Government, but affirmed that our Saviour and his Apostles left it to the Discretion of the Civil Magistrate, in those Places where Christianity should obtain, to accommodate the Government of the Church to the Policy of the State.

But the Puritans apprehended the Holy Scriptures to be a Standard of Church Discipline, as well as Doctrine; at least that nothing should be imposed as necessary but what was expresly contained in, or

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derived from them by necessary Consequence. But Elizabeth, if it should be proved, that all Things necessary to the well Government of the Church, could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, they maintained that the discretionary Power was not lodged with the Civil Magistrate, but with the Spiritual Officers of the Church.

> 4. The Court Reformers maintained, that the Pra-Etice of the Primitive Church for the first 4 or 5 Centuries was a proper Standard of Church Government and Discipline, and in some respects a better than that of the Apostles, which (according to them) was only accommodated to the infant State of the Church while it was under Persecution, whereas theirs was suited to the Grandeur of a national Establishment. Therefore they only pared off the later Corruptions of the Papacy, from the Time the Pope usurped the Title of universal Bishop, and left those standing which they could trace a little higher, fuch as Archbishops, Metropolitans, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Rural Deans, &c. which were not known in the Apostolic Age, or those immediately following.

Whereas the Puritans were for keeping close to the Bible in the main Principles of Church Government; and for admitting no Church-Officers or Ordinances, but fuch as are mention'd therein. They apprehended that the Form of Government appointed by the Apo-Itles was Aristocratical, according to the Constitution of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and was designed as a Pattern for the Churches in after Ages, not to be departed from in any of its main Principles; and therefore they paid no regard to the Customs of the Papacy, or the Practice of the earlier Ages of Christianity, any farther than they corresponded

with the Bible.

5. Our Reformers maintained, That Things indiffe rent in their own Nature, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the Holy Scriptures, such as Rites, Cere monies, Habits, &c. might be settled, determined, and

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made necessary by the Command of the Civil Magistrate; Queen and that in such cases it was the indispensable Duty of all Elizabeth,

Subjects to observe them.

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But the Puritans infifted, that those Things which Christ had left indifferent ought not to be made necessary by any human Laws, but that we are to stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ has made us free: And further, that such Rites and Ceremonies as had been abused to Idolatry, and had a manifest Tendency to lead Men back to Popery and Superstition, were no longer indifferent, but to be rejected as unlawful.

6. Both Parties agreed too well in afferting the Necessity of an Uniformity of publick Worship, and of calling in the Sword of the Magistrate for the Support and Defence of their several Principles, which they made an ill Use of in their turns, as they could grasp the Power into their Hands. The Standard of Uniformity, according to the Bishops, was the Queen's Supremacy and the Laws of the Land; according to the Puritans, the Decrees of Provincial and National Synods, allowed and enforced by the Civil Magistrate: But neither Party were for admitting that Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom of Profession, which is every Man's Right, as far as is confiftent with the Peace of the Government he lives under.

The Principle upon which the Bishops justified their Severities against the Puritans, in this and the sollowing Reigns, was the Subjects Obligation to obey the Laws of their Country in all Things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the Laws of God. And the excellent Archbishop Tillotson in one of his Sermons, represents the Dissenters as an humorous and perverse Set of People, for not complying with the Service and Ceremonies of the Church, for no other Reason (says be) but because their Superiors require them. But if this were true, 'tis a justifiable Reason for their Dissent, supposing the Magistrate

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has exceeded his Power by requiring that which is Elizabeth, not within the Bounds of his Commission. Christ (fay the Non-Conformists) is the fole Law-giver of his Church, and has enjoin'd all Things necessary to be observed in it to the End of the World; there. fore where he has indulged a Liberty to his Follow. ers, it is as much their Duty to stand fast in it, as to observe any other of his Precepts. If the Civil Magistrate should stretch his Prerogative by dispensing with the Laws of his Country, or by making new ones, according to his Sovereign Will and Pleafure, without Confent of Parliament, would it deferve the Brand of Humour or Perverseness to refuse Obedience, if it were for no other Reason, but because we will not submit to an arbitrary, dispensing Power? Besides, if the Magistrate has a Power to impose Things indifferent, and make them necessary to the Service of God; he may dress up Religion in any Shape, and instead of one Ceremony may load it with a Hundred.

To return to the History. The Reformation being thus fertled, the Queen gave out Commissions for a general Visitation, and set forth a Body of Injunctions, confifting of 53 Articles, commanding her loving Subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep them, according to their Offices, Degrees They are almost the same with those of and States. King Edward. I shall therefore only give the Reader an Abstract of such as we may have Occasion to refer to hereafter.

Queen's Injunctions.

Artic. 1. " All Ecclefiastical Persons shall see that the Act of Supremacy be duly observed, and shall

or preach four Times a Year against yielding Obedi-

" ence to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Artic. 2. " They shall not fet forth or extol the Dig-" nity of any Images, Relicks or Miracles, but

" shall declare the Abuses of the same, and that all

" Grace is from God.

Artic. 3. " Parsons shall preach once every Month " upon Works of Faith, Mercy and Charity, com- Elizabeth, " manded by God; and shall inform the People, " that Works of Man's devising, such as Pilgrima-" ges, fetting up of Candles, praying upon Beads,

" &c. are offensive to God.

Artic. 4. " Parsons having Cure of Souls shall Sparrow's " preach in Person once a Quarter at least, or else Collection.

" read one of the Homilies prescribed by the Queen

" to be read every Sunday in the Churches where

" there is no Sermon.

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Artic. 5. " Every holy Day, when there is no " Sermon, they shall recite from the Pulpit the " Pater - Noster, Creed, and ten Command-" ments.

Artic. 6. " Within three Months every Parish. " shall provide a Bible, and within twelve Months

" Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the Gospel in English,

" and fet them up in their feveral Churches.

Artic. 7. "The Clergy shall not haunt Ale-houses " or Taverns, or spend their Time idly at Dice,

" Cards, Tables, or any other unlawful Game.

Artic. 8. "None shall be admitted to preach in "Churches without Licence from the Queen, or

"her Visitors; or from the Archbishop or Bishop

" of the Diocese.

Artic, 16, "All Parsons under the Degree of " M. A. shall buy for their own Use the New Te-

" flament in Latin and English, with Paraphrases,

" within three Months after this Visitation.

Artic. 17. "They shall learn out of the Scriptures

" fome comfortable Sentences for the Sick.

Artic. 18. "There shall be no popish Processions;

"nor shall any Persons walk about the Church, or

" depart out of it, while the Priest is reading the " Scriptures.

Artic. 19. " Nevertheless the Perambulation of " Parishes or Processions with the Curates shall con-

" tinue, who shall make a suitable Exhortation.

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> Artic. 21. "Curates may not admit to the Holy " Communion, Persons that live openly in Sin

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"without Repentance; or, that are at Variance with their Neighbours, till they are recon-

" ciled.

Artic. 22. " Curates, &c. shall teach the People or not obstinately to violate the laudable Ceremo.

" nies of the Church.

Artic. 23. " Alfo, They shall take away, utce terly extinguish, and destroy all Shrines, Cover-

" ings of Shrines; all Tables, Candlesticks, Trin-

dals, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings,

" and all other Monuments of feigned Miracles, " Pilgrimages, Idolatry and Superstition, fo that

" there remain no Memory of the same in Walls,

"Glass Windows, or elsewhere within their Churches

" and Houses; preserving nevertheless, or repairing

both the Walls and Glass Windows; and they

" shall exhort all their Parishioners to do the like in

their feveral Houses.

Artic. 28. " Due Reverence shall be paid to the

" Ministers of the Gospel.

Artic. 29. " No Priest or Deacon shall marry

without Allowance of the Bishop of his Diocese, and two Justices of the Peace; nor without Con-

of fent of the Parents of the Woman (if she have

" any) or others that are nearest of kin, upon pe-

" nalty of being uncapable of holding any Ecclefi-

" aftical Promotion, or ministring in the Word and

" Sacraments. Nor shall Bishops marry without Allowance of their Metropolitan, and fuch Com-

" missioners as the Queen shall appoint.

Artic. 30. " All Archbishops and Bishops, and

" all that preach or administer the Sacraments, or

" that shall be admitted into any Ecclesiastical Vocation, or into either of the Universities, shall se wear "wear fuch Garments, and square Caps, as were Queen
worn in the Reign of King Edward VI.

Artic. 33. "No Person shall absent from his Pa-

" rish Church, and resort to another, but upon an

" extraordinary Occasion.

Artic. 34. " No Innholders or publick Houses, " shall fell Meat or Drink in Time of Divine Ser-

" vice.

Artic. 35. " None shall keep in their Houses any abused Images, Tables, Pictures, Paintings, and

" other Monuments of feigned Miracles.

Artic. 36. "No Man shall disturb the Minister in his Sermon; nor mock or make a Jest of him.

Artic. 37. "No Man, Woman or Child, shall be otherways busied in Time of Divine Service, but

" shall give due Attendance to what is read and

" preached.

Artic. 40. " No Person shall teach School but such

" as are allowed by the Ordinary.

Artic. 41. " School - Masters shall exhort their "Children to love and reverence the true Religion

" now allowed by Authority.

Artic. 42. "They shall teach their Scholars cer-"tain Sentences of Scriptures tending to Godli-"ness.

Artic. 43. " None shall be admitted to any Spiri-

" tual Cure that are utterly unlearned.

Artic. 44. " The Parson or Curate of the Parish " shall instruct the Children of his Parish for half an

" Hour before Evening Prayer on every holy Day,

" and fecond Sunday in the Year, in the Catechifm,

" and shall teach them the Lord's Prayer, Creed,

" and ten Commandments.

Artic. 45. "All the Ordinaries shall exhibit to the "Visitors a Copy of the Book containing the Causes,

" why any have been imprisoned, famished, or put

" to Death for Religion in the late Reign.

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Elizabeth, that all the Parishioners duly resort to Church; and shall present Defaulters to the Ordinary.

Artic. 47. "Church Wardens shall deliver to the

"Queen's Visitors an Inventory of all their Church Furniture, as Vestments, Copes, Plate, Books, and

" especially of Grayles, Couchers, Legends, Processi-

" onals, Manuals, Hymnals, Portuesses, and such like,

s appertaining to the Church.

Artic. 48. " The Litany and Prayers shall be read

" weekly on Wednesdays and Fridays.

Artic. 49. "Singing Men shall be continued and

" maintained in Collegiate Churches, and there hall be a modest and distinct Song so used in all

\* Parts of the Common Prayers in the Church, that

" the fame may be as plainly understood as if it

were read without finging; and yet nevertheles,

for the comforting fuch as delight in Musick, it

" may be permitted that in the beginning or end of

the Common Prayer, there may be fung an Hymn, or fuch like Song, in the best fort of Me-

lody and Musick, that may be conveniently devi-

e fed, having respect that the Sentences of the

" Hymn may be understood and perceived.

Artic. 50. " There shall be no vain and conten-

tious Disputes in Matters of Religion; nor the

" Use of opprobrious Words, as Papist, Papistical

" Heretick, Schismatick or Sacramentary. Offenders

" to be remitted to the Ordinary.

Artic. 51. " No Book or Pamphlet shall be print-

" ed or made publick without Licence from the

" Queen, or fix of her Privy Council, or her Ec-

" clesiastical Commissioners, or from the Archbi-

" shops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London,

" the Chancellors of both Universities; the Bishop

being Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the

Place, where any fuch Book shall be printed, or

se two of them, whereof the Ordinary to be always

se one: The Names of the Licensers to be printed

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" at the end. Ancient and prophane Authors are Queen

" excepted.

" In Time of reading the Litany, and 1559.

Artic. 52. "In Time of reading the Litany, and all other Collects and Common Prayer, all the

"People shall devoutly kneel; and when the Name of Jesus shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or

" otherways pronounced in the Church, due Reve-" rence shall be made of all Persons with lowness of

" Courtefy, and uncovering the Heads of the Men-

" kind, as has been heretofore accustom'd."

These Injunctions were to be read in the Churches

once every Quarter of a Year.

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An Appendix was added, containing the Form of Bidding Prayer; and an Order relating to Tables in Churches, which enjoins, "That no Altar be taken " down but by overfight of the Curate and Church "Wardens, or one of them at leaft, wherein no " riotous or diforderly Manner shall be used; and " that the Holy Table in every Church be decently " made, and fet in the Place where the Altar stood, " and there to stand covered, saving when the Sa-" crament is to be administred; at which Time it " shall be so placed within the Chancel, as whereby "the Minister may be more conveniently heard of "the Communicants, and the Communicants also " more conveniently, and in more Numbers com-" municate with the said Minister; and after the "Communion done the Holy Table shall be placed " where it stood before."

The Penalties for disobeying these Injunctions, were Suspension, Deprivation, Sequestration of Fruits and Benefices, Excommunication, and such other Corrections as to those who have Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction

under her Majesty shall seem meet.

The major Part of the Visitors were Laymen, any Proceedtwo of whom were empowered to examine into the ings of the true State of all Churches; to suspend or deprive such Visitors. Clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into Hist. Ref. their Places; to proceed against the Obstinate by p. 400.

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Imprisonment, Church Censures, or any other legal Elizabeth, Methods. They were to referve Pensions for such as quitted their Benefices by Resignation; to examine into the Condition of all that were imprisoned on the Account of Religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their Benefices as had been unlaw.

fully deprived in the late Times.

This was the first High Commission, that was given out about Midsummer, 1559. It gave Offence to many, that the Queen should give Lay-Visitors Authority to proceed by Ecclefiastical Censures; but this was no more than is frequently done by Lay. Chancellors in the Ecclefiaftical Courts. It was much more unjustifiable for the Commissioners to go beyond the Censures of the Church, by Fines, Impriforments, and inquisitory Oaths, to the Ruin of fome hundreds of Families, without the Authority of that Statute that gave them Being, or any other.

Mr. Strype affures us, That the Visitors took effectual Care to have all the Instruments and Untenfils of Idolatry and Superstition demolished and destroyed out of the Churches where God's pure Service was to be fet up; fuch as Roods, i. 4. Images of Christ upon the Cross, with Mary and John standing by; also Images of tutelary Saints of the Churches that were dedicated to them, popula Hift. Ref. Books, Altars, and the like. But it does not appear that either the 2d or 23d Articles of Injunctions impowered them absolutely to remove all Images out of Churches; the Queen her self was as yet undetermined in that Matter. Bishop Jewel in his Letter to Peter Martyr, Feb. 4. 1560. fays, there was to be a Conference about the Lawfulness of Images in Churches the Day following, between Parker and Cox, who were for them, and himself and Grindal, who were against them; and if they prevail (fays he) I will be no longer a Bishop. However it is certain, that the Visitors commanded the Prebendaries

Vol. III. p. 290.

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ries and Archdeacon of London to see that the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's be purged and freed from Elizabeth, all and singular Images, Idols and Altars; and in 1559. the Place of the Altars to provide a decent Table Strype's for the ordinary Celebration of the Lord's Supper; Ann. and accordingly the Roods and High Altar were ta-P. 175. ken down.

The Populace was on the Side of the Reformation, having been provoked with the Cruelties of the late Times: Great Numbers attended the Commifsioners, and brought into Cheapside, Paul's Churchgard, and Smithfield, the Roods and Crucifixes that were taken down, and in some Places the Vestments of the Priests, Copes, Surplices, Altar Cloths, Books, Banners, Sepulchres, and burnt them to Ashes, as it were, to make Atonement for the Martyrs that had been burnt there. Nay, they went further, and in their furious Zeal broke the painted Glass Windows, rafed out fome ancient Inscriptions, and spoiled those Monuments of the Dead that had any Marks of Popery upon them. "The Divines of "this Time (fays Mr. Strype) could have been con-" tent to have been without all Relicks, and Cere-" monies of the Roman Church, that there might " not be the least Compliance with popish Devo-"tions." And it had not been the worse for the Church of England if their Successors had been of the fame Mind.

But the Queen dislik'd these Proceedings; she had Dislik'd by a Crucifix with the Blessed Virgin and St. John, still the Queen. in her Chapel; and when Sandys Bishop of Worcester Hist. Ref. spoke to her against it, she threaten'd to deprive him; Vol. III. and issued out a Proclamation, dated Sept. 19th. in the 2d Year of her Reign, prohibiting "The defacing or breaking any Parcel of any Monument, Tomb or Grave, or other Inscription, in Memory of any Person deceased, or breaking any Images of Kings, Princes, or Nobles, &c. set up only in Memory of them to Posterity, and not for any

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"Religious Honour; or the defacing or breaking Elizabeth, " any Images in glass Windows in any Churches, " without confent of the Ordinary." It was with great Difficulty, and not without a fort of Protesta. tion from the Bishops, that her Majesty consented to have so many Monuments of Idolatry as are mentioned in her 23d Injunction, removed out of Churches; but she would not part with her Altar, nor her Crucifix, nor with lighted Candles, out of her own Chapel. The Gentlemen and finging Children appeared there in their Surplices, and the Priefts in their Copes; the Altar was furnished with rich Plate, with two gilt Candlesticks, with lighted Candles, and a maffy Crucifix of Silver in the midft: The Service was fung not only with Organs but with the artificial Musick of Cornets, Sackburs, &c. on folemn Festivals. The Ceremonies observed by the Knights of the Garter in their Adoration towards the Altar, which had been abolished by King Edward, and revived by Queen Mary, were retained. In short, the Service performed in the Queen's Chapel, and in fundry Cathedrals, was fo splendid and showy, that Foreigners could not diftinguish it from the Roman, except that it was performed in the English Tongue. By this Method most of the popish Laity were deceived into Conformity, and came regularly to Church for nine or ten Years, till the Pope being out of all Hopes of an Accommodation forbid them, by excommunicating the Queen, and laying the whole Kingdom under an Interdict.

Numbers of Popilb Clergy depriv'd.

When the Visitors had gone through the Kingdom, and made their Report of the Obedience given to her Majesty's Laws and Injunctions, it appeared that not above 243 Clergymen had quitted their Livings, (viz.) 14 Bishops, and 3 Bishops elect; one Abbot, 4 Priors, 1 Abbess, 12 Deans, 14 Archdeacons, 60 Canons or Prebendaries, 100 beneficed Clergy, 15 Heads of Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge; to which may be added about 20 Doctors

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in several Faculties. In one of the Volumes in the Cotton Library the Number is 192; D' Ewe's Jour-Elizabeth, nal mentions but 177; Bishop Burnet 199; but, Cambden and Cardinal Allen reckon as above. Most of the inferior beneficed Clergy kept their Places, as they had done through all the Changes of the three last Reigns; and without all Question, if the Queen had died, and the old Religion had been restored, they would have turned again; but the Bishops and some of the dignified Clergy having sworn to the Supremacy under King Henry, and renounced it again under Queen Mary, they thought it might reflect a Dishonour upon their Character to turn again, and therefore they refolved to hold together, and by their Weight endeavour to diffress the Reformation. But upon fo great an Alteration of Religion the Number of Recufants out of 9400 parochial Benefices was inconfiderable; and yet it was impossible to find Protestants of a tolerable Capacity to supply the Vacancies, because many of the stricter Sort that had been Exiles for Religion could not come up to the Terms of Conformity, and the Queen's Injunctions.

It may feem strange, that amidst all this Con-No Refortern for the new Form of Worship, no Notice mation of should be taken of the Doctrinal Articles which King as yet. Edward had published for avoiding Diversities of Opinions in the Church, though her Majesty might have enjoined them, by virtue of her Supremacy under the Great Seal, as well as her Brother; but the Bishops durst not venture them into Convocation, because the Majority was for the old Religion, and the Queen was not very fond of her Brother's Dodrines. To supply this Defect for the present, the Bishops drew up the following Declaration of their faith, which all Churchmen were obliged to read publickly at their Entrance upon their Cures. 'Tis entitled,

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Queen

1560. Reformers Declaration of Faith, printed by Jugge the Queen's Printer, Cum Priv. Reg. Maj.

Elizabeth, A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, fet out by Order of both Archbishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, for the Unity of Dostrine to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars and Curates; as well in Testification of their common Consent in the faid Dostrine, to the Stopping of the Mouths of them that go about to flander the Ministers of the Church for Diversity of Judgment, and as necessary for the Instruction of their People; to be read by the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, at their Possession taking, or first Entry into their Cures: And also, after that yearly, at two several Times; that is to say, the Sunday next following Eafter Day, and St. Michael the Archangel, or on some other Sunday within one Month after thole Feasts, immediately after the Gospel.

Orasmuch as it appertaineth to all Christian Men, but especially to the Ministers and Pa-" ftors of the Church, being Teachers and Instru-" ctors of others, to be ready to give a Reason of " their Faith, when they shall be thereunto requi-

" red; I, for my part, now appointed your Parlon "Vicar or Curate, having before mine Eyes the " Fear of God, and the Testimony of my Consci-

er ence, do acknowledge for my felf, and require

" you to affent to the fame.

1. "That there is but One living and true God " of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; the

" Maker and Preserver of all Things; and that i

"Unity of this Godhead, there be Three Person

of one Substance, of equal Power and Eternity " the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoft.

2. "I believe also whatsoever is contained in the " Holy Canonical Scriptures; in the which Scrip

tures are contained all Things necessary to Salva tion; by the which also, all Errors and Heresis

" may fufficiently be reprov'd and convicted; an

all Doctrines and Articles necessary to Salvatio

" are establish'd. I do also most firmly believe and gueen confess all the Articles contain'd in the three Edizabeth, "Creeds; the Nicene Creed, Athanosius's Creed, and our common Creed, called the Apostles Creed; for these do briefly contain the principal Articles of our Faith, which are at large set forth in the Holy

" Scriptures.

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3. "I do acknowledge also that Church to be "the Spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God "is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly ministred according to Christ's Institution, and the Authomity of the Keys duly used: And that every such particular Church hath Authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away Ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical Rites, as they be superstuous or abused; and to constitute others, making more to Seemlines, to Order, or Edification.

4. "Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for "any Man to take upon him any Office or Ministry, "either Ecclesiastical or Secular, but such only as "are lawfully thereunto called, by the high Au-"thorities, according to the Ordinances of the

" Realm.

5. "Furthermore, I do acknowledge the Queen's "Majesty's Prerogative, and Superiority of Go"vernment of all Estates, and in all Causes, as well 
"Ecclesiastical as Temporal within this Realm 
"and other her Dominions and Countries, to be 
"agreeable to God's Word, and of Right to apper"tain to her Highness in such fort, as is in the late 
"Act of Parliament expressed, and sithence by her 
"Majesty's Injunctions declared and expounded.

6. "Moreover, touching the Bishop of Rome I do "acknowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures "and Word of God, he hath no more Authority "than other Bishops have in their Provinces and "Dioceses; and therefore the Power which he now "challengeth, that is, to be the supreme Head of the universal Church of Christ, and so to be above

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Quen " all Emperors, Kings and Princes, is an usurped Elizabeth, " Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of 1560. " God, and contrary to the Example of the Primi

" tive Church, and therefore is for most just Cause

" taken away and abolish'd in this Realm.

7. "Furthermore, I do grant and confess, that the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Helm Survey of the Survey of

tion of the Holy Sacraments, fet forth by the Authority of Parliament, is agreeable to the

"Scriptures; and that it is Catholick and Apollo

" lick, and most for the advancing of God's Glory, and the edifying of God's People; both for that

" it is in a Tongue that may be understood of the

"People, and also for the Doctrine and Form

"Administration contain'd in the same.

8. "And although in the Administration of Bap

" tism there is neither Exorcism, Oil, Salt, Spittle or hallowing of the Water now used; and for the

"they were of late Years abused and esteemed as

" ceffary, whereas they pertain not to the Substance

" and Necessity of the Sacrament, and therefor

" be reasonably abolished; yet is the Sacrament ful

" and perfectly ministred, to all Intents and Purpo fes, agreeable to the Institution of our Saviou

Chrift.

9. "Moreover, I do not only acknowledge that private Masses were never used amongst the Fa

"thers of the Primitive Church, I mean public "Ministration and receiving of the Sacrament b

" the Priest alone, without a just Number of Com

" municants, according to Christ's saying, Takey and eat ye, &c. But also, that the Doctrine that

" maintaineth the Mass to be a propitiatory Sacri

" fice for the Quick and the Dead, and a Mean to deliver Souls out of Purgatory, is neither agree

" able to Christ's Ordinance, nor grounded upo

"Doctrine Apostolick, but contrariwise moth in godly, and most injurious to the precious Re

" demption of our Saviour Christ, and his only a

" ficient Sacrifice offered once for ever upon the Al-" tar of the Cross.

Qu en 1560.

10. " I am of that Mind also, that the Holy " Communion or Sacrament of the Body and Blood " of Christ, for the due Obedience to Christ's Institu-

"tion, and to express the Virtue of the same, ought " to be ministred unto the People under both Kinds:

" And that it is avouched by certain Fathers of the

"Church to be a plain Sacrilege to rob them of the " Mystical Cup, for whom Christ has shed his most

" precious Blood, feeing he himfelf hath faid, Drink

" ye all of this; confidering also, that in the Time " of the ancient Doctors of the Church, as Cyprian,

" Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six Hun-

" dred Years after Christ, and more, both the Parts " of the Sacrament were ministred to the People.

Last of all, " As I do utterly disallow the excolling " of Images, Relicks, and feign'd Miracles; and al-

" fo all kind of expressing God invisible, in the " Form of an old Man, or the Holy Ghost in the

" Form of a Dove; and all other vain Worshipping " of God, devifed by Mens Fantafy, befides or

" contrary to the Scriptures; as wandering on

" Pilgrimages, fetting up of Candles, praying upon "Beads, and fuch like Superstition; which kind of

"Works have no promise of Reward in Scripture, "but contrariwife Threatnings and Maledictions:

" So I do exhort all Men to the Obedience of God's

"Law, and to the Works of Faith, as Charity, " Mercy, Piety, Alms, devout and fervent Prayer,

" with the Affection of the Heart, and not with the "Mouth only; godly Abstinence and Fasting,

"Chaftity, Obedience to the Rulers and superior

" Powers, with fuch like Works, and godliness of " Life commanded by God in his Word; which, as

" St. Paul faith, Hath the promise both of this Life, and

" of the Life to come; and are Works only acceptable in

" God's fight.

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"These Things above rehears'd, though they be Queen Elizabeth, ce appointed by common Order, yet do I, without 1560. " all Compulsion, with freedom of Mind and Con.

" science, from the Bottom of my Heart, and upon most sure Persuasion, acknowledge to be true, " and agreeable to God's Word. And therefore I

exhort you all of whom I have Cure, heartily and

" obediently to embrace and receive the fame; " that we all joining together in Unity of Spirit,

Faith and Charity, may also at length be joined together in the Kingdom of God, and that

" through the Merits and Death of our Saviour Je-

" fus Christ; to whom, with the Father, and the

" Holy Ghost, be all Glory and Empire, now and

" for ever. Amen."

Terms of not approved by many.

These were the Terms of Ministerial Conformity Conformity at this Time; the Oath of Supremacy, compliance with the Act of Uniformity, and this Declaration of Faith. There was no Dispute among the Reformers about the first and last of these Qualifications, but they differed upon the fecond; many of the learned Exiles, and others, refusing to accept of Livings in the Church according to the Act of Uniformity, and the Queen's Injunctions. If the popish Habits and Ceremonies had been left indifferent, or other decent Ones appointed in their room, the Seeds of Division had been prevented; but as the Case stood, it was next to a Miracle that the Reformation had not been loft back into the Hands of the Papists; and if some of the Puritans had not complied for the present, in hopes of the removal of these Grievances, when Things were better settled, it must have been so; for it was impossible, with all the Assistances they could get from both Universities, to fill up the Parochial Vacancies with Men of Learning and Chara. eter. Many Churches were disfurnished for a considerable Time, and not a few Mechanicks, altogether as unlearned as the most remarkable of those that

that were ejected, were preferr'd to Dignities and Queen Livings, who were difregarded by the People, and Elizabeth, did the Reformation more harm than good, while 1560. others of the first Rank for Learning, Piety, and Usefulness in their Functions, were laid aside. There was little or no Preaching all over the Country; the Bishop of Bangor writes, that he had but two Preachers in all his Diocese. It was enough if the M.S. Parson could read the Service, and sometimes anp. 886; Homily. The Bishops were sensible of the Case; but instead of opening the Door a little wider, to let in some of the more conscientious and zealous Reformers, they admitted the meanest and most illiterate that would come up to the Terms of the Law; and published a second Book of Homilies for their further Affistance.

It is hard to fay at this distance of Time, how far the Bishops were to blame for their servile and abject Compliance with the Queen; but one is ready to think, that those who had drunk so deep of the Cup of Persecution, and had seen the dreadful Effects of it, in the fiery Trial of their Brethren the Martyrs, should have infifted as one Man, upon a Latitude for their conscientious Brethren in Points of meer Indifference: Whereas their Zeal run in a quite different Channel; for when the spiritual Sword was put into their Hands, they were too forward in brandishing it over the Heads of others, and even to out-run the Laws, by fuspending, depriving, fining, and imprisoning Men of true Learning and Piety, popular Preachers, declared Enemies of Popery and Superstition, and of the same Faith with themselves, but fearful of a finful Compliance with Things that had been abused to Idolatry.

All the Exiles were now come home, except a Geneva few of the Puritan Stamp that stay'd at Geneva to Bible. finish their Translation of the Bible begun in the late Reign. The Persons concerned in it were Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, John Knox, Anthony

Gibbs.

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Queen Gibbs, Thomas Sampson, William Cole of C. C. Oxon, Elizabeth, and William Wittingham: They compared Tyndal's old 1560. English Bible first with the Hebrew, and then with

the best modern Translations; they divided the Chapters into Verses, which the former Translators had not done; they added fome Figures, Maps and Tables, and publish'd the whole this Year at Geneva, in Quarto, printed by Rowland Harle, with a Dedication to the Queen, and an Epistle to the Reader, dated April 10th, which are left out in the after Editions; because they touched somewhat severely upon certain Ceremonies retained in the Church of England, which they excited her Majesty to remove, as having a popish Aspect; and because the Translators had published fundry marginal Notes, fome of which were thought to touch the Queen's Prerogative, and to allow the Subject to refit wicked and tyrannical Kings; therefore when the Proprietors petitioned the Secretary of State for Reprinting it in England for publick Use, in the Year 1565, it was refused, and the Impression stopt, till after the Death of the Archbishop in the Year 1576. For the Author of the Troubles at France fart, published in the Year 1575. complains that "If

Life of Parker, p. 206.

Hickman against Heylin, p. 179.

" the Geneva Bible be fuch as no Enemy of God can " justly find fault with, then may Men marvel that " fuch a Work, being so profitable, should find so " fmall Favour, as not to be printed again." The exceptionable Notes were on Exodus xv. 19. where Disobedience to Kings is allowed. 2 Chron. xix. 16. where Asa is censured for stopping short at the Deposing of his Mother and not executing her. Rev. ix. 3. where the Locusts that come out of the Smoak are said to be Hereticks, False Teachers, worldly, subtle Prelates, with Monks, Fryars, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, Batchelors, and Masters. But notwithflanding these, and some other exceptionable Passages in the Notes, the Geneva Bible was reprinted in the Years 1576 and 1579, and was in fuch

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fuch Repute, that some who have been curious to fearch into the Number of its Editions fay, that by Elizabeth, the Queen's own Printers it was printed above thirty Times. But for a present Supply Tyndal and Coverdale's Translation printed in the Reign of King Henry VIII. was revised and published for the Use of the Church of England, till the Bishops should publish a more correct one; which they now undertook.

Together with the Exiles, the Dutch and German Dutch and Protestants, who in the Reign of King Edward VI. French had the Church in Austin Fryars given them for a Churches Place of Worship, returned to England with John a

Lasco, a Polonian, their Superintendent. They petitioned the Queen to restore them to their Church and Privileges, which her Majesty declined for some Time, because she would not admit of a Stranger to be Superintendent of a Church within her Bishop's

Diocese. To take off this Objection Alasco resigned, and the People chose Grindal Bishop of London their Superintendent, and then the Queen confirmed their

Charter, which they still enjoy, though they never chose another Superintendent after him. The French

Protestants were also restored to their Church in

Threadneedle-street, which they now enjoy.

The Reformation took Place this Year in Scotland, Scots Reby the preaching of Mr. John Knox, a bold and cou-formation. ragious Scots Divine, who shun'd no Danger, nor tear'd the Face of any Man in the Cause of Religion. He had been a Preacher in England in King Edward's Time, then an Exile at Francfort, and at last one of the Ministers of the English Congregation at Geneva, from whence he arrived at Edinburgh, May 2d, 1559. being 54 Years of Age, and fettled at Perth, but was a fort of Evangelist over the whole King-He maintain'd this Position, That if Kings and Princes refused to reform Religion, inferior Magistrates and the People being directed and instructed in the Truth by their Preachers, may lawfully reform within

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Queen their own Bounds themselves; and if all or the far great-

Elizabeth, est part be enlighten'd by the Truth, they may make a pub. lick Reformation. Upon this Principle the Scots Re. formers humbly petition'd the Queen Dowager, Regent for her Daughter [Mary] now in France, for liberty to affemble publickly or privately for Pray. er, for reading and explaining the Holy Scriptures. and administring the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the vulgar Tongue; and the latter in both Kinds, according to Christ's Institution. This reasonable Petition not being admitted, certain Noblemen and Barons form'd an Affociation, refolving to venture their Lives and Fortunes in this Cause; and they encouraged as many of the Curates of the Parishes within their Districts as were willing to read the Prayers and Lessons in English, but not to expound the Scriptures till God should dispose the Queen to give them liberty. This being executed at Perth and the neighbouring Parts without disturbance, the Affociation spread, and was fign'd by great Numbers even in the capital City of Edinburgh. Upon this they presented another Petition, representing to the Regent the Unseasonableness of her Rigor against the Protestants, considering their Numbers; but she was deaf to all moderate Councils. At the meeting of the Parliament, the Congregation or Heads of the Affociation, presented the Regent with fundry Articles relating to Liberty of Conscience, to lay before the House, which she suppress'd, and would not suffer to be debated; upon which they drew up the following Protestation, and defired it might be recorded, "That fince they " could not procure a Reformation, agreeable to " the Word of God, from the Government, that it " might be lawful for them to follow the Dictates " of their own Consciences. That none that join'd with them in the Profession of the true Faith " should be liable to any civil Penalties, or incur any Damages for fo doing. They proteit, that it es any

1560.

" any Tumults arise on the Score of Religion, the " Imputation ought not to lie upon them who now Elizabeth, " humbly entreat for a regular Remedy; and that " in all other Things they will be most loyal " Subjects." The Regent acquainted the Court of France with the Situation of Affairs, and received an Order to fuffer no other Religion but the Roman Catholick, with a Promise of large Supplies of Forces to support her. Upon this she summoned the Magistrates of Perth, and the reformed Ministers to appear before her at Sterlin, with a defign to have them banished by a folemn Decree. The Ministers appeared to defend their Cause, being attended with vast Crouds of People armed and prepared to defend them, agreeably to the Custom of Scotland, which allowed Criminals to come to their Trials attended with their Relations and Friends. The Regent aftonished at the Sight prayed John Areskin to persuade the Multitude to retire, and gave her Parole that nothing should be decreed against the Minifters; but they were no fooner gone quietly home but the condemned them for Non-appearance.

This News being brought to Perth, the Burghers encouraged by great Numbers of the Nobility and neighbouring Gentry formed an Army of 7000 Men under the Command of the Earl of Glencarne, for the Defence of their Ministers against the Regent, who was marching with an Army of French and Scots to drive them out of their Country; but being informed of the Preparation of the Burghers she consented to a Treaty, by which it was agreed, that she should be received with Honour into the City, and be suffered to lodge in it some Days, provided she would promise to make no Alteration in Religion, but refer all to the Parliament; the Scots Forces on both Sides to be difmissed: But the Reformed had no sooner dismissed their Army, and opened their Gates to the Regent, but she broke all the Articles, fet up the Mass, and left a Garrison of French in the Town, resolving

1560.

to make it a Place of Arms. Upon this notorious Elizabeth, Breach of Treaty, as well as the Regent's Declaration, that Promises were not to be kept with Hereticks. the Congregations of Fyfe, Perth, Dundee, Angus, · Mears and Montrose, raised a little Army, and figned an Engagement to affift each other in maintaining the Reformation with their Lives and Fortunes. Mr. Knox encouraged them by his Sermons, and the Populace being warmed, pulled down Altars and Images, plundered the Monasteries, and disfurnish'd the Churches of their superstitious Ornaments, the Regent marched against them at the Head of 2000 French, and 2000 Scots in French Pay; but being afraid to venture a Battle she retreated to Dunbar, and the Confederates made themselves Masters of Perth, Scone, Sterlin, and Lithgoe. At length a Truce was concluded, by which the Ministers of the Congregation had liberty to preach in the Pulpits of Edinburgh for the present; but the Regent having soon after received large Recruits from France, repossessed her felf of Leith, and ordered it to be fortified, and stored with all necessary Provisions; the Confederates defired her to demolish the Works, alledging it to be a Violation of the Truce; but the commanded them upon their Allegiance to be quiet and lay down their Arms; and marching directly to Edinburgh, she obliged them to defert the City and retire to Sterlin, whither the French Troops followed them, and difperfed them into the Mountains. In this low Condition they published a Proclamation, discharging the Regent of her Authority, and threatening to treat as Enemies all that obeyed her Orders; but not being able to stand their Ground, they threw themselves into the Arms of Queen Elizabeth, who being fensible of the Darger of the Protestant Religion, and of her own Crown, if Scotland should become entirely Popish, under the Government of a Queen of France, who claimed the Crown of England; enter'd into an Alliance to support the Confederate Protestants in their Religion

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and Civil Liberties, and fign'd the Treaty at Berwick, Queen Feb. 27. 1560.

Among other Articles of this Treaty it was stipulated, that the Queen should send Forces into Scot-Treaty of land, to continue there till Scotland was restored to its Edin-Liberties and Privileges, and the French driven out burgh. of the Kingdom. Accordingly her Majesty sent an Rapin, Army of 7000 Foot and 1200 Horse, which joined the consederate Army of like Force. The Army

was afterwards reinforc'd by a large Detachment from the Northern Marches, under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk; after which they took the City of Leith, and obliged the Queen Regent to shut her felf up in the Castle of Edinburgh, where she died June 10th. The French offered to restore Calais, if the Queen would recal her Forces from Scotland; but the refus'd. At length the Troubles of France requiring all their Forces at home, Plenipotentiaries were fent into Scotland to treat with Elizabeth's about withdrawing the French Forces out of that Kingdom, and restoring the Scots to their Parliamentary Go-The Treaty was concluded the beginvernment. ing of August, whereby a general Amnesty was granted; the English and French Forces were to withdraw in two Months, and a Parliament to be called with all convenient speed, to settle the Affairs of Religion and the Kingdom; but Francis and Mary refused to ratify it.

Before the Parliament met Francis died, and left Mary Queen of Scots a young Widow. The late Treaty not being ratified, the Parliament had no direct Authority from the Crown, but affembled by virtue of the late Treaty, and received the following Petitions from the Barons and Gentlemen concerning Religion.

1. "That the Doctrines of the Roman Church "should be suppressed by Act of Parliament, in those exceptionable Points therein mentioned.

2. "That the Discipline of the ancient Church be revived.

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Queen Elizabeth, c charged. 1560.

All which was voted, and the Ministers were de fired to draw up a Confession of Faith, which the performed in 25 Articles, agreeable to the Sent ments of Calvin, and the foreign Reformers. The Confession being read in Parliament was carried by with three diffenting Voices; the popish Prelates of fering nothing in Desence of their Religion.

By another Act the Pope's Authority was abolife ed, and reading Mass was made punishable, for the first Offence with Loss of Goods; for the second Ba nishment; and for the third Death. This was carrying Matters too far; for to judge Men to Death for Matters of meer Conscience that don't affect the Go

Collier's p. 468.

vernment, is not to be justified. "To affirm that Eccl. Hift. " we are in the Right, and others in the Wrong

" (fays Mr. Collier) is foreign to the Point; for every " one that fuffers for Religion thinks himself in the

"Right, and therefore ought not to be destroyed " for his Sincerity, for the Prejudices of Education,

or the want of a better Understanding, unless his

" Opinions have Mutiny and Treason in them, and

" shake the Foundations of Civil Society.

Their Kirk

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament a Com-Discipline. mission was directed to Mr. Knox, Willock, Spotiswood, and some other Divines, to draw up a Scheme of Discipline for the Church, which they did pretty much upon the Geneva Plan, only they admitted Superintendents in the Room of Bishops, and rejected impofition of Hands in the Ordination of Ministers, because that Miracles were ceased, which they apprehended to accompany that Ceremony. Their Words Pirft Book are these, "Other Ceremonies than the publick Ap-

of Difcipline, p. 31.

" probation of the People, and Declaration of the of probation of the Other chief Minister, that the Person there presented is Le

" appointed to serve the Church, we cannot ap" prove; for albeit the Apostles used Imposition of the Hands, yet seeing the Miracle is ceased, the using the Composition of the c

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of the Ceremony we judge not necessary." They Ifo appointed 10 or 12 Superintendents to plant Elizabeth, nd erect Kirks, and to appoint Ministers in such 1561. Counties as should be committed to their Care, there there were none already. But then they add, These Men must not live like idle Bishops, but must reach themselves twice or thrice a Week, and visit heir Districts every three or four Months, to inspect he Lives and Behaviour of the Parochial Ministers. oredress Grievances, or bring them before an Asembly of the Kirk. The Superintendents were to be hosen by the Ministers and Elders of the several Proinces; and to be depriv'd by them for Misbehaviour. The Assemblies of the Kirk were divided into Classial, Provincial, and National, in which last the derier Refort of all Kirk Jurisdiction was lodged.

When this Plan of Discipline was laid before the When this Plan of Dicipline was land definition, and is land at the Parliamentary Sanction, as the Reformers appected. But after the Recess of the Parliament everal Noblemen, Barons, and chief Gentlemen of the Nation met together at the Instance of Mr. he Nation, met together at the Instance of Mr.

Mox, and sign'd it, resolving to abide by the new

Discipline, till it should be consirm'd or alter'd by

Parliament. From this Time the old Hierarchical

Dovernment was disused, and the Kirk was governed

y General, Provincial, and Classical Assemblies,

with Superintendents, though there was no Law for

the till some Years after.

To return to England. The popish Bishops be-Behaviour

eved rudely towards the Queen and her new Bishops. of the Pa
le hey admonished her Majesty by Letter to return to piss.

de Religion of her Ancestors, and threaten'd her

de Religion of her Ancestors, and threaten'd her ith the Censures of the Church if she did not. This point the Censures of the Church if she did not. This in prevailing, Pope Pius 4th himself exhorted her is y Letter, dated May 5, 1570. to reject evil Counpose, and obey his fatherly Admonitions, affuring of the That if she would return to the Bosom of the Church, he would receive her with like affectionate ctionate

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Queen Ctionate Love as the Father in the Gospel received Elizabeth, his Son. Parpalio, the Nuncio that was sent with , this Letter, offered in the Pope's Name to confirm Foxes and the English Liturgy, to allow of the Sacrament is Firebrands both Kinds, and to difannul the Sentence against he Part III. Mother's Marriage; but the Queen would not par p. 15. with her Supremacy. Another Nuncio, the Abbo Ibid. Martmegues was fent this Summer with other Propop. 18. fals, but was stopt in Flanders and forbid to fet foo in the Realm. The Emperor and other Roman Ca-Strype's tholick Princes, interceded with the Queen to gran Ann. her Subjects of their Religion Churches to official p. 408. in after their manner, and to keep up a separate Communion; but her Majesty was too politick to trust them; upon which they enter'd upon more de sperate Measures, as will be seen hereaster.

Abp. visits Archbishop Parker visited his Diocese this Sumbis Diccese. mer, but sound it in a deplorable Condition; the major Part of the beneficed Clergy being either Me chanicks or Mass Priests in disguise; many Churche were shut up, and in those that were open not a Sermon was to be heard, in some Counties within the Compass of 20 Miles; the People perished for lake Knowledge, while Men that were capable of instructing them were kept out of the Church, or at least denied all Preferment in it. But the Queen was not some much concerned for this, as for maintaining her suppremacy; his Grace therefore, by her Order, drew up a Form of Subscription to be made by all that held

any Ecclesiastical Preferment, wherein they acknow z. of Par-ledge and confess, "That the restoring the Supre ker, p. 77." macy to the Crown, and the abolishing all foreign

"Power; as well as the Administration of the Sa" craments according to the Book of Commo Prayer, and the Queen's Injunctions, is agreeable to the Word of God and the Practice of the Primi tive Church." Which most that favoured the Reformation, as well as great Numbers of Time-fer

ving Priests complied with; but some refused and wer deprived.

The next Thing the Archbishop undertook was, Queen ettling the Kalendar, and the Order of Lessons to be Elizabeth, read throughout the Year, which his Grace, as one of the Ecclefiastical Commissioners, procur'd Letters M. S. peunder the Great Seal to reform. Before this Time it nes me, was left to the Discretion of the Minister to change p. 884. the Chapters to be read in course for some others that were more for Edification; and even after this new Regulation the Bishops recommended it; for in the Preface to the second Book of Homilies published in the Year 1564. there is a ferious Admonition to all Ministers Ecclesiastical, to be diligent and faithful in their high Functions; in which, among others, is this remarkable Instruction to the Curates or Ministers, "If one or other Chapter of the Old Testa-L. of Par-" ment falls in order to be read on Sundays or Holi-ker, p. 84. " days, it shall be well done to spend your Time to " consider well of some other Chapter in the New " Testament of more Edification, for which it may " be changed. By this your Prudence and Dili-"gence in your Office will appear, fo that your " People may have Cause to glorify God for you, " and be the readier to embrace your Labours." If this Indulgence had been continued, one confiderable Difficulty of the Puritans had been removed (viz.) their Obligation to read the Apochrypha Leffons; and furely there could be no great Danger in this, when the Minister was confined within the Canon of Holy Scripture.

But this Liberty was not long permitted, though Strype's the Admonition being never legally reversed, Arch-Annals, bishop Abbot was of Opinion, that it was in force in his Time, and ought to have been allowed the Clergy throughout the Course of this Reign. His Words are these, in his Book entitled, Hill's Reasons unmask'd, p. 317. "It is not only permitted to the "Minister, but recommended to him, if wisely and quietly he do read canonical Scripture, where the Apochrypha upon good Judgment seemeth not so so the straight of the straight

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Queen " fo fit; or any Chapter of the Canonical may be Elizabeth, cc conceived not to have in it so much Edification

before the simple, as some other Parts of the same " Canonical Scriptures may be thought to have." But the governing Bishops were of another mind. they would trust nothing to the Discretion of the Minister, nor vary a tittle from the Act of Unifor-

Appointment of Lessons for Sundays and Holi-

Hitherto there were few or no peculiar Lessons for Holidays and particular Sundays, but the Chapters of the Old and New Testament were read in Course, without any Interruption or Variation; fo it is in the Common Prayer Book of 1549. Fol. In the second L. of Par- F. dition of that Book under King Edward VI. there

ker, p.83. were proper Lessons for some few Holidays, but none for Sundays; but now there was a Table of proper Lessons for the whole Year thus entitled, Proper Lessons to be read for the first Lesson, both at Morning and Evening Prayer, on the Sundays through out the Year; and for some also the second Lessons. It begins with the Sundays of Advent, and appoints Isa. i. for Mattens, and Isa. ii. for Even Song. There is another Table for proper Lessons on Holidays, beginning with St. Andrew; and a third Table for proper Psalms on certain Days, as Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, &c. At the End of this Common Prayer Book, printed by Jug and Cawood, 1560. were certain Prayers for private and family Use, which in the later Editions are either shorten'd or left out. Mr. Strype cannot account for this Conduct, but fays, It was great pity that the People were disfurnished of those Assistances they so much wanted; but the Defign feems to have been, to confine all Devotion to the Church, and to give no liberty to Clergy or Laity, even in their Closets of Families, to vary from the publick Forms. An Admonition was published at the same Time, and fet up in all Churches, forbidding all Parfons under the Degree of a Master of Arts, to preach or ex pound

the Scriptures, or to innovate or alter any Queen thing, or use any other Rite but only what is set Elizabeth, orth by Authority; these were only to read the Jomilies. And whereas by reason of the Scarcity L. of Parsiministers, the Bishops had admitted into the Mi-ker, p. 90. Intry sundry Artificers, and others not brought up Learning, and some that were of base Occupation, was now defired, that no more Tradesmen should e ordained, till the Convocation met and took some etter Order in this Affair.

But it was impossible to comply with this Admo-sad state ition; for fo many Churches in Country Towns and of the illages were unfurnish'd, that in some Places there Clergy. as no preaching, nor fo much as reading a Homi-, for many Months together. In fundry Parishes was hard to find Perfons to baptize or bury the lead; the Bishops therefore were obliged to admit Pluralists, Non-residents, Civil Lawyers, and to dain fuch as offered themselves, how meanly soer they were qualified, while others who had fome ruples about Conformity, stood by unprovided r; the learned and industrious Mr. John Fox the artyrologist was of this Number, for in a Letter his Friend Dr. Humpbreys, lately chosen President Magdalen College, Oxon, he writes thus, "I still wear the fame Clothes, and remain in the fame fordid Condition that England received me in, when I first came home out of Germany, nor do I change my Degree or Order, which is that of the Mendicants; or if you will, of the Friars Preachers." Thus easantly did this grave and learned Divine reproach e Ingratitude of the Times. The Puritans comained of these Hardships to the Queen, but there as no remedy.

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The two Universities could give little or no Assist- and of the see to the Reformers; for the Professors and Tutors Universiting of the popish Religion, had trained up the ties outh in their own Principles for the last six or seven sars. Some of the Heads of Colleges were displa-

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Queen ced this Summer, and Protestants put in their room Elizabeth, but it was a long Time before they could fupply the Necessities of the Church. There were but three Protestant Preachers in the University of Oxford the Year 1563. and they were all Puritans (viz.) D Humphreys, Mr. Kingsmill, and Mr. Sampson; an though by the next Year the Clergy were fo mo dell'd, that the Bishops procured a Convocation that favoured the Reformation, yet they were such poo

Queen amarried Clergy.

Names.

Indeed the Reformation went heavily on. The verse to the Queen could hardly be persuaded to part with Images, nor confent to the Marriage of the Clergy for the commanded that no Head or Member of an Collegiate or Cathedral Church, should bring a Wi

Scholars that many of them could hardly write the

L. of Par- or any other Woman within the Precincts of it, ker,p.107, abide in the same, on pain of Forseiture of all Ecole 109.

fiaftical Promotions: And her Majesty would have absolutely forbid the Marriage of all her Clergy, Secretary Cecil had not brifkly interposed. Shen pented that she had made any married Men Bishops and told the Archbishop in anger, that she intended to publish other Injunctions, which his Grace under flood to be in favour of Popery; upon which the Archbishop writ to the Secretary, that he was for the Queen's Mind was fo turned; but in fuch a Ca he should think it his Duty to obey God rather the Man. Upon the whole, the Queen was fo far from improving her Brother's Reformation, that she ofto

repented the had gone fo far.

Her Majesty's second Parliament met the 12th At of Af- January, in which a remarkable Act was passed, I furance. Assurance of the Queen's Royal Power over all Sta and Subjects within her Dominions. It was a Confirm tion of the Act of Supremacy. "All Persons the " by writing, printing, preaching or teaching

" maintain'd the Pope's Authority within the "Realm, incurred a Præmunire for the fi

as Offen

"Offence, and the second was High Treason. The Queen "Oath of Supremacy was to be taken by all in Ho-Elizabeth, "ly Orders, by all Graduates in the Universities, "Lawyers, Schoolmasters, and all other Officers of any Court whatsoever; and by all Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament." But the Archbishop L. of Parby the Queen's Order writ to the Bishops, not to ker, p. 126. tender the Oath but in case of Necessity, and never to press it a second Time without his special Direction; so that none of the popish Bishops or Divines were burdened with it, except Bonner and one or two more.

The Convocation was open'd at St. Paul's the Day Convocaafter the Parliament met. Mr. Day Provost of Eaton tion repreached the Sermon, and Alexander Nowel Dean of view the St. Paul's was chosen Prolocutor. Her Majesty Church. having directed Letters of Licence to review the Dodrine and Discipline of the Church, they began with the Doctrine, and reduced the 42 Articles of King Edward VI. to the Number of 39, as at present, the following Articles being omitted; Article 39. The Resurrection of the Dead'is not passed already. Art. 40. The Souls of Men deceased do neither perish with their Bodies nor fleep idly. Art. 41. Of the Millenarians. Art. 42. All Men not to be faved at last. Some of the other Articles underwent a new Division, two being fometimes joined into one, and in other parts one is divided into two; but there is no remarkable Vari-

It has been warmly disputed, whether the first controvert-Clause of the 20th Article, The Church has Power to ed Clause of decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controthe 20th versies of Faith, was a part of the Article which passed the Synod, and was afterwards confirmed by Parliament in the Year 1571. 'Tis certain that it is not among King Edward's Articles; nor is it in that original Manuscript of the Articles subscribed by both Houses of Convocation with their own Hands, still preserved in Bennet College Library among the

ation in the Doctrine.

rest of Archbishop Parker's Papers. The Records

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Elizabeth, of this Convocation were burnt in the Fire of London, so that there is no appealing to them; but Arch. bishop Laud says, that he sent to the publick Re. cords in his Office, and the Notary returned him the 20th Article with the Clause; and that afterwards he found the Book of Articles subscribed by the lower House of Convocation in 1571. with the Clause, Heylin fays, That he consulted the Records of Con. vocation, and that the contested Clause was in the Book; and yet Fuller, a much fairer Writer, who had the Liberty of perufing the fame Records, declares he could not decide the Controversy. The Fact is this, the Statute of 1571. expresly confirms English Articles comprized in an imprinted Book, entitled, Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the Year 1562. according to the Computation of the Church of England; for the avoiding Diversity of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion: Put forth by the Queen's Authority. Now there were but two Editions of the Articles in English before this Time, both which have the same numerical Title with that transcribed in the Statute, and both ( fays my Author) want the Clause of the Church's Power. But Mr. Strype in his Life of Archbishop Parker says, that the Clause is to be found in two printed Copies of 1563. which I believe very few have feen. However, till the Original M.S. abovementioned can be fet aside, which is carefully marked as to the Number of Pages, and the Number of Lines and Articles in each Page, it feems more probable that the Claufe was some way or other surreptitiously inserted by those that were Friends of the Church's Power, than struck out by the Puritans, as Laud and his Followers have published to the World; for 'tis hard to suppose, that a foul Copy as this is pretended to be, should be so carefully marked and subscribed by eve-14

ry Member of the Synod with their own Hands, and Queen yet not be perfect; but 'tis not improbable that the Elizabeth, Notary or Register, who transcribed the Articles into , the Convocation Book, with the Names of them that subscribed, might by Direction of his Superiors privately infert it; and so it might appear in the Records of 1571, though it was not in the original Draught. But the Controversy is of no great Moment to the present Clergy, because 'tis certain, the Clause was a part of the Article confirmed by Parliament at the Restoration of King Charles II. 1662. though how far it was confistent with the Act of Supremacy, which lodged the ultimate Power of determining Matters of Faith and Discipline in the Crown, I must leave with the Reader. The Synod it felf feemed to be apprehensive of the Danger of a Præmunire, and therefore after their Names these Words were cautiously added, Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub bac Protestatione, quod nibil statuunt in Præjudicium cujusquam Senatus consulti, sed tantum supplicem libellum pelitiones suas continentem bumiliter offerunt, i.e. This Subscription is made by all with this Protestation, that they determine nothing in Prejudice of any fuperiour Court, but only humbly offer this little Book to the Queen or Parliament, containing their Requests and Petitions.

The Articles were concluded, and the Subscription They are smissed, in the Chapter-House of St. Paul's, Jan. 31. Subscribed. 1562. in the 9th Session of Convocation. All the An. p. 329; Bishops subscribed, except Gloucester and Rochester, who I believe were absent. Of the lower House there are upwards of an hundred Hands; but whatever their Learning was, many of them writ so ill that it is hard to read their Names. Among the Subscribers are several of the learned Exiles, who were distaissed with the Constitution; as, the Reverend Mr. Besely, Watts, Mullyns, Cole, Sampson, Pullan, Spencer, Wisdom, Nowel, Beaumont, Heton, Pedder, Lever, Pownal, Wylson, Croley, and others.

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But the Articles did not pass into a Law, and become Elizabeth, a Part of the Establishment, till nine Years after, though some of the more rigid Bishops of the Eccle-stastical Commission insisted upon Subscription from this Time.

Debate about Ceremonies. The next confiderable Affair that came under Debate, was the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; and here, first Bishop Sandys brought in a Paper of Advice to move her Majesty;

1. " That private Baptism, and Baptism by Wo. men, may be taken out of the Common Prayer

" Book.

2. " That the Crofs in Baptism may be disallowed as needless and superstitious.

3. " That Commissioners may be appointed to

" reform the Ecclefiastical Laws."

Another Paper was presented to the House with the following Requests, signed by thirty three Names.

Proposals for Reformation.

- 1. "That the Psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole Congregation; and that Organs may be laid aside.
- 2. "That none may baptize but Ministers; and that they may leave off the Sign of the Cross.

3. " That at the Ministration of the Communion

- "the Posture of Kneeling may be left indifferent.
- 4. "That the Use of Copes and Surplices may be taken away; so that all Ministers in their Mini-
- " stry use a grave, comely and side Garment, as

" they commonly do in preaching.

- 5. "That Ministers be not compell'd to wear such
- "Gowns and Caps, as the Enemies of Christ's Gospel have chosen to be the special Array of their

" Priesthood.

- 6. " That the Words in the 33d Article, concern-
- "ing the Punishment of those who do not in all "Things conform to the publick Order about Ce-

" remonies, may be mitigated.

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7. " That all Saints Days, Festivals, and Holi-" days, bearing the Name of a Creature may be Elizabeth, " abrogated; or at least a Commemoration only " of them referved by Sermons, Homilies or Com-" mon Prayer, for the better instructing the People " in History; and that after Service Men may go to " work."

I have subjoin'd the Names of the Subscribers to this Paper, that the Reader may take Notice what considerable Persons they were for Learning and Ability, as well as Numbers, that defired a further Reformation in the Church.

Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's and Prolocutor, Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, Oxon, Lawrence Nowel, Dean of Lichfield, Ellis, Dean of Hereford, \_\_\_ Day, Provost of Eaton, - Dodds, Dean of Exon, - Mullins, Archdeacon of London, - Pullan, Archdeacon of Colchester, Lever, Archdeacon of Coventry, Bemont, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Spencer, Archdeacon of Chichester, - Croley, Archdeacon of Hereford, Heton, Archdeacon of Gloucester, Rogers, Archdeacon of St. Asaph, --- Kemp, Archdeacon of St. Albans, Prat, Archdeacon of St. Davids, - Longland, Archdeacon of Bucks, Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex.

- Calfbil,

Church of Oxon. Dean and Chap. of G Church of Rochefter, Clergy of Gloucester, Church of Sommer, Church of Sommer, Church of Sommer Dean and Chap. of Gloucest. Wilfon,

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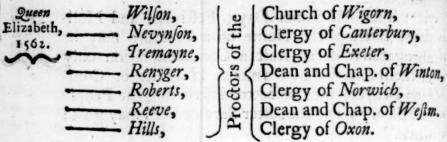
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P. 337.



This Paper not being approved, another was Other Proposals. brought into the lower House Feb. 13. containing the Strype's following Articles, to be approved or rejected. Ann.

1. "That all Sundays in the Year, and principal

" Feasts of Christ, be kept Holidays; and that all " other Holidays be abrogated.

2. " That in all Parish Churches the Minister in

" Common Prayer turn his Face towards the People, " and there read distinctly the Service appointed,

" that the People may hear and be edified.

3. "That in Baptism the Cross may be omitted,

" as tending to Superstition.

4. " Forasmuch as divers Communicants are not " able to kneel for Age and Sickness at the Sacra-

ment, and others kneel and knock superstitiously,

" that therefore the Order of Kneeling may be left

" to the Discretion of the Ordinary.

5. " That it be sufficient for the Minister in time " of faying Divine Service, and ministring of the

" Sacraments (once) to wear a Surplice; and that

" no Minister say Service, or minister the Sacra-

" ments, but in a comely Garment or Habit. 6. "That the Use of Organs be removed."

These Propositions were the Subject of great Debates, some approving, and others rejecting them, In conclusion the House being divided, it appeared upon the Scrutiny, that the Majority of those present were for approving them, 43 against 35; but when

the Proxies were counted the Scale was turned; those who were for the Propositions being 58, and those against them 59; so that by the Majority of one

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Rejetted by a fingle Proxy.

fingle Voice, and that not a Person present to hear queen the Debates, but a Proxy, it was determined to Elizabeth, make no Alteration in the Ceremonies, nor any Abatements of the present Establishment. The Names of the 43 that approved of the Articles abovementioned, were,

Dean Nowel, Prolocutor, St. Paul's, Mr. Archdeacon Lever, Coventry, Dean Pedder, Wigorniensis, Mr. Archdeacon Watts, Middlesex, Dean Nowel, of Lichfield, Mr. Archdeacon Spencer, Cicestrensis, Mr. Besely, Proct. Cler. Cant. Mr. Nevynson, Proct. Cler. Cant. Mr. Bower, Proct. Cler. Somers. Mr. Ebden, Proct. Cler. Wint. Mr. Archdeacon Longland, Bucks, Mr. Lancaster, Thefaurar. Sarum, Mr. Archdeacon Weston, Lewensis, Mr. Archdeacon Wisdom, Eliensis, Mr. Saul, Proct. Dec. & Cap. Glouc. Mr. Walker, Proct, Suffolk, Mr. Becon, Mr. Prottor, Proct. Cler. Suffex, Mr. Coccrel, Proct. Cler, Surrey, Mr. Archdeacon Tod, Bedf. Mr. Archdeacon Croley, Hereford, Mr. Soreby, Proct. Cler. Ciceft. Mr. Bradbridge, Cancellar. Cicest. Mr. Hills, Proct. Cler. Oxon, Mr. Savage, Proct. Cler. Glouc. Mr. Archdeacon Pullan, Colcheft. Mr. Wilson, Proct. Wigorn. Mr. Burton. Mr. Archdeacon Bemont, Huntingd. Mr. Wiburne, Proct. Eccl. Roff. Mr. Dey, Prov. Eaton,

Mr. Reeve, Proct. Dec. Cap. Westm.

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Elizabeth,

Mr. Roberts, Proct. Cler. Norw.

Mr. Calfbil, Proct. Cler. Lond. & Oxon,

Mr. Godwin, Proct. Cler. Linc.

Mr. Archdeacon Prat, St. David's,

Mr. Tremayn, Proct. Cler. Exon,

Mr. Archdeacon Heton, Glouc.

Mr. Archdeacon Kemp, St. Albans,

Mr. Avys, Proct. Eccl. Wigorn.

Mr. Renyger, Proct. Dec. Cap. Wint.

Mr. Dean Ellis, Hereford,

Mr. Dean Sampson, Oxon.

I mention these Names not to detract from the Merit of those that appear'd for the present Establishment; for many of them would have voted for the Alterations, but were awed by their Superiors, or afraid of a Præmunire; whereas, if the contrary Vote had prevailed, it was only to address the Queen or Parliament, to alter the Service Book in those Particulars: But I mention them to show, that the Voice of half the Clergy in Convocation, and of no less Numbers out of it, were for Amendments, or at least a Latitude in the Observation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. Indeed it was very unkind, that when such considerable Abatements had been made in favour of the Roman Catholicks, nothing should be indulged to those of the same Faith, and who had fuffered in the same Cause with themselves, especially when the Controversy was about Points which one Party apprehended to be finful, and the other allowed to be meerly indifferent. Sundry other Papers and Petitions were drawn up by the lower House of Convocation in favour of a further Reformation, but nothing passed into a Law.

The Church having carried their Point against the Puritans in Convocation, we are now to see what Use they made of their Victory. The Plague being in London and several Parts of the Country this Summer, put a little stop to their Zeal for Uniformity at

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present; some were indulged, but none were pre- Queen ferr'd that scrupled the Habits. For Proof of this we Elizabeth, may produce the Examples of two of the Worthiest 1563. and most learned Divines of the Age; one was Father Miles Co-Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, who with verdale Tyndal and Rogers first translated the Bible into Eng-dispensed lif after Wickliffe. This Prelate was born in York-with as to hire, bred at Cambridge, and proceeded Doctor in Divinity in the University of Tubing. Returning into England in the Reign of King Edward, he was made Bishop of Exeter, 1551. Upon the Accession Fuller's of Queen Mary he was imprisoned, and narrowly Worthies, escaped the Fire; but by the Intercession of the King p. 198. of Denmark was fent over into that Country, and coming back at her Death, he affifted at the Confecration of Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canurbury; but because he could not comply with the Ceremonies and Habits he was neglected, and had no Preferment. This Reverend Man (fays Mr. Ann. Strype) being now old and poor, Grindal Bishop of p.405. London gave him the small Living of St. Magnus at the Bridge foot, where he preached quietly about two Years; but not coming up to the Conformity required, he was perfecuted thence, and obliged to relinquish his Parish a little before his Death, which happen'd May 20, 1567. at the Age of 81. He was a celebrated Preacher, admired and followed by all the Puritans; but the Act of Uniformity brought down his Reverend gray Hairs with Sorrow to the Grave. He was buried in St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, and was attended to his Grave with vaft Crouds of People.

The other was the Reverend Father Mr. John Fox, and Mr. the Martyrologist, a grave, learned, and painful Fox the Divine, an Exile for Religion, who employed his Martyrologist, a broad in writing the Acts and Monuments of that Church that would hardly receive him into her Bosom, and in collecting Materials relating to the Martyrdom of those that suffered for Religion in the

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Reigns of King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary; all Elizabeth, which he published first in Latin, for the Benefit of Foreigners, and then in English for the Service of his own Country, and the Church of England in the Year 1561. No Book ever gave fuch a mortal Wound to Popery as this; it was dedicated to the Queen, and was in such high Reputation, that it was ordered to be fet up in the Churches; where it raised in the People an invincible Horror and Detestation of that Religion that had fhed fo much innocent Blood. Queen Elizabeth had a particular Esteem for Mr. Fox; but this excellent and laborious Divine, though reduced to very great Poverty and Want, had no Preferment in the Church because he scrupled the Habits, till at length, by the Intercession of some great Friend, he obtained a Prebend in the Church of Sarum, which he made a shift to hold to his Death, though not without some Disturbance from the Bishops.

The Parochial Clergy both in City and Country had an Aversion to the Habits; they wore them sometimes in Obedience to the Law, but more frequently administer'd without them; for which some were cited into the Spiritual Courts, and admonished, but the Bishops had not yet assumed the Courage of proceeding to Suspension and Deprivation. At length the Matter was laid before the Queen, as appears by a Paper found among Secretary Cecil's MSS. dated Feb.

Habits complain'd of.

variety of 14, 1564. which acquaints her Majesty, that "Some Forms and " perform Divine Service and Prayers in the Chancel, others in the Body of the Church; some in a Seat " made in the Church, some in the Pulpit with their

" Faces to the People; fome keep precifely to the

" Order of the Book, some intermix Psalms in Metre; " fome fay with a Surplice, and others without one.

"The Table stands in the Body of the Church in an Come Places, in others it stands in the Chancel; much

" in some Places the Table stands Altarwise, distant Person the Wall a Yard; in some others in the Hea

" middle of the Chancel, North and South; in some 66 Places

" Places the Table is joined, in others it stands upon gueen Treffels; in some the Table has a Carpet, in others Elizabeth, none.

" Some administer the Communion with Surplice L. of Parand Cap; fome with Surplice alone; othersker,p.152-

"Communion Cup, others with a common Cup; the fome with unleavened Bread, and fome with lea-

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" Some receive Kneeling, others Standing, others "Sitting; fome baptize in a Font, some in a Bason;

some sign with the Sign of the Cross, others sign not; some minister in a Surplice, others without; " fome with a square Cap, some with a round Cap, " fome with a button Cap, fome with a Hat; fome in "Scholars Cloaths, fome in others."

Her Majesty was highly displeased with this Report, and especially that her Laws were so little rearded; she therefore directed a Letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, dated Jan. 25th, "To " confer with the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Com-" mission, and to enquire what Diversities there were among the Clergy in Doctrine, Rites and Ceremonies, and to take effectual Methods that an exact Order and Uniformity be maintained in all external Rites and Ceremonies, as by Law and good Usages are provided for; and that none here-Ibid. " after be admitted to any Ecclesiastical Preferment, but P. 154. el, who is well-disposed to common Order, and shall formally promise to comply with it." To give Counteance to this Severity, it was reported that some of he warmer Puritans had turned the Habits into Ri-

icule, and given unhandsome Language to them hat wore them; which according to Mr. Strype, was in Occasion of their being pressed afterwards with so much Rigor; But whatever gave Occasion to the Persecution that followed, or whoever was at the Head of it, supposing the Insinuation to be just, it was very hard that so great a Number of useful Mini-

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1564.

Ministers, who neither censured their Brethren, no Elizabeth, abused their Indulgence by an unmannerly Behaviour should be turned out of every Thing they had in the Church for the Indifcretion of a few. The Bishop in their Letters to the foreign Divines had promife not to urge their Brethren in these Things, and when On portunity should serve to seek Reformation of them; bo now they took themselves to be released from their Promises, and set at liberty by the Queen's expres Command to the contrary; their meaning being that they would not do it of their own accord, with out Direction from above.

The Puritans and their Friends foreseeing the Letters of Puritans to Storm did what they could to prevent it. Pilkington Courtiers Bishop of Durbam writ to the Earl of Leicester, against pressing the Octob. 25. to use his Interest with the Queen in their Behalf. He faid, "that Compulsion should not be use Habits,

in Things of Liberty. He prayed the Earl to L. of Par- " confider, how all reformed Countries had caf ker,p.155. " away popish Apparel with the Pope, and yet w

" contend to keep it as an holy Relick. That many " Ministers would rather leave their Livings that

comply; and the Realm had a great Scarcity of " Teachers; many Places being destitute of any

"That it would give incurable Offence to foreign " Protestants; and fince we have forfook Poper as wicked, I do not fee (fays the Bishop) how

" their Apparel can become Saints and Profesions of " the Gospel." Whittingham Dean of Durham wil to the same Purpose. He dreaded the Consequence

of imposing that as necessary, which at best was bu indifferent, and in the Opinion of many wife and learned Men was superstitious. "If the Appare

" which the Clergy wear at present (fays he) seem " not so modest and grave as their Vocation requires

" or does not fufficiently diftinguish them from Me " of other Callings, they refuse not to wear that

" which shall be thought by godly Magistrates mol 66 decent for these Uses; provided they may kee

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themselves ever pure from the defiled Robe of An- Queen tichrist. Many Papists (says he) enjoy their Li-Elizabeth, vings and Liberty, that have not sworn Obedience, vings and Liberty, that have not sworn Obedience, so nor do any part of their Duty to their miserable Life of Flock. Alas! my Lord, that such Compulsion Parker, should be used towards us, and such great Lenity P. 157- towards the Papists. Oh! noble Earl, be our Patron and Stay in this behalf, that we may not lose that Liberty that hitherto by the Queen's Benignity we have enjoyed." Other Letters were writ to the same Purpose: And all made what Friends they could among the Courtiers.

The Nobility were divided, and the Queen her felf Proceedfeem'd to be at a stand, but the Archbishop spirited ings of the her up; and having received her Majesty's Letter, authorizing him to proceed, he enter'd upon the unpleasing Work with Vigor and Resolution. The Bihops Tewel and Horn preached at Paul's Cross to reconcile the People to the Habits. Fewel faid, he did not come to defend them, but to shew that they were indifferent, and might be complied with. Horn went a little further, and wished those cut off from the Church that troubled it about white or black Garments, round or huare Caps. The Puritans were not allowed to preach against the Habits, but they writ to the Bihops, and told them, that in their Opinions, those ought rather to be cut off which stopt the Course of the Gospel, and that grieved and offended their weak Brethren, by urging the Remnants of Antichrist more than God's Commandments, and by punishing the Refusers of them more extreamly than the Breakers of God's Laws.

The Archbishop, with the Bishops of London, Advertise-Ely, Winchester, and Lincoln, framed sundry Arti-ments. des to inforce the Habits, which were afterwards published under the Title of ADVERTISEMENTS. But when his Grace brought them to Court the Queen resused to give them the Royal Sanction.

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The Archbishop chased at the Disappointment, Elizabeth, faid that the Court had put him upon framing the Advertisements; and if they would not go on, and They urge give them the Royal Sanction, they had better never the Queen have done any Thing; nay, if the Council would not lend their helping Hand against the Non-Confor. mists, as they had done heretofore in Hooper's Days,

L. of Par- they should be but laugh'd at for all they had done ker,p. 159. But still the Queen was so cold, that when the Bishop of London came to Court, she spoke not a Word to him about redreffing the Neglect of Conformity in the City of London, where it was most difregarded. Upon which the Archbishop writ to the Secretary, defiring another Letter from the Queen to back their Endeavours for Conformity, adding in some Heat, If you remedy it not by Letter I will no more strive against the Stream, fume or chide who will.

But the wearing the popish Garments being one of the grand Principles of Non-Conformity, it will be proper to fet before the Reader the Sentiments of the most learned Reformers upon this Controverly, which employed the Pens of the most judicious Di-

vines of the Age.

Sentiments of the first Reformers about the Habits. Fox's Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. p. 500. Ridley.

We have related the unfriendly Behaviour of the Bishops Cranmer and Ridley towards Hooper; and that those very Prelates who once threaten'd his very Life for refusing the Habits, if we may credit Mr. Fox's Latin Edition of the Book of Martyrs, lived to fee their Mistake and repent: For when BROOKS Bishop of Gloucester came to Oxford to degrade Bishop Ridley, he refused to put on the Surplice, and while they were putting it on him whether he would or no, he vehemently inveighed against the Apparel, calling it foolish, abominable, and too fond for a Vice in a Play.

Latimer.

Bishop Latimer also derided the Garments; for when they pulled off his Surplice at his Degradation, Now (fays he) I can make no more Holy Water.

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In the Articles against Bishop Farrar in King Queen Edward's Reign, 'twas objected, Artic. 49. that Elizabeth, he had vowed never to wear the Cap, but that he came into his Cathedral with a long Gown and a Farrar. Hat; which he did not deny, but alleged he did it to avoid Superstition, and without any Offence to the People.

When the popish Vestments were put upon Dr. Taylor. Taylor the Martyr in order to his Degradation, he walked about with his Hands by his Sides, saying, How say you, my Lord, am I not a goodly Fool? If I were in Cheapside would not the Boys laugh at these foolsh Toys and apish Trumpery? And when the Surplice was pulled of, Now (says he) I am rid of a Fool's Coat.

When they were pulling the same off of Archbishop Cranmer: Cranmer he meekly replied, All this needed not, I my self and done with this Gear long ago.

Dr. Heylin testifies, That John Rogers the Proto-Rogers. Martyr peremptorily refused to wear the Habits, unless the popish Priests were enjoined to wear upon their Sleeves, by way of Distinction, a Chalice with an Host. The same he afferts concerning Philpot, a very eminent Martyr; and concerning one Tyms a Deacon, who was likewise martyr'd in Queen Mary's Reign.

The holy Martyr John Bradford, as well as Mr. Bradford. Sampson, and some others, excepted against the Habits at their Entrance into Holy Orders, and were ordained without them.

Bucer and Peter Martyr, Professors of our two sa-Bucer and mous Universities, were both against the Habits, Martyr. and refused to wear them. Bucer being ask'd, Why he did not wear the square Cap, answer'd Because in Head was not square. And Martyr in one of his Letters after his return home, says, when I was at Oxford, I would never use those white Garments in the Hist. Ref. Choir, though I was a Canon in the Church; and I am p.65.

Alissied in my own Reasons for what I did. In the same Letter

Queen Letter he calls them meer Relicks of Popery; and

Elizabeth, says, He never liked them.

These were the Sentiments of our first Reformers in the Reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Mary.

Upon restoring the Protestant Religion under Queen Elizabeth, the fame Sentiments concerning the Habits prevailed amongst all the Reformers at first, though they disagreed upon the grand Question, Whether they should desert their Ministry rather

than comply?

Parker.

Mr. Strype, in his Life of Archbishop Parker, a most cruel Persecutor of the Puritans, says, That he was not fond of the Cap, the Surplice, and the Wafer Bread, and fuch like Injunctions, and would have been pleased with a Toleration; that he gloried in having been confecrated without the Aaronical Garments; but that his Concern for his Prince's Honour made him resolute that her Royal Will might take place.

Horn.

Pierce's Vindicat. P. 44.

Hift. Ref. Vol. III. p. 289, 294.

Dr. Horn Bishop of Winchester, in his Letter to Gualter fays, "That the Act of Parliament which " enjoined the Vestments, was made before they " were in Office, fo that they had no hand in ma-" king it; but they had obeyed the Law, thinking " the Matter to be of an indifferent Nature; and " they had reason to apprehend, that if they had "deferted their Stations on that Account their Ene-" mies might have come into their Places; but he " hoped to procure an Alteration of the Act in the " next Parliament, though he believed it would " meet with great Opposition from the Papists." Yet this very Bishop a little after wished them cut off from the Church that troubled it about white or black

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Jewel.

Garments.

Bishop Jewel calls the Vestments "the Habits of " the Stage, the Relicks of the Amorites, and wishes "they may be extirpated to the Roots, that all the

"Remnants of former Errors, with all the Rubbish, ss and and even the Dust that yet remained, might be taken Queen away." But he adds, the Queen is fixed; and so was Elizabeth, his Lordship soon after, when he refused the learned Dr. Humphreys a Benefice within his Diocese on this M. S. Account, and called all the Non-Conformists Men p. 873. of squeamish Stomachs.

Bishop Pilkington complains "that the Disputes Pilking-

which began about the Vestments were now carriton.
deforther, even to the whole Constitution; that
pious Persons lamented this, Atheists laughed,
and the Papists blew the Coals; and that the
Blame of all was cast upon the Bishops. He urged
that it might be considered, that all Resormed
Churches had cast away popish Apparel with the
Pope; that many Ministers would rather leave
their Livings than wear them; and he was well

" fatisfied that it was not an Apparel becoming those

"that profess Godliness. I confess (says he) we Hift. Ref. fuffer many Things against our Hearts groaning Vol. III. under them; but we cannot take them away p. 316. "though we were ever so much set upon it. We

" are under Authority, and can innovate nothing without the Queen; nor can we alter the Laws;

"the only Thing left to our Choice is, whether we

" will bear these Things or break the Peace of the

" Church.

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Bishop Grindal was a considerable Time in suspense, Grindal, whether he should accept a Bishoprick with the popish Vestments. He writ to Peter Martyr on this Head, and says, That all the Bishops that had been beyond Sea had dealt with the Queen to let the Habits sall; but she was inflexible. This made them submit to the Laws, and wait for a fit Opportunity to reverse them. Upon this Principle he conformed and was consecrated; and in one of his Letters, "He calls God to witness, that it did not lie at their self-shops Door, that the Habits were not quite taken away."

Dr.

Queen Sandys.

Dr. Sandys Bishop of Worcester, and Parkburst of Elizabeth, Norwich, inveigh feverely against the Habits, and they with the rest of the Bishops threaten to declaim against them, 'Till they are fent to Hell from whence they came. Sandys in one of his Letters to Parker fays, "I hope we shall not be forced to use the Vestments, but

that the meaning of the Law is, that others in the

mean Time shall not take them away, but that they shall

er remain for the Queen.

Gueft.

M. S. p. 891.

Dr. Guest Bishop of Rochester writ against the Ceremonies to Secretary Cecil, and gave it as his Opinion, "That having been evil used, and once taken " away, they ought not to be used again, because

" the Galatians were commanded, To stand fast in the

" Liberty wherewith Christ had made them free; and because we are to abstain from all Appearance of evil.

"The Gospel teaches us to put away needless Cere-

" monies, and to worship God in Spirit and Truth;

" whereas these Ceremonies were no better than the "Devices of Men, and had been abused to Idolatry.

" He declares openly against the Cross, against

" Images in Churches, and against a Variety of Gar-

er ments in the Service of God. If a Surplice be

"thought proper for one, (fays his Lordship) it

" should serve for all Divine Offices. The Bishop

is for the People's receiving the Sacrament into their Hands, according to the Example of Christ

" and the Primitive Church, and not for putting it

" into the People's Mouths: And as for the Po-

" sture, that it should be rather standing than kneel-

"ing; but that this should be left to every one's

" Choice."

Not one of the first Set of Bishops after the Reformation approved of the Habits, or argued for their Continuance from Scripture, Antiquity, or Decency, but submitted to them out of Necessity, and to keep the Church in the Queen's Favour. much are the Times now altered with us! Our first Reformers never ascribed any Holiness or Virtue to

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the Vestments, but wished and prayed for their Re- Queen moval; whereas many of our modern Conformists Elizabeth, have made them essential to their Ministrations, and have represented Religion as lean and defective without them.

But the Question that divided the Reformers, was state of the The Lawfulness of wearing Habits that had been suestion aconsecrated to idolatrous and superstitious Uses, and were habits. the very Marks and Badges of that Religion they had remounced. Upon this they consulted the foreign Divines, who agreed in the Reasonableness of abolishing the Habits, but were divided in their Sentiments about the Lawfulness of wearing them in the mean Time: Some were asraid of the Return of Lutheranism or Popery, if the Ministers should desert their Stations in the Church; and others apprehended, that if they did not reject them at first, they should never obtain their removal afterwards.

Dr. Humphreys and Sampson, two Heads of the Sampson Non-Conformists, writ to Zurich the following Rea-and Humfons against the Lawfulness of wearing the Habits: phreys's Letter a- That they did not think the prescribing Habits to gainst the the Clergy meerly a civil Thing; nor that the Habits.

" Habits now prescribed were decent; for how can that Habit be decent that serves only to dress up

"the theatrical Pomp of Popery? The Papists glory in this, that these Habits were brought in by

"them, for which they vouch Otho's Constitutions and the Roman Pontifical. They add, that in

"King Edward's Time the Surplice was not univer-

" fally used nor pressed, whereas the Copes then ta-

" extirpate Popery but to plant it again, and instead

" of going forward in Reformation to go backward.

We do not place Religion in Habits (fay they)

but we oppose them that do, [the Papists]. Besides, it gives some Authority to Servitude to de-

" part from our Liberty. We hate Contention,

" nor do we defert our Churches and leave them ex-Elizabeth, ce posed to Wolves, but we are driven from them. 1564. "We leave our Brethren to stand and fall to their " own Master, and desire the same favourable Forbearance from them. All that is pretended is, that " the Habits are not unlawful; not that they are good and expedient; but forafmuch as the Habits of the " Clergy are visible Marks of their Profession, they " ought not to be taken from their Enemies. The " ancient Fathers had their Habits, but not peculiar " to Bishops, nor distinct from the Laity. " stances of St. John and Cyprian are fingular. "Tertullian's Time the Pallium was the common 2 " Habit of all Christians. Chrysostom speaks of white Garments, but with no Approbation; he rather " finds fault with them: Nor do we condemn Things " indifferent as unlawful; but we wish there might " be a free Synod to fettle this Matter, in which " Things may not be carried according to the Minds " of one or two Persons. The Doctrine of our " Church is now pure, and why should there be 44 any Defect in our Worship? Why should we bor-" row any Thing from Popery? Why should we " not agree in Rites as well as in Doctrine with the " other reformed Churches? We have a good Opi-" nion of our Bishops, and bear with their State Hift. Ref. " and Pomp; we once bore the same Cross with Vol. III. " them, and preached the fame Christ with them; P. 311. " why then are we now turned out of our Benefices, " and fome put in Prison, only for Habits, and " publickly defamed?

"Surplice; there are other Grievances which ought to be redressed or dispensed with; as, (1.) Mufick and Organs in Divine Worship. (2.) The Sponsors in Baptism, answering in the Child's

Name. (3.) The Cross in Baptism. (4.) Kneeling at the Sacrament, and the Use of unleavened

" Bread. (5.) There is also a want of Discipline in

" the

"the Church. (6.) The Marriage of the Clergy Queen is not legitimated, but their Children are looked Elizabeth, upon by some as Bastards. (7.) Marriage is not 1564.

to be performed without a Ring. (8.) Women are not to be churched without the Veil. (9.)

The Court of Faculties; Pluralities; Licences for Non-Residence; for eating Flesh in Lent,

&c. are insufferable Grievances. (10.) Ministers Hist. Ref. have not a free Liberty to preach without sub-in Records.

" fcribing to the Use and Approbation of all the P. 335.

" Ceremonies. And, Loftly, The Article which

" explained the Manner of Christ's Presence in the

" Sacrament is taken away."

The Bishops writ in Vindication of their Compliance with these Things, from the Necessity of the Times; the Queen's Peremptorines; the indifferent Nature of the Things required, and their Fears of the Loss of the whole Reformation, if they should desert their Stations in the Church; promising not to urge them upon their Brethren who were distaisfied; but to endeavour their Removal in a proper Time.

The learned Foreigners gave their Opinions upon Sentiments this nice Question with Caution and Reserve. Peter of foreign Martyr in his Letter to Grindal writes thus; "As for Divines.

" the Habits to be used in holy Things, since they Strype's carry an Appearance of the Mass, and are meer-Life of

14 ly Remainders of Popery, it is (fays he) the Opi-Grindal,

" nion of the learned Bullinger, the chief Minister of p. 29, 30.

" Zurich, that they are to be refrained from, lest by your Example a Thing that is scandalous should

be confirmed; but (he adds) though I have been

" always against the Use of such Ornaments, yet I

" fee the present Danger, lest you should be put from the Office of Preaching. There may also

" be fome Hopes, that as Images and Altars are taken away, fo also those Appearances of the

"Mass may be removed, if you and others who

have taken upon you Episcopacy labour in it. - L

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" am therefore more backward to advise you rather Queen Elizabeth, co to refuse the Bishoprick than to submit to the Use 1564. " of those Vestures; and yet because I am sensible Scandals of this kind are to be avoided, I am more willing to yield to Bullinger's Opinion " aforesaid:" But after all he advises him to do

nothing against his Conscience.

Of the

Hift. Ref.

Vol. III.

p. 308.

Bullinger and Gualter, Ministers of Zurich, in their Switzers. Letters to Horn and Grindal, "lament the unhappy " Breach in the Church of England, and approve of " the Zeal of those Divines, who wish to have the " House of God purged from all the Dregs of Po-" pery. They are not pleased with them who first " made the Laws about Habits, nor with those who " zealoufly maintain them. They declare that they " acted unwifely if they were of the Reformed fide;

M. S. p. 889.

" but if they were disguised Enemies, that they had " been laying Snares with ill Defigns. They are "therefore absolutely against the Imposition of " these, and other Grievances; but they think ma-" ny Things of this Sort should be submitted to, rather than Men should for sake the Ministry at this " Juncture, left the whole Reformation should be of lost; but that they should press the Queen and the " Nobility to go on and complete the Reformation " fo glorioufly begun.

These Divines writ also to the Earl of Bedford, and acquainted him, " That they were forry to hear that not only the Vestments, but many other

"Things were retained in the Church which favoured plainly of Popery. They complain of the Bi-

" shops printing their Letter, and that their private "Opinion about the Lawfulness of wearing the Ha-

" bits for the prefent, should be made use of to cast

"Reproaches on Persons, for whom they should ra-" ther have Compassion in their Sufferings, than

" fludy to aggravate them. They pray his Lord-" ship to intercede with the Queen and Nobility, for

" their Brethren that were then under Sufferings,

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" who deferved a very great Regard, forasmuch as " it had appeared what true Zeal they had for Reli-Elizabeth, " gion, fince the only Thing they defired was, that 1564. " the Church should be purged from all the Dregs of " Popery. This Cause (say they) in general is " fuch, that those who promote it are worthy of " the highest Dignity. They do therefore earnest-" ly pray his Lordship at this Time, to exert him-" felf, and employ all the Interest he has in the "Queen and Nobility, that the Church of England, " fo happily reformed to the Admiration of the " whole World, may not be defiled with the Rem-" nants of Popery. To retain these Things will " look like Giddiness (say these Divines;) it will of-" fend the Weak, and give great Scandal to their " Neighbours in France and Scotland, who are yet " under the Cross; and the very Papists will justify Hift. Ref. their tyrannical Impositions by such Proceedings." Vol. III. They also writ to Grindal and Horn to the same Pur- p. 313.

pose, but with no Effect.

The Divines of Geneva were more peremptory in of the their Advices; for in their Letter of Octob. 24. sign'd French by Theodore Beza, and seventeen of his Brethren.

they say, "If the Case were theirs they would not receive the Ministry upon these Conditions is it were proffered, much less would they sue for it. "As for those who have hitherto complied, if they are obliged not only to wink at manisest Abuses,

" but to approve of those Things which ought to be redressed, what Thing else can we advise them to,

"but that they should retire to a private Life. — As for the popish Habits, those Men that are Authors of their being imposed, do deserve most evil

"of the Church, and shall verily answer it at the dreadful Bar of Christ's Judgment." They then argue very strongly against the Habits; and having advised the Ministers not to lay down their Ministry presently, for fear of the Return of Popery, they conclude thus, "Nevertheless, if Ministers are com-

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Elizabeth, "their Subscriptions to allow them as lawful, what their Subscriptions to allow them as lawful, what else can we advise them to, but that having witnessed their Innocence, and tried all other Means in the Fear of the Lord, they should give over

"in the Fear of the Lord, they should give over their Functions to open wrong?" They then give their Opinions against the Cross in Baptism; the Validity of Baptism by Midwives; the Power of the Keys being in the Hands of Lay-Chancellors and Bishops Courts: And conclude with an Exhortation and Prayer for Unity, and a more perfect Re-

formation in the English Church.

Of the Scots.

Though the Reformation in Scotland was not fully established, yet the superintendent Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges within that Realm, directed a Letter the very first Opportunity, to their Brethren the Bishops, and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. It was dated from Edinburgh, Dec. 28th, 1566. and fign'd by John Spotswood, and nine of his Brethren, Preachers of Christ Jesus. The Letter does not enter into the Debate, whether the Habits are simply indifferent or not; but pleads in a most earnest and pathetick Manner for Toleration and Forbearance, and that the deprived Ministers may be restored. "If Surplice, Cor-" ner Cap and Tippit (fay they) have been Badges of Idolatry, what have the Preachers of Christian " Liberty, and the open Rebukers of all Supersti-" tion, to do with the Dregs of the Romish Beast? " Our Brethren that of Conscience refuse that un-" profitable Apparel, do neither damn yours, nor " molest you that use such vain Trifles. " shall do the like by them we doubt not but you " will therein please God, and comfort the Hearts " of many." But the whole Letter breaths fuch an excellent Spirit, that I cannot forbear recommending it to the Reader's Perusal in the Appendix.

Appendix,

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It is evident upon the whole, that it was the unanimous Opinion of the foreign Divines, that the Ha-Elizabeth, bits ought to be laid afide by Authority; and that in, the mean Time they should not be urged upon those that scrupled them: But they were not so well agreed in the Lawfulness of wearing them till they were taken away; though their Fears of the Return of Popery, if the Ministers should desert their Stations; their Compassion to the Souls of the People that were perishing for lack of Knowledge; and their Hopes, that the Queen would quickly be prevailed with to remove them, made most of them think they might be dispensed with for the present.

The English Laity were more averse to the of the Habits than the Clergy; as their Hatred of Po-English pery encreased, so did their Aversion to the Larry. Garments. There was a strong Party in the very Court against them, among whom was the great Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys Vice-Chamberlain; Burleigh Lord Treasurer; Sir Francis Walfingham Secretary of State; the Earl of Bedford, Warwick, and others. But the Protestant Populace throughout the Nation were fo inflamed, that nothing but an awful Subjection to Authority could have kept them within the Church. Great Numbers refus'd to frequent those Places of Worship where Service was minister'd in that Dress; they would not falute fuch Ministers in the Streets, nor keep them Company; nay, if we may believe Dr. Whitgift, in his Defence against Cartwright, " They Strype's " fpit in their Faces, reviled them as they went Annals,

" along, and showed such like rude Behaviour, be- p. 460. " cause they took them for Papists in disguise, for "Time-fervers, and half-faced Protestants, that " would be content with the Return of that Religion " whose Badge they wore." There was indeed a warm Spirit in the People, against every Thing that came from that pretended Church, whose Garments had been fo lately dyed with the Blood of their

Friends

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Friends and Relations. Upon the whole, I leave Elizabeth, the Reader to determine, how far the Wildom and Justice of the Queen can be vindicated, in imposing these Habits on the Clergy; or the Bishops be excused for imprisoning, suspending, and depriving, some of the most useful Preachers in the Kingdom, for Things which in their own Opinion were but barely tolerable; but in the Judgment of their Bre-

thren were absolutely finful.

We have already mentioned the Queen's Letter of January 25th; in Obedience to which Archbishop Parker writ to his Brethren of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and in particular to Grindal Bishop of London, (there being in that City the greatest Number of Clergy, and of the best Learning that refused the Apparel) to confult proper Methods to reduce them to an exact Uniformity. After some Debate the Commissioners agreed upon certain ADVER-TISEMENTS (as they were called) partly for due Order in preaching and administring the Sacraments; and partly for the Apparel of Persons Ecclesiastical.

Advertifements or Injunctions for Uoniformity. Sparrow.

The Articles for Preaching declare, "That all " Licences granted before March 1st, 1564. shall " be void and of none effect; and that all that shall

" be thought meet for the Office of Preaching shall "be admitted again, paying no more than four

" Pence for the Writing, Parchment, and Wax;

" and that those who were not approved as Preach-

" ers, might read the Homilies.

" In the Ministration of the Communion in Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, the principal Mi-

" nisters shall wear a Cope with Gospeller and Epistoler

" agreeably; but at all other Prayers to be faid at " the Communion Table, they shall wear no Copes

46 but Surplices only: Deans and Prebendaries shall

wear a Surplice with a filk Hood in the Choir;

" and when they preach a Hood."

" Every Minister saying the publick Prayers, or administring the Sacraments, &c. shall wear a

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"Surplice with Sleeves; and the Parish shall provide Queen a decent Table standing on a Frame for the Com-Elizabeth, munion Table; and the ten Commandments shall

" be fet on the East Wall over the said Table.

"All Dignitaries in Cathedral Churches, Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity and Law, having Eccle-fiaftical Livings, shall wear in their common Apparel a broad side-Gown with Sleeves, strait at the Hands without any Cuss, or falling Capes; and Tippets of Sarsenet, and a square Cap, but no Hats, except in their Journeying. The inferior Clergy are to wear long Gowns and Caps of the same Fashion; except in Case of Poverty,

" when they may wear short Gowns."

To these Advertisements certain Protesta-New subtions were annexed, to be made, promised, and sub-scriptions.
scribed by such as shall hereafter be admitted to any
Office or Cure in the Church. "And here every
Clergyman subscribed, and promised not to preach
or expound the Scriptures, without special Licence
of the Bishop under his Seal, but only to read the
Homilies; and likewise to observe, keep, and
maintain such Order and Uniformity in all external Polity, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church,

" as by Laws, good Usages, and Orders are already well provided and established."

These Advertisements were enjoined the Clergy by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Rochester Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical, and by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and some others. The Presace says, "That they do not pressible these Rules as equivalent with the Word of God, or as of Necessity to bind the Consciences of the Queen's Subjects, in their own Nature considered; or as adding any Essicacy or Holiness to publick Prayer, or to the Sacraments; but as temporal Orders meerly Ecclesiastical, without any vain Superstition, and as Rules of Decency, Distinction, and Order, for the Time."

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By the first of these Articles, all Preachers through-Elizabeth, out the Nation were disqualified at once; and by the last, they subscribed, and promised not to preach or expound the Scriptures, without a special Licence from the Bishop, which was not to be obtained without a Promise under Hand of an absolute Conformity to the Ceremonies. But here the Commissioners surely broke through the Act of Submission, by which they are obliged never to make or execute any Canons or Constitutions without the Royal Assent. But the Bishops presumed upon their Interest with her Majesty; they knew her Mind, though she refused, for political Reasons, to ratify their Advertisements, telling them, that the Oath of Canonical Obedience was fufficient to bind the inferior Clergy to their Duty, without the Interpolition of the Crown.

Parker therefore went on; and having cited the Puriker, p. 161. tan Clergy to Lambeth, he admonished some, and threaten'd others: But Grindal withdrew, being naturally averse to Methods of Severity, and afraid of a Præmunire: His Grace took a great deal of Pains to gain him over, and by his Arguments (fays Strype) brought him to a good Resolution. He also writ to the Council for the Queen's and their Assistance; and to the Secretary of State, befeeching him to spirit up the Bishop of London to his Duty, which was done accordingly. What Pains will fome Men take to draw their Brethren into a Snare, and force them to be Partners in Oppression and Cruelty!

Among others that the Archbishop cited before Dr. Humphreys and him were the Reverend Mr. Thomas Sampson, Dean of Sampson before the

Commi fi-

oners.

Christ Church, and Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, Prefident of Magdalen College, Oxon, Men of high Renown throughout the Nation for Learning, Piety, and Zeal for the Reformation, having been Exiles for Religion in Queen Mary's Reign, but averse to the Upon their Appearance the Archbishop urged them with the Opinions of Bucer and Peter Martyr; but the Authority of these Divines not be-

ing

ing sufficient to remove their Scruples, they were ordered not to depart the City without leave. After long Elizabeth, Attendance, and many Checks from fome of the Council for their Refractoriness, they framed a supplicatory Letter in a very elegant but submissive Stile, and fent it to the Archbishop, and the rest of the Ecclefiaftical Commissioners, March 20th, "In which " they protest before God, what a bitter Grief it " was to them, that there should be such Diffentions " about a Cap and Surplice among Persons of the They alledge the Authorities of St. " fame Faith. " Austin, Socrates, and Theodoret, to shew that in " their Times there was a Variety of Rites and Ob-" fervances which break not Unity and Concord. "They befeech the Bishops therefore, if there was " any Fellowship in Christ, that they would follow the " Direction of St. Paul about Things in their own " Nature indifferent, That every one should be persuaded " in bis own Mind. Conscience (say they) is a " tender Thing, and all Men cannot look upon the " fame Things as indifferent; if therefore these Ha-" bits feem fo to you, you are not to be condemned " by us; on the other hand, if they do not appear " fo to us, we ought not to be vexed by you. They " then appeal to Antiquity, to the Practice of other " Reformed Churches, and to the Consciences of the "Bishops themselves; and conclude thus, Where-" fore we most humbly pray, that a Thing which is " the Care and Pleasure of Papists, and which you " [the Bishops] have no great Value for your selves, " and which we refuse not from any Contempt of " Authority, but from an Aversion to the Com-" mon Enemy, may not be our Snare nor our " Crime."

In one of their Examinations the Archbishop put nine Questions to them, to which they gave the following Answers.

Quest. 1. " Is the Surplice a Thing evil and wicked; or The Abp's is it indifferent?

Answ. Answers.

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Queen Answ. "Though the Surplice in Substance be in-Elizabeth," different, yet in the present Circumstance it is not, 1565. "being of the same Nature with the Vestis peregrina,

" or the Apparel of Idolatry, for which God by the

" Prophet threatens to visit.

Quest. 2. " If it be not indifferent, for what Cause? Answ. "Because Things that have been consecra-

" ted to Idolatry are not indifferent.

Quest. 3. "Whether the Ordinary [or Bishop] detesting Papistry, may enjoin the Surplice to be worn, and

es enforce bis Injunction?

Answ. "It may be said to such an one in Tertullian's

Words, Si tu Diaboli Pompam oderis, quicquid ex ea attigeris, id scias esse Idololatriam. That is, If

"thou hatest the Pomp and Pageantry of the Devil, whatsoever of it thou medlest with, is Idolatry.

"Which if he believes he will not enforce the Injun-

ction.

Quest. 4. "Whether the Cope be a Thing indifferent,

being prescribed by Law for Decency and Reverence,

" and not in respect of Superstition or Holiness?

Answ. "Decency is not promoted by a Cope, "which was devised to deface the Sacrament. St.

" Ferom says, That the Gold ordained by God for

Reverence and Decency of the Jewish Temple, is

" not to be admitted to beautify the Church of

" Christ; and if so, much less Copes brought in by

" Papists, and continued in their Service as proper

" Ornaments of their Religion.

Quest. 5. "Whether any Thing that is indifferent may

be enjoined as godly, to the Use of Common Prayer and

« Sacraments?

Answ. " If it be meerly indifferent, as Time, Place,

" and fuch necessary Circumstances of Divine Wor-

" ship, for the which there may be brought a

" Ground out of Scripture, we think it may.

Quest. 6. "Whether the Civil Magistrate may confitute by Law an Abstinence from Meats on certain

or Days ?

Anfw.

Answ. "Because of, Abstinence a manifest Com- Queen modity ariseth to the Commonwealth in Policy, Elizabeth, if it be sufficiently guarded against Superstition, 1565.

"he may appoint it, due Regard being had to Per"fons and Times.

Quest. 7. "Whether a Law may be made for the

" Difference of Ministers Apparel from Laymen?

Answ. "Whether such Prescription to a Minister of the Gospel of Christ be lawful, may be doubted, ed, because no such Thing is decreed in the New

" Testament; nor did the Primitive Church ap-

" point any fuch Thing, but would rather that "Ministers should be distinguished from the Laity

" Doctrina, non Veste, by their Doctrine, not by

" their Garments.

Quest. 8. "Whether Ministers going in such Apparel" as the Papists used, ought to be condemned of any

" Preacher for so doing?

Answ. "We judge no Man; to his own Master

" he stands or falls.

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Quest. 9. " Whether such Preachers ought to be re-

" formed, or restrained, or no?

Answ. " Irenæus will not have Brethren restrained L. of Par? " from brotherly Communion for Diversity in Ce-ker, p. 166;

" remonies, provided there be Unity of Faith and

" Charity; and it is to be wished that there may

" be the like charitable Permission among us."

To these Answers, our Divines subjoined some other other ArArguments against wearing and enforcing the Habits; suments
as, (1.) Apparel ought to be worn as Meat ought to against the
be eat; but according to St. Paul, Meat offered to
Idols ought not to be eaten, therefore popish Apparel ought not to be worn. (2.) We ought not to
give Offence in Matters of meer Indifference, therefore the Bishops who are of this Opinion ought not to
enforce the Habits. (3.) Popish Garments have
many superstitious mystical Significations, for which
Purpose they are consecrated by the Papists; we
ought therefore to consecrate them also, or lay them
wholly

Queen 1565.

wholly aside. (4.) Our Ministrations are supposed Elizabeth, by some not to be valid, or acceptable to God, unless performed in popish Apparel; and this being a prevailing Opinion, we apprehend it highly necessary to disabuse the People. (5.) Things indifferent ought not to be made necessary, because then they change their Nature, and we lose our Christian Liberty. (6.) If we are bound to wear popish Apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven Crowns, and to make use of Oil, Spittle, Cream, and all the rest of the papistical Additions to the Ordinances of Christ.

The Ecclefiaftical Commissioners were very much divided in their Opinions, how to proceed with these Men. Some were for answering the Reasons abovementioned, and for enforcing the Habits with a Protestation, that they wished them taken away. Others were for Connivance; and others for fome Compromise: Accordingly a pacifick Proposition was drawn up which Humpbreys and Sampson were willing to subscribe, with the Reserve of the Apostle, All Things are lawful, but all Things edify not. But the Archbishop, who was at the Head of the Commission, would abate nothing; for on the 29th of April he told them peremptorily in open Court, that they should conform to the Habits; that is, to wear the square Cap and no Hats in their long Gowns; to wear the Surplice with Non-regent's Hoods in the Choirs, according to ancient Custom; and to communicate Kneeling in Wafer Bread; or else they should part with their Pla-

Proceedings of the Commi fioners.

Sampson depriv'd.

L. of Par-ces. To which our Divines replied, that their Conker,p.185 fciences could not comply with these Injunctions, be the Event what it would. Upon this they were both put under Confinement; but the Storm fell chiefly upon Sampson, who was detained in Prison a considerable Time, as a Terror to others; and by special Order from the Queen, was deprived of his Deanry; nor could he ever obtain, after this, any higher Preferment in the Church, than the Government of a poor Hospital, Huma

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Humphreys's Place was not at the Queen's Disposal; Queen but he durst not return to Oxford, even after he had Elizabeth, obtained his Release out of Prison, but retired to one 1565. Mrs. Warcup's in Berkshire, a most devout Woman, Humwho had run all Hazards for harbouring the perfecu-phrey's ted Protestants in the late Times: From hence he writ Letter to a most excellent Letter to the Queen, in which he be queen. " befeeches her Majesty's Favour about the Habits, " forafmuch as she well knew that the Controversy " was about Things in their own Nature indifferent, " and in which Liberty of Conscience ought not to " be restrained. He protests his own and his Bre-" threns Loyalty, and then expostulates with her " Majesty, why her Mercy should be shut against " them, when it was open to all others? Did she say " she would not yield to Subjects? Yet she might " fpare miserable Men. Would she not rescind a " publick Act? Yet she might relax and suspend it. "Would she not take away a Law? Yet she might " grant a Toleration. Was it not fit to indulge " fome Mens Affections? Yet it was most fit and " equal not to force the Minds of Men. He there-" fore earnesty beseeched her to consider the Majesty " of the Glorious Gospel, the Equity of the Cause, "the Fewness of the Labourers, the Greatness of " the Harvest, the Multitude of the Tares, and the " Heaviness of the Punishment." Humphreys made Ohtains a fo many Friends at Court, that at length he obtained a Toleration. Toleration for himself, but had no Preferment in the M. S. Church, till after 10 or 12 Years, when he submitted P. 873. to the Habits. The Bishop of Winchester presented him to a small Living within the Diocese of Salisbury, but Jewel refused to admit him, and said he was determined to abide by his Resolution till he had good Affurance of his Conformity. The Oxford Historian Athen Ox. fays, Dr. Humpbreys was a moderate, conscientious p. 242. Non-Conformift, but a great and general Scholar, an able Linguist, a deep Divine; and that for his Excellency of Stile, Exactness of Method, and Substance of Mat-

Matter in his Writings, he went beyond most of our Queen

Elizabeth, Theologists. 1565.

While the Case of these Oxford Divines was under Consideration, his Grace was consulting how to reduce the London Puritans: He was afraid to press them with the ADVERTISEMENTS, because the Queen could not be prevail'd with to put the Seal to them; he therefore fent them again to the Secretary with a Letter to the Queen, praying, "That if not " all, yet at least those Articles that related to the " Apparel might be returned with fome Authority."

L. of Par- But the Queen was firm to her former Resolution; ker, p. 212, she would give no Authority to the Advertisements; 214. but to support her Commissioners issued out a Proclamation, peremptorily requiring Uniformity in the Habits, upon pain of Probibition from Preaching,

and Deprivation.

Proceedings with

Upon this the Archbishop consulted with Men learned in the Civil Law, what Method to prodon Clergy. ceed in; and then concluded with the Confent of the rest of the Commissioners, to summons the whole Body of Pastors and Curates, within the City of London, to appear at Lambeth, and to examine every one of them upon this Question, Whether they would promise Conformity to the Apparel established by Law, and testify the same by Subscription of their Hands? Those that demurred were immediately to be suspended, and after three Months deprived of their Livings. To prepare the Way for this general Citation it was thought proper, first to summon the Reverend Mr. John Fox the Martyrologist, that the Reputation of his great Piety might give the greater Countenance to the Proceedings of the Commissioners; but when they called upon him to subscribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his Pocket, and said, To this I will subscribe. And when they offered him the Canons he refused, saying, I have nothing in the Church but a Prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you take it from me. But the Commissioners had not Courage enough to deprive a Divine of so much Merit, Queen who held up the Ashes of Smithfield before their Elizabeth, Eyes.

The 26th of March being the Day appointed for Fuller. the Appearance of the London Clergy, the Archbishop defired the Secretary, with some of the Nobility and Queen's Council to countenance the Proceedings of the Commissioners with their Presence, but they would not be concerned in fuch difagreeable Work. the Ministers appeared in Court, Mr. Thomas Cole a Clergyman being placed by the Side of the Commiffioners in prieftly Apparel, the Bishop's Chancellor from the Bench addressed them in these Words: " My Mafters, and ye Ministers of London, the " Council's Pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the "Unity of Apparel, like this Man who stands here " canonically Habited with a square Cap, a Scho-" lar's Gown Priest-like, a Tippet; and in the " Church a Linen Surplice. Ye that will subscribe, " write Volo; those that will not subscribe, write " Nolo: Be brief, make no Words." - When fome of the Clergy offer'd to speak he interrupted them, and cried, Peace, Peace. Apparitor call over L. of Grinthe Churches, and ye Masters answer presently subdal, p. 98. pana contemptus. Great was the Anguish and Distress Strype's of those Ministers, who cried out for Compassion to An. p. 463. themselves and Families, saying, We shall be killed in our Souls for this Pollution of ours. After much Per-Numbers fwasion and many Threatnings, Sixty one out of depriv'd. about a Hundred were prevailed with to subscribe, and Thirty feven absolutely refus'd; of which last L. of Par-Number, as the Archbishop acknowledged, were ker, p.215. some of the best Preachers. These were immediately fuspended, and put from all Manner of Ministry, with fignification, that if they did not conform within three Months they were to be deprived. The Archbishop imagined that their Behaviour would

have been rough and clamorous, but contrary to his Expectations it was reasonable, quiet, and modest.

Queen The Ministers gave in the following Paper of Rea-Elizabeth, fons for refufing the Apparel. 1565.

fons for refusing the Habits.

Their Rea- REASONS grounded upon the SCRIPTURES, whereby we are persuaded not to admit the Use of the outward Apparel, and ministring Garments of the Pope's Church.

> "OUR Saviour saith, Take beed that you contemn not one of these little Ones; for be that offendeth one of these little Ones that believeth in " me, it were good for him that a Milstone were hanged about his Neck, and that he were drowned in the Depth " of the Sea. To offend the little Ones in Christ, is " to speak or do any Thing whereby the simple " Christians may take Occasion either to like that " which is evil, or to mislike that which is good. " Now for us to admit the Use of these Things may " occasion this Mischief, therefore in consenting to " them we should offend many of these little Ones. " Further, St. Paul faith, If any Man that is infirm ce shall see thee that hast Knowledge sitting at Meat at the " Idols Table, will not bis Conscience be stirred up to eat that which is offered to Idols? And so the weak Brother for whom Christ died shall perish in thy Knowledge; " and in sinning after this Sort against the Brethren, and " wounding their weak Consciences, ye do sin against " Christ, 1 Cor. viii. 10, 11, 12. This Place proe veth, that whatfoever is done by him that has "Knowledge, or feems to have it, in fuch fort that " he may feem to allow that as good, which in it felf " cannot be other than evil, is an Occasion for the Weak to allow and approve of the Thing that is " evil, and to millike that that is good, though the " doing it be indifferent of it felf in him that has "Knowledge. To fet at the Idols Table, or to eat " Things offered to Idols, is in him that has Know-" ledge a Thing indifferent, for he knows that the es Idol is nothing, and that every Creature of God is er good,

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good, and to be received with Thanksgiving without asking any Questions for Conscience sake. Elizabeth, "But to do this in the Presence of him that thinks " that none can do fo, but he must be Partaker of " Idolatry, is to encourage him to like Idolatry, and " to mislike the true Service of God; for none can " like both. Now the Case of eating and drinking, " and of wearing Apparel, is in this Point the fame; " for though to wear the outward and ministring Garments of the Pope's Church is in it felf indiffe-" rent, yet to wear them in Presence of the infirm " and weak Brethren, who do not understand the In-" differency of them, may occasion them to like the " Pomp of the Pope's Ministration, which of it felf " is evil, and to mislike the simple Ministration of " Chrift, which in it felf is good.

Secondly, "We may not use any Thing that is re-" pugnant to Christian Liberty, nor maintain an Opi-" nion of Holiness where none is; nor consent to " Idolatry, nor deny the Truth, nor discourage the "Godly, and encourage the Wicked, nor deftroy " the Church of God, which we are bound to edify, " nor shew Disobedience where God commandeth us " to obey; all which we should do, if we should confent to wear the outward and ministring Garments " of the Pope's Church; as appears by the following " Paffages of Scripture; by St. Paul's Exhortation, " Gal. v. 1. Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ has " made you free; by the Example of Christ, Matth. " xv. 2, 3. who would not have his Disciples maintain " an Opinion of Holiness which the Pharisees had in " washing Hands; by the Doctrine of St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi. 15. where he teacheth, that there can be no Agree-" ment between Christ and Belial; by the Example of " Daniel, ch. vi. who making his Prayer to God con-" trary to the Commandment of the King, fet open " his Window towards Jerusalem, lest he might seem " to deny his Profession, or consent to the Wicked; By the Example of St. Paul, who rebuked Peter

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Quen " sharply, because he did by his Diffimulation dis-Elizabeth, " courage the Godly that from among the Heathen " were converted to Christ, and encourage the fu-" perstitious Jews: And again, by his Doctrine, 2 Cor. xiii. where he teacheth, that Ministers bave e Power to edify, but not to destroy. It is farther " evident, from the Examples of the Patriarchs and " Prophets, who in worshipping God would not use " the Rites and Ceremonies of the Idolatrous: And to conclude, from the Doctrine and Example of " Peter and John, Acts iv. who refusing to obey the " Commandment of the Rulers, in ceasing to preach

> " Christ, said, Whether it be right in the Sight of God to obey you rather than God, be you your selves

ce Judges.

Thirdly, "For a further Proof we may bring the "Testimony and Practice of the ancient Fathers.

" Tertullian, in his Book de Corona Militis, com-" pares those Men to dumb Idols, who wear any

" Thing like the decking of the Idols. Again, he si faith, Si in Idolio recumbere alienum est a fide, quid in

" Idoli Habitu videri? If it be a Matter of Infideli-

" ty to fit at the Idols Feafts, what is it to be feen

" in the Habit or Apparel of the Idol?

"St. Austin, in his 86th Epistle to Casulanus, " warneth him not to fast on the same Day, lest

" thereby he might feem to confent with the wicked

Manichees.

"The fourth Council of Toletane, Canon 5th, to " avoid Consent with Hereticks, decreed, That in

" Baptism the Body of the baptized should be but

ec once dipped.

"The great Clerk Origen, as Epiphanius writeth, 1. Tom. I. B. 2. Hæref. 64. because he delivered

" Palm to those that offered to the Image of Sera-" pis, although he openly faid, Venite accipite non

" frondes simulachri sed frondes Christi; Come and re-" ceive the Boughs, not of the Image but of Christ; yet

"was he for this, and fuch like doings, excommu-

" nicated

" nicated and cast out of the Church, by those Mar- Queen tyrs and Confessors that were at Athens.

"In the tripartite History, B. 6. chap. 30. It is 1565.

" said, that the Christian Soldiers that by the Subtlety of Julian were brought to offer Incense to the Idol,

" when they perceived their Fault, they ran forth into the Streets, professing the Religion of Christ, te-

" flifying themselves to be Christians, and confessing

"that their Hands had offended unadvisedly, but that now they were ready to give their whole Bodies to

" the most cruel Torments and Pains for Christ.

"Further, to prove that wearing the ministring Garments of the Pope's Church, is to confirm the Opinion of the Necessity and Holiness of the same,

and to shew Consent to Idolatry, let it be remem-

ber'd that the first Devisers of them have taught, that of Necessity they must be had; and have made

"Laws to punish and deprive those that had them

not; as appears in the Pontifical de Clerico faciendo,

that is, of the ordering of a Clerk, where the Sur-

plice is termed the Habit or Garment of the holy

"Religion. And Durandus, in his 3d Book, entitled Rationale Divinor. calls it the linen Garment

which those Men that are occupied in any Manner

" at the Service of the Altar and holy Things, must

" wear over their common Apparel.

"Lyndwood also, in his Constitutions for the Province of England, de Habitu Clericali, affirms the
Necessity of this Habit; so does Ottobonus and
others, appointing grievous Punishments for those
that refuse to wear them; yea, and the Pontifical
teaches, that when a Clerk has by Murder, or
otherwise, deserved to die, he must be degraded,
by plucking violently from him those Garments
with these Words, Authoritate Dei Omnipotentis,
Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, &c. By the Authority of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
and by our Authority we take from thee the Habit of

the Clergy, and we make thee naked and bare of the

Queen "Ornaments of Religion; and we do depose, degrade, Elizabeth, co spoil, and strip thee of thy Clergy Order, Benefice, and "Privilege; and as one that is unworthy of the Profession

of a Clerk, we bring thee back again into the Servitude

" and Shame of the Secular Habit.

"These Things being thus weigh'd, with the " Warning that St. Paul giveth I Theff. chap. v.

where he commands us to abstain from all Appear-

ance of Evil, we cannot but think that in using

" of these Things we should beat back those that

" are coming from Superstition, and confirm those that are grown in Superstition, and consequently

overthrow that which we have been labouring to

" build, and incur the Danger of that horrible Curse

" that our Saviour has pronounced, Wo to the World

because of Offences.

"Knowing therefore how horrible a Thing it is to " fall into the Hands of the living God, by doing

that which our Consciences (grounded upon the

" Truth of God's Word, and the Example and Do-

" Etrine of ancient Fathers) do tell us were evil done,

" and to the great Discrediting of the Truth where-

of we profess to be Teachers; we have thought

good to yield our selves into the Hands of Men,

to fuffer whatfoever God hath appointed us to

" fuffer, for the preferring of the Commandments of

"God and a clear Conscience, before the Com-

mandments of Men; in complying with which

we cannot escape the Condemnation of our Consci-

ences; keeping always in Memory that horrible

Saying of John in his first Epistle, If our Conscience

condemn us God is greater than our Conscience: And

not forgetting the Saying of the Psalmist, It is

good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust in Man.

Pfal. cxviii. It is good to trust in the Lord, and not to " trust in Princes. And again, Pfal. cxlvi. Trust not

" in Princes, nor in the Children of Men, in whom there

" is no Health, whose Spirit shall depart out of them, and they shall return to the Earth from whence they

" came,

" came, and in that Day all their Devices shall come to Queen

nought.

Elizabeth,

Nor despise Men therefore but trusting in 1565.

"Not despising Men therefore, but trusting in God only, we seek to serve him with a clear Con-

" science, so long as we shall live here, affuring our

" felves that those Things that we shall suffer for do-M. S. pe-

" ing so, shall be a Testimony to the World, that nes me, great Reward is laid up for us in Heaven, where p. 57, &c.

" we doubt not but to rest for ever, with them that

" have before our Days suffered for the like.

To this Declaration, and every Thing else that was offered, from the Danger of the Reformation, and the Ruin of fo many poor Families; the Commissioners replied, it was not their Business to argue and debate, but to execute the Queen's Injunctions. Archbishop Parker seemed pleased with the Resolu- L. of Partion of his Chancellor, and faid, That he did not ker, p. 215. doubt, but when the Ministers had felt the Smart of Poverty and Want they would comply; for the Wood (fays he) is yet but green. He declared further, that he was fully bent to go through with the Work he had begun; and the rather, because the Queen would have him try with his own Authority what he could do for Order. This raifed his Ambition, and put him upon foliciting the Secretary with Letters for his Countenance; in one of which he tells him, that " If he was not better back'd there would be " fewer Winchester's, as is defired," referring to Stephen Gardiner, the bloody perfecuting Bishop of Winchester in Queen Mary's Reign; "but for my part " (fays he) fo that my Prince may win Honour, I Life of " will be very gladly the Rock of Offence; fince the Parker, " Lord is my Helper I will not fear what Man can do to 220, &. " me; nor will I be amused or daunted, Fremat " Mundus ruat Cælum." These were the Weapons, and this the Language, of one whom Mr. Strype calls the mild and gentle Archbishop!

The Non-Conformists had juster Thoughts of him;

Elizabeth, he was at the Head of all their Sufferings, and pushed them forward with unrelenting Vigor. The Queen might have been foften'd; the Secretary of State and Courtiers declared they could not keep Pace with him; Grindal relented, and the Bishop of Durbam declared he would rather lay down his Bishoprick than suffer such Proceedings in his Diocese. But Parker was above these Reproaches, and instead of relaxing framed fuch Injunctions for the London Clergy as had never been heard of in a Protestant King. dom, or a free Government. The Commissioners obliged every Clergyman that had Cure of Souls to fwear Obedience, (1.) To all the Queen's Injunctions and Letters Patents. (2.) To all Letters from the Lords of the Privy Council. (3.) To the Articles and Injunctions of their Metropolitan. (4.). To the Articles and Mandates of their Bishop, Archdeacon, Chancellors, Somners, Receivers, &c. And in a Word, to be subject to the Controll of all their Superiours with, Patience. To gird these Injunctions close upon the Puritans, there was appointed in every Parish four or eight Censors, Spies, or Jurats, to take Cognizance of all Offences given or taken. These were under Oath enjoined to take particular Notice of the Conformity of the Clergy and of the Parishioners, and to give in their Presentments when requir'd; so that it was impossible for an honest Puritan to escape the High Commission.

junctions of the Ecclesiastical Commiffioners. Strype's Ann. p. 463.

New In-

By these Methods of Severity, Religion and Virtue Confequences of them. were discountenanced for the fake of their pretended L. of Par- Ornaments; the Consciences of good Men were enker, p. 224 tangled, and the Reformation exposed to the utmost Hazard. Many Churches were shut up in the City of London for want of Ministers, to the Grief of all

good Men, and the inexpressible Pleasure of the Papists, who rejoiced to see the Reformers weakening their own Hands, by filencing fuch Numbers of the most useful and popular Preachers, while the Coune

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try was in distress for want of them. Bishop Sandys Queen in one of his Sermons before the Queen some Years Elizabeth, after, tells her Majesty, "That many of her People, 1565. "especially in the Northern Parts, perished for want Life of of saving Food. Many there are (says he) that Grindal, hear not a Sermon in seven Years, I might safely p. 99. fay in seventeen: Their Blood will be required at Pierce, p. 52.

But to make thorough Work with the Refusers of Further Sethe Habits, the Archbishop called in all Licences, verities a-according to the Advertisements, and appointed all Puritans. Preachers throughout his whole Province to take out new Ones; this was to reach those who were neither Incumbents, nor Curates in Parishes, but Lecturers, or occasional Preachers. All Parsons and Curates Licences were forbid to suffer any to preach in their Churches taken upon any former Licences given by the Archbishop; and fuch as took out new Licences bound themselves for the future, not to disturb the publick Establishment, or vary from it. And because some when they had been discharged from their Ministry in one Diocese for Nonconformity, got a Settlement in another, it was now appointed that fuch Curates as came out of other Dioceses should not be allowed to preach without Letters Testimonial from the Ordinary where they last served. But those Puritans who could not L. of Parwith a good Conscience take out new Licences kept ker, p. 189. their old ones, and made the best use of them they could. "They travel'd up and down the Countries " from Church to Church, preaching where they " could get leave, as if they were Apostles (fays Bishop " fewel)" and fo they were with Regard to their Poverty, For Silver and Gold they had none: But his Lordship adds, "And they take Money for their " Labours." An unpardonable Crime! that honest Men of a liberal Education, that had parted with their Livings in the Church for a good Conscience, should endeavour after a very poor manner to live by the Gospel.

Queen Univerfity of Cambridge's Privilege of licensing Preachers Shops. debated.

There was still one Door of Entrance into the Mi-Elizabeth, niftry left open to the Puritans, which the Archbishop used all his Interest to shut, but could not prevail. It was a Privilege granted the University of Cambridge by Pope Alexander VI. to licence twelve Ministers yearly, to preach any where throughout England, without obtaining Licences from any of the Bi-The Bull fays, that "The Chancellor of the "University (who was then Fisher Bishop of Rose chefter) and his Succeffors, shall licence twelve " Preachers yearly, under the common Seal of the " University, who shall have liberty to preach, &c. " durante vita naturali." The Archbishop sent to Secretary Cecil their Chancellor, praying him to fet afide this Practice. (1.) Because the present Licences varied from the original Bull, being given out by the Vice-Chancellor, whereas they ought to be in the Name of the Chancellor only. (2.) Because it was unreasonable to give Licences durante vita naturali, i. e. for Life; whereas they ought to be only quam diu nobis placuerint, & dum laudabiliter gesserint, i. e. During L. of Par-our Pleasure, or as long as they behave well. (3.) But ker,p.193. that which troubled the Archbishop most, was the Clause that infringed his own and his Brethrens Jurisdiction, that they might preach without a Licence from any of the Bishops. This was thought insufferable; the Vice-Chancellor therefore was fent for to Town to defend the Privilege of the University, which he did to the Satisfaction of the Chancellor; but the Archbishop was so angry, that he declared he would not admit any of their Licences without the Chancellor's Name; nor could he imagine that the Vice-Chancellor, by his pretended Experience and Skill in the Civil Law, could inform his Honour of any Thing that he was not capable of answering. But here his Grace met with a Disappointment, for the Univer-

fity retained their Privilege, and made use of it to

the Relief of the Puritans.

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In the Queen's Progress this Year, her Majesty vi- Queen fited the University of Cambridge, and continued Elizabeth; there five Days, being entertained by the Scholars 1565. with Speeches and Disputations. On the 3d Day of Queen viher being there [Aug. 7.] a Philosophy Act was kept sits the vby Tho. Byng of Peter-bouse, on these two Questions, niversity (1.) Whether Monarchy be not the best Form of of Cambridge. Government? (2.) Whether frequent Alterations of the Laws is dangerous? The Opponents were Mr. Tho. Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity College, Mr. Chadderton, of Queens, Mr. Preston and Clark of Kings College; who performed their Parts to the Satisfaction of the Queen and the whole Audience; but it feems Preston pleased her Majesty best, and was made her Scholar, with the Settlement of a Salary. The Divinity Questions were, 1. Whether the Authority of the Scripture is greater than that of the Church? 2. Whether the Civil Magistrate has Authority in Ecclefiaftical Affairs? These were the Tests of the Times. At the Close of the Disputation the Queen made a short and elegant Oration in Latin, encouraging the Scholars to purfue their Studies, with a Promise of her Countenance and Protection.

But this learned Body was foon after thrown into They form-Confusion, by the Controversy of the Habits, espe-ple the cially of the Surplice. Dr. Longworth, Master of Habits. St. Johns, being absent from his College, the Students of that House came to Chapel on a Festival Day. without their Hoods and Surplices, to the Number of 300, and continued to do fo for some Time; the Master at his Return making no Complaint, nor attempting to recover them to Uniformity. In Trinity College all except three declared against the Surplice, and many in other Colleges were ready to follow their Example. The News of this being fent to Court, it was easy to foresee an impending Storm: Several Members of the University writ to the Secretary, humbly befeeching his Intercession with the Queen, that they might not be forced to receive a popilh

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popish Ceremony which they had laid aside; assu-Elizabeth, ring him before God, that nothing but Reason, and the quiet Enjoyment of their Consciences, had induced them to do as they had done. But Cecil writ them an angry Letter, admonishing them to return quietly to the Habits, as they had used them before, He also writ to the Vice-Chancellor, requiring him to call together the Heads of the Colleges, and let them know, that as they tender'd the Honour of God, the Preservation of Christian Unity, the Reputation of the University, the Favour of the Queen, and his own good Will to them, they fhould continue the Use of the Habits.

Whitgift dispensing with the Habits.

The Heads of Colleges being fenfible of the Rifk writes for the University would run of being disfurnished of Students, if the Habits were preffed, writ again to their Chancellor Cecil, to intercede with the Queen for a Dispensation; one of their Letters was fign'd by the Master of Trinity College, Dr. Beaumont, who had been an Exile, John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Roger Kelk, Master of Magdalen College, Richard Longworth, Master of St. John's, Matthew Hutton, Master of Pembroke Hall, afterwards Archbishop of York, and many others; in their Letter

L. of Par- they acquaint bis Honour, " That a great many Persons ker,p. 194 ... in the University of Piety and Learning, were fully " persuaded of the Unlawfulness of the Habits; and

> "therefore if Conformity were urged, they would be forced to defert their Stations, and thus the " University would be stript of its Ornaments; they " therefore give it as their humble Opinion, that

> "Indulgence in this Matter would be attended with " no Inconveniencies; but on the other hand, they " were afraid Religion and Learning would fuffer

> " very much by Rigor and Imposition." This Letter was refented at Court, and especially by the Ecclefiastical Commission; Longworth Master of St. John's was fent for before the Commissioners, and obliged to fign a Recantation, and read it publickly in the Church \$

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he h s Church; the rest made their Peace by submissive Letters: All the Heads of Colleges were commanded Elizabeth, to affift the Vice-Chancellor in bringing the Scholars to an Uniformity in the Habits, which nevertheless they could not accomplish for many Years. Whitgift feeing which way the Tide of Preferment ran, drew his Pen in defence of the Hierarchy in all its Branches, and became a most potent Advocate for the Habits. But the University of Cambridge was fill a Sanctuary for the Puritans.

To return to the London Clergy: Among the de- The Abp's. prived Ministers, some betook themselves to the Rigor and Study of Physick, others enter'd upon a fecular bis com-Employment; fome went into Scotland or beyond Sea; some got to be Chaplains in Gentlemens Families; but many that had large Families were reduced to Beggary. Many Churches were now that up, and the People ready to mutiny for their Ministers. 600 Persons came to a Church in London to receive the Communion on Palm Sunday, but the Doors were shur, there being none to officiate. The Cries of the People reached the Court; the Secretary writ to the Archbishop to supply the Churches, and release the Prisoners; but his Grace was inexorable, and had rather the People should have no Sermons or Sacraments, than have them without the Surplice and Cap. He acquainted the Secretary in a Letter,

" That when the Queen put him upon what he had L. of Par-"done, he told her that these precise Folks would ker, p. 225. " offer their Goods and Bodies to Prison rather than

" relent; and her Highness then willed him to im-" prison them. He confessed that there were many " Parishes unserved; that he underwent many hard

" Speeches, and much Resistance from the People; " but nothing more than was to be expected. That

" he had fent his Chaplains into the City to ferve in " fome of the great Parishes, but they could not ad-

" minister the Sacrament, because the Officers of the Parish had provided neither Surplice nor Wa-

Queen 1565.

er fer Bread. That on Palm Sunday one of his Chap-Elizabeth, 66 lains defigning to administer the Sacrament to " fome that defired it, the Table was made ready, but while he was reading the Chapter of the Paf-" fion one of the Parishioners drew from the Table both the Cup and the Wafer Bread, because the " Bread was not common; and fo the People were " disappointed, and his Chaplain derided. That di-" vers Church Wardens would provide neither Surof plice nor Wafer Bread. He acquainted the Se-" cretary further, That he had talked with feveral of the new Preachers, who were Movers of Sedi-" tion and Disorder, that he had commanded them " filence, and had put fome into Prison. That on " Maunday Thursday he had many of the Bishop of London's Parishioners, Church Wardens, and others before him; but that he was fully tired, for " fome Ministers would not obey their Suspensions, but preached in defiance of them. Some Church-"Wardens would not provide the Church Furni-"ture; and others opposed and disturbed those that were fent to officiate in the prescribed Apparel. " He then calls upon the Secretary to spirit up [Grindal Bishop of London, to his Duty; and assures him, that he had spoken to him to no Purpose; that he " was younger, and nearer the City, and had va-" can't Priefts in his Church, who might supply the " Places of the deprived Ministers; he therefore " bewail'd that he should be put upon the Oversight of the Parishes of London; which was another Man's " Charge; and that the Burden should be laid on " his Neck when other Men drew back." The Truth is, Grindal was weary of the unpleasant Work, and having a real Concern to promote the Preaching of the Word of God, he would not act against the Ministers, but as he was pusht forwards; and when the Eyes of his Superiors were turned another way, he would relax again. When the Secretary and Archbishop sent to him to provide for his Charge, and fill up the vacant

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vacant Pulpits; he told them it was impossible, for Queen there were no Preachers; all he could do was to sup-Elizabeth, ply the Churches by Turns, which was far from stopping the Murmurs of the People.

This was the fad Condition of the City of London; sad condition of Life being taken from the People, tion of the for the fake of a few trifling Ceremonies: And if City of London, it was thus in the City, how much worse must it be in those distant Countries where her Majesty's Injunctions were rigidly executed? And yet with all this Rigour it was not in the Power of the Queen and her Bishops to reconcile the Clergy and common People to the Habits. The Queen her self was in earnest, and her Archbishop went into the most service Measures to sulfil the Commands of his Royal Mistres; the High Commission was surious, but the Council were backward to countenance their Proceedings.

All Applications to the Queen and her Commissioners being inessectual, the suspended Ministers thought it their Duty to lay their Case before the World; accordingly they published a small Treatise this Year, in Vindication of their Conduct, intituled, A Declaration of the Doings of those Ministers Abstract of of God's Word and Sacraments in the City of London, the surface which have resused to wear the upper Apparel, and mi-ministers nistring Garments of the Pope's Church. In this Book Reasons they shew, "That neither the Prophets in the Old for Non-"Testament, nor the Apostles in the New, were comformity.

"distinguished by their Garments; that the Linen mity.
"Garment was peculiar to the Priesthood of Aaron,
"and had a Signification of some Thing to be fulfilled in Christ and his Church. — That a Distin
"Etion of Garments in the Christian Church did not

generally obtain till long after the rising of Anti
christ; for the whole Clergy of Ravenna writing to

the Emperor Carolus Calvus, in the Year of our Lord

876. say, We are distinguished from the Laity not by

our Cloaths but by our Dostrines; not by our Habits but our Conversation. — That the Surplice, or

" white

226 " white Linen Garment came from the Ægyptians Elizabeth, " into the Jewish Church; and that Pope Sylvester 1566. " about the Year 320, was the first that appointed " the Sacrament to be administred in a white Linen "Garment; giving this Reason for it, Because the " Body of Christ was buried in a white Linen Cloth. They represent how all these Garments had been abused to Idolatry, Sorcery, and all kinds of " Conjurations; for (fay they) the popish Priests " can perform none of their pretended Confecrations of holy Water, Transubstantiation of the Body of " Chrift, Conjurations of the Devil out of Places or Persons possessed, without a Surplice, or an Albe, or fome hallowed Stole. \_\_\_ They argue against " the Habits as an Offence to weak Christians, an Encouragement to ignorant and obstinate Papists, " and as an Affectation to return to their Commu-" nion. - That at best they were but human

> " World are ye subject to Ordinances, after the Commandments and Dostrines of Men? Which all are to es perish with the using. Touch not, taste not, handle " not. \_\_\_ That supposing the Garments were in-" different (which they did not grant) yet they " ought not to be imposed, because it was an Inse fringement of the Liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. \_\_ Lastly, They call in the 55 Suffrages of foreign Divines, who all condemned the Habits, though they were not willing to ha-46 zard the Reformation in its Infancy for them.

> " Appointments, and came within the Apostle's Reproof, Col. ii. 20, 22. Why as though living in the

> " tion would have perfuaded him to put on the Sur-" plice with the rest of the Massing Garments, ab-" folutely refused, saying, If you put the Surplice up-

Even Bishop Ridley, who contended so zealously " for the Habits, when Dr. Brooks at his Degrada-

on me, it shall be ogainst my Will. And when they " forced it upon him, he inveighed against the Ap-

" parel, as foolish and abominable.

At the end of the Book is a Prayer, in which are Queen these Words; - "Are not the Relicks of Romish Elizabeth; " Idolatry stoutly retained? Are we not bereaved " of some of our Pastors, who by Word and Exam-" ple fought to free thy Flock from these Offences? " Ah, good Lord! these are now by Power put " down from pastoral Care; they are forbid to feed " us; their Voice we cannot hear. This is our " great Discomfort; this is the Joy and Triumph of " Antichrist; and which is more heavy, the Increase " of this Misery is of some threaten'd, of the wicked " hoped for, and of us feared, as thy Judgments " against us for our Sins." - At the Conclusion is the Lord's Prayer and Creed, after this Manner, In thy Name, O Christ our Captain, We ask these Things, and pray unto thee, O heavenly Father, faying, Our Father, &c. After this; O Lord, en Strype's crease our Faith, whereof we make Confession, I be-Annals, lieve in God the Father Almighty, &c. And in the end P. 555. is this Sentence, Arise, O Lord, and let thine Enemies p. 61. be confounded.

Other Pamphlets of the same kind were publish'd in favour of the suspended Ministers, which the Bishops appointed their Chaplains to answer. Mr. Strype is of Opinion, that the Archbishop himself published an Answer to their Declaration; but whoever be the Author, He is a Man of a bad Spirit, and abufive Language: The Ministers printed a Reply to it, intitled, An Answer for the Time, to the Examination put in print without the Author's Name, pretending to maintain the Apparel prescrib'd, against the Declaration of the Ministers of London; it answers the Adversary Paragraph by Paragraph with good Temper and Judgment. But the Bishops printed some new Testimonies of foreign Divines, without their Consent, with a Collection of Tracts, Of Obedience to the Magistrate, and Melanchton's Exposition of Rom. xiii. 1. Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers: From whence they conclude, that because Things are barely tolerable,

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Queen 1566.

rable, though offensive, dangerous, and in their Elizabeth, own Opinions, to be removed out of the Church, as foon as an Opportunity shall offer, yet in the mean Time they may be imposed under the Penalties of Sufpension, Deprivation, and Imprisonment, from a mistaken Interpretation of the Apostle's Words,

Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers.

The Puritans replied to all these Attempts of their Adversaries; their Tracts were eagerly fought after, and had a wide spread among the People; upon which the Commissioners had recourse to their last Remedy, which was the further restraint of the Press. They complain'd to the Council, that notwithstanding the Queen's Injunctions, the Differences in the Church were kept open by the printing and publishing feditious Libels; and procured the following Decree of the Star-Chamber, (viz.)

L. of Par-1. "That no Person should print or publish any ker,p.221. Book against the Queen's Injunctions, Ordinan-" ces or Letters Patents, fet forth, or to be fet forth, Reftraint

" or against the meaning of them.

2. " That fuch Offenders should forfeit all their " Books and Copies, and fuffer three Months Im-

" prisonment, and never practise the Art of Print-

" ing any more.

3. "That no Person should sell, bind or stitch " fuch Books, upon pain of 20 Shillings for every " Book.

4. "That all forfeited Books should be brought " to Stationers-Hall, and half the Money forfeited to

" be referved for the Queen, the rest for the Inform-

" er, and the Books to be destroyed or made waste « Paper.

5. " That the Wardens of the Company may " from Time to Time fearch all suspected Places,

" and open all Packs, Dry Fats, &c. wherein Pa-" per or foreign Books may be contained; and en-

"ter all Warehouses where they have reasonable « SufpiSuspicion, and seize all Books and Pamphlets Queen against the Queen's Ordinances, and bring the Elizabeth,

" Offenders before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. 6. " All Stationers, Booksellers, and Merchants

" trading in Books, shall enter into Recognizances

" of reasonable Sums of Money, to observe the

" Premises, or pay the Forfeitures.

This was figned by Eight of the Privy Council, and L. of Parby the Bishops of Canterbury and London, with five ker, p.222. more of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and published June 29th, 1566. in the eighth Year of the Queen's

Majesty's Reign.

The Puritans being thus foreclosed, and shut out Hardships of the Church by Sequestrations, Imprisonments, of the Puthe taking away of their Licences to preach, and the ritans.

Restraint of the Press, most of them were at a loss how to behave, being unwilling to separate from a Church where the Word and Sacraments were truly administer'd, though defiled with some popish Superstitions; of this Number was Dr. Humphreys, Some continual Sampson, Fox the Martyrologist, Lever, Whitting-nue in the Church.

Sampson, Fox the Martyrologist, Lever, Whitting-nue in the Church.

bam, Johnson, and others, who continued preaching up and down, as they had Opportunity, and could be dispensed with for the Habits, though they were excluded all parochial Preferment.

But there were great Numbers of the common People that abhorred the Habits as much as the Ministers, and would not frequent the Churches where they were used, thinking it as unlawful to countenance such Superstitions with their Presence, as if they themselves were to put on the Garments. These were at a loss where to hear; some staid without the Church till Service was over, and the Minister was entering upon his Prayer before Sermon; others slocked after Father Coverdale, who preached without the Habits; but being turned out of his Church at St. Magnus, London Bridge, they were obliged to send to his House on Saturdays, to know where they might hear him next Day: The Government took

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Queen Umbrage at this, infomuch that the good old Man Blizabeth, was obliged to tell his Friends, that he durft not in-1566. form them any more of his Preaching for fear of offending his Superiors. At length, after having

Others fe- waited about eight Weeks to fee if the Queen would have Compassion on them, several of the deprived Ministers had a solemn Consultation with their Friends, in which after Prayer, and a ferious Debate about the Lawfulness and Necessity of separating from the establish'd Church, they came to this Agreement, That fince they could not have the Word of God preached, nor the Sacraments administred without IDOLATROUS GEARE (as they called it) and since there bad been a separate Congregation in London, and another at Geneva in Queen Mary's Time, which used a Book and Order of Preaching, Administration of Sacraments and Discipline, that the great Mr. Calvin bad approved of, and which was free from the Superstitions of the English Service; that therefore it was their Duty in their present Circumstances, to break off from the publick Churches, and to assemble, as they had Opportunity, in private Houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the Light of their Consciences. Had the Habits and a few Ceremonies

L. of Parker,p.241. been left indifferent, both Ministers and People had

> (as they told the Archbishop) that made them separate. It was debated among them, whether they should use as much of the Common Prayer and Service of the Church as was not offensive, or resolve at once, fince they were cut off from the Church of England, to fet up the purest and best Form of Worship, most consonant to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Practice of the foreign Reformers; the latter of these was concluded upon, and accordingly they laid afide the English Liturgy, and made use of the Geneva Service Book.

> been easy; but it was the compelling these Things by Law

Sad Confe-Here was the ÆRA or Date of the SEPARATION, quences of a most unhappy Event (says Mr. Strype) whereby e People

"People of the same Country, of the same Religion, Queen and of the same Judgment in Doctrine, parted Elizabeth,

"Communions; one Part being obliged to go afide into fecret Houses, and Chambers, to serve God

"by themselves, which begat Strangeness between

"Neighbours, Christians and Protestants" And not only Strangeness but unspeakable Mischiefs to the Nation in this and the following Reigns. The Breach might easily have been made up at first, but it widened by Degrees; the Passions of the contending Parties encreased, till the Fire, which for some Years was burning under Ground, broke out into a Civil War, and with unspeakable Fury destroy'd the Constitution both of Church and State.

I leave the Reader to judge at whose Door the Remarks. Beginnings of these Sorrows are to be laid, for each Party cast the Blame on the other. The Conformists charged the deprived Ministers with Disobedience to the Queen, with Obstinacy, Preciseness, and with breaking the Peace of the Church for Matters of no Confequence to Salvation. The Ministers, on the other hand, thought it cruel Usage to be turned out of the Church for Things which their Adversaries acknowledged to be trifling, and of meer indifference; whereas they took it upon their Confciences, and were ready to declare in the most folemn manner, that they apprehended them unlawful. They complied as far as they could with the Establishment while they were within it, by using as much of the Liturgy as was not offensive, and by taking the Oath of Supremacy; they were as dutiful Subjects to the Queen as the Bishops, and declared themselves ready to obey their Sovereign in all Things lawful; and when they could not obey, patiently to fuffer the Will of God. After all this, to impute the Behaviour of the Nonconformists to Obstinacy and Peevishness, was very uncharitable. What could move them to part with their Livings, or fup-

port them under the Lofs, but the Testimony of a good Elizabeth, Conscience? When they could not but be sensible their Non-Conformity must be attended with Poverty and Difgrace, with the Loss of their Characters and Usefulness in the Church; and with numberless unforefeen Calamities to themselves and Families, unless it should please God in his All-wife Providence to soften the Queen's Heart in their Favour.

Affairs of Scotland.

In Scotland all Things were in Confusion. The young Queen Mary, after the Death of her Husband Francis II. returned into her own Country, August 21, 1561. upon ill Terms with Queen Elizabeth, for affuming the Arms of England, and putting in her Claim to the Crown on the foot of Queen Elizabeth's Baftardy, which most of the popish Powers maintained, because she was born during the Life of Queen Katherine, whose Marriage had been declared valid by the Pope. Elizabeth offered her a safe Conduct if she would ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh; but she chose rather to run all Risks than submit. MARY was a bigotted Papist, but her juvenile Amours and Follies foon entangled her Government, and loft her Crown. As foon as the arrived in Scotland the had the Mortification to fee the whole Nation turned Protestant, and the Reformation established by Laws so secure and strict, that only her felf was allowed the Liberty of Mass in her own Chapel, and that without Pomp or Oftentation. The Protestants of Scotland, by the Preaching of Mr. Knox, and others, had received the strongest Aversion to Popery, and were for removing at the greatest Distance from its Superstitions. The general Assembly petition'd her Majesty to ratify the Acts of Parliament for abolishing the Mass, and for obliging all her Subjects to frequent the reformed Worship. But she replied, That she saw no Impiety in the Mass, and was determined not to quit the Religion in which she was bred, being satisfied it was founded on the Word of God. To which the general Affembly answered a little coarsely, That Turci/m Tun the info con no

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Turcism stood upon as good Ground as Popery; and Queen then required her in the Name of the Eternal God, to Elizabeth, inform her self better, by frequenting Sermons, and conferring with learned Men: But her Majesty gave no Ear to their Counsels.

In the Year 1564. the Queen married Henry Stuart, Birth of Lord Darnley, who was joined with her in the Go-K. James I. vernment. By him she was brought to Bed of a Son June 15, 1566. afterwards James I. King of England; but when she was with Child of him, she received a Fright by her Husband's coming into her Chamber with his Servants, and putting to Death her Favourite David Rizzo an Italian Musician, while she was fitting with him at Table. This was thought to have fuch an Influence upon the Prince that was born of her, that he never loved the Sight of a Sword. Soon after this the King himself was found murdered in a Garden, the House in which the Murder was committed being blown up with Gun-Powder, to prevent the Discovery. Upon the King's Death the Earl of Bothwel became the Queen's Favourite, and as foon as he had fued out a Divorce from his lawful Wife, she took him into her Marriage-Bed, to her very great Infamy, and the Regret of the whole Scots Nation, who took up Arms to revenge the late King's Murder, and dissolve the present incefluous Marriage. When the two Armies were ready Rapin, to engage Bothwel fled to Dunbar; and the Queen p. 357. being apprehensive her Soldiers would not fight in fuch an infamous Caufe, furrender'd her felf to the Confederates, who shut her up in the Castle of Lock-Levin, and obliged her to refign the Crown to her young Son, under the Regency of the Earl of Murray: From hence she made her Escape into England in the Year 1568, where she was detained Prisoner by Queen Elizabeth almost 18 Years, and then put to Death. Bothwel turned Pirate, and being taken Prisoner by the Danes, was shut up for ten Years in a noisom Prison in Denmark till he lost his Senses and died Mad. The

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The Earl of Murray being Regent of Scotland con-Elizabeth, vened a Parliament and Assembly at Edinburgh, in which the Pope's Authority was again discharged, Kirk Difci- and the Act of Parliament of the Year 1560. for repline efta- nouncing the Jurisdiction of the Court of Rome was confirmed, and all Acts passed in former Reighs, for the Support of popils Idolatry were annulled. The new Confession of Faith was ratified, and the Protestant Ministers, and those of their Communion, declared to be the only true and holy Kirk within that Realm. The Examination and Admission of Ministers, is declared to be only in the Power and Disposition of the Church; with a faving Clause for Lay-Patrons. By another Act, the Kings at their Coronation for the future, are to take an Oath to maintain the reformed Religion then professed: And by another, none but those who profess the reformed Religion now established, are capable of being Judges or Proctors, or of practifing in any of the Courts of Justice; excepting the Rights of Offices hereditary, or for Life.

The general Affembly declared their Approbation of the Discipline of the reformed Churches of Geneva and Switzerland; and for a Parity among Ministers, in opposition to the superior Claim of the Bishops. All Church-Affairs were managed by Provincial, Claffical and National Affemblies; but these Acts of the general Affembly not being confirmed by Parliament, Episcopal Government was not legally abolished, but tacitly suspended till the King came of Age. However, the general Affembly shewed their Power of the Keys at this Time, by deposing the Bishop of Orkney for marrying the Queen to Bothwel, who was supposed to have murdered the late King; and by making the Countess of Argyle do Penance for affisting at

the Ceremony.

## CHAP. V.

From the Separation of the Protestant Non-Conformists to the Death of Archbishop PARKER.

THOUGH all the Puritans of these Times Queen would have remained within the Church, if Elizabeth, they might have been indulged in the Habits and a sew Ceremonies, yet they were far from being fatisfied with the HIERARCHY. They had other Objections besides those for which they were deprived, which they laboured incessantly throughout the whole Course of this Reign to remove. I'll set them before the Reader in one View, that he may form the better Judgment of the whole Controversy.

First, They complained of the BISHOPS affect-Objections ing to be thought a superior Order to Presbyters, of the Puand claiming the sole Right of Ordination, and the gainst the Use of the Keys. They disliked the temporal Dig-Hierarchy nities and Lordships annexed to their Office, and of the their engaging in secular Employments and Trusts, Church. Ec. as tending to exalt them too much above their Brethren, and not so agreeable to their Characters as M. S. Ministers of Christ, nor consistent with the due Dis-P. 174.

charge of their spiritual Function.

Secondly, They excepted to the Titles and Offices of Archdeacons, Deans, Chapters, and other Officials belonging to Cathedrals, as having no Foundation in Scripture or primitive Antiquity, but intrenching upon the Privileges of the Presbyters of the several Dioceses.

Thirdly, They complained of the exorbitant Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishops and their Chancellors in their Spiritual Courts, as derived from the Canon Law of the Pope, and not from the Word of God,

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or the Statute Law of the Land. They complain'd Elizabeth of their fining, imprisoning, depriving, and putting Men to exceffive Charges for small Offences; and that the highest Censures, such as Excommunication and Absolution, were in the Hands of Laymen, and not in

the spiritual Officers of the Church.

Fourtbly, They lamented the Want of a godly Difcipline, and were uneafy at the promiscuous and general Access of all Persons to the Lord's Table. The Church being described in her Articles as a Congregation of faithful Persons, they thought it necessary that a Power should be lodged somewhere, to enquire into the Qualifications of fuch as defired to be of her Communion.

Fiftbly, Tho' they did not dispute the Lawfulness of Set Forms of Prayer, provided a due Liberty was allowed for Prayers of their own Composure before and after Sermon; yet they disliked some Things in the publick Liturgy established by Law; as the frequent Repetition of the Lord's Prayer; the Interruption of the Prayers by the frequent Responses of the People, which in some Places seem to be little better than vain Repetitions, and is practifed in no other Protestant Church in the World. They excepted to some Passages in the Offices of Marriage and Burial, &c. which they very unwillingly complied with; as in the Office of Marriage, With my Body I thee worship; and in the Office of Burial, In sure and certain Hope of the Resurrection to eternal Life, to be pronounced over the worst of Men, if not excommunicated, &c.

Sixibly, They diflik'd the Reading of the Apocryphal Books in the Church, while some parts of Canonical Scripture were omitted; and though they did not diflike the Homilies, they thought that no Man should be ordained a Minister in the Church, but who was capable of preaching and expounding the holy Scriptures. One of their great Complaints therefore, throughout the Course of this Reign was,

that

that there were so many dumb Ministers, Pluralists Queen and Non-Residents; and that Presentations to Bene-Elizabeth, fices were in the Hands of the Queen, Bishops, or fome Lay-Patron, which ought to arise from the Ele-

ction of the People.

Seventbly, They disapproved of the Observation of fundry of the Church Festivals or Holidays, as having no Foundation in Scripture, or primitive Antiquity. We have no Example (fay they) in the Old or New Testament, of any Days appointed in Commemoration of Saints; To observe the Fast in Lent of Friday and Saturday, &c. is unlawful and super-M. s. stitious; as also, buying and selling on the Lord's P. 175. Day.

Eighthly, They disallowed of the Cathedral Mode of Worship; of finging their Prayers, and of the Antiphone, or chanting of the Pfalms by Turns, which the Ecclefiaftical Commissioners in King Edward VIth's Time advised the laying aside. Nor did they approve of musical Instruments, as Trumpets, Organs, &c. which were not in use in the Church

for above 1200 Years after Christ.

Nintbly, They scrupled Conformity to certain Rites and Ceremonies, which were enjoin'd by the

Rubrick, or the Queen's Injunctions; as,

1. To the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, which is no part of the Institution as directed in Scripture; and though it was usual for Christians, in the earlier Ages of the Church, to cross themselves, or make a Cross in the Air upon some Occasions, as a fort of Enchantment, yet there is no express mention of its being used in Baptism, till about the 5th Century. Besides, it having been abused to Superstition by the Church of Rome, and been had in fuch Reverence by fome Protestants, that Baptism it self has been thought imperfect without it, they apprehend it ought to be laid afide. They also disallowed of Baptism by Midwives, or other Women, in cases of Sickness; and of the Manner of Churching Women, which look'd

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Queen look'd to them too much like the Jewish Purifi-

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2. They excepted to the Use of God-fathers and Godmothers, to the Exclusion of the Parents from being Sure. ties for the Education of their own Children. If Parents were dead, or in a distant Country, they were as much for Sponfors to undertake for the Education of the Child, as their Adversaries; but when the Edu. cation of Children is by the Laws of God and Na. ture committed to Parents, who are bound to form them to Virtue and Piety, they apprehended it very unjustifiable to release them totally from that Promife, and deliver up the Child to a Stranger; as was then the constant Practice, and is fince injoined by the 29th Canon, which fays, " No Parent shall be " urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as Godse father to his own Child." In giving Names to Children it was their Opinion, that beathenish Names should be avoided, as not so fit for Christians; and also, the Names of God, and Christ, and Angels, and the peculiar Offices of the Mediator. They also disliked the God-fathers answering in the Name of the Child, and not in their own.

3. They dislik'd the Custom of Consirming Children, as soon as they could repeat the Lord's Prayer and their Catechism, by which they had a Right to come to the Sacrament, without any other Qualification; this might be done by Children of 5 or 6 Years old. They were also dissatisfied with that part of the Office where the Bishop laying his Hand upon the Children, prays that God would by this Sign certify them of his Favour and Goodness, which seems to put a sacramental Efficacy upon the Imposition of his Hands.

4. They excepted against the Injunction of Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which they apprehended not so agreeable to the Example of Christ and his Apostles, who gave it to his Disciples rather in a Posture of Feasting than of Adoration. Besides, it has no Foundation in Antiquity for many

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hundred Years after Christ; and having since been grossy abus'd by the Papists to Idolatry in their Adoration of the Host, it ought (say they) to be laid aside; but if it should be allowed, that the Posture was indifferent, yet it ought not to be imposed and made a necessary Term of Communion; nor did they approve of either of the Sacraments being administer'd in private; no not in cases of Danger.

5. To Bowing at the Name of Jesus, as grounded upon a false Interpretation of that Passage of Scripture, At the Name of Jesus every Knee shall bow; as if greater external Reverence was required to that Name, than to the Person of our Blessed Saviour, under the Titles of Lord, Saviour, Christ, Immanuel, &c. and yet upon this Mistake was founded the Injunction of the Queen, and the 18th Canon, which says, "When in Time of Divine Service the Name "Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly Reverence shall be done by all Persons present." But the Puritans maintained, that all the Names of God and Christ were to be had in equal Reverence, and therefore it was besides all Reason to bow the Knee, or uncover the Head, only at the Name of Jesus.

6. To the Ring in Marriage. This they fometimes complied with, but wished it altered. 'Tis derived from the Papists, who make Marriage a Sacrament, and the Ring a fort of a facred Sign or Symbol. Words in the Liturgy are, "Then shall they again " loose their Hands, and the Man shall give unto " the Woman a Ring, laying the same upon the " Book; and the Priest taking the Ring, shall deli-" ver it to the Man, to put it on the 4th Finger of " the Woman's left Hand; and the Man holding " the Ring there, and taught by the Priest shall say, " With this Ring I thee wed, with my Body I thee wor-" ship, and with all my worldly Goods I thee endow. In " the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of " the Holy Ghoft." They also disallowed the forbidding of Marriage at certain Times of the Year,

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Queen and then "licenfing it for Money (fay they) is more Elizabeth, "intolerable. Nor is it lawful to grant Licences that

" fome may marry without the Knowledge of the Con" gregation, who ought to be acquainted with it, left

" there should be any secret Letts or Hindrances."

7. To the Wearing of the Surplice, and other Vestments to be used in Divine Service; concerning which the Church fays, in the Preface to her Liturgy, that the' they were devised by Men, yet they are reserved for Decency, Order, and Edification. And again, They are apt to stir up the dull Mind of Man to the remembrance of his Duty to God by some notable and special Signification, whereby he might be edified. the Puritans faw no Decency in the Vestments; nay, they thought them a Disgrace to the Reformation, and in the present Circumstances absolutely unlawful, because they had been defiled with Superstition and Idolatry; and because many pretended Protestants placed a kind of Sanctity or Holiness in them. Befides, the wearing them gave Countenance to Popery, and look'd as if we were fond of being thought a Branch of that Communion which we had so justly renounced. But suppose them to be indifferent, they gave great Offence to weak Minds, and therefore ought not to be imposed and made necessary, when there was no Foundation for the Use of them in Scripture or primitive Antiquity.

These Things (say they) every one should endeavour to reform in his Place, Ministers by the Word, Magistrates by their Authority, according to the Word of God, and the People by Prayer.

There was no difference in Points of Doctrine between the Puritans and Conformists; so that if we add but one Article more, we have the chief Heads of Controversy between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters at this Day; and that is, The natural Right that every Man has to judge for himself, and make Profession of that Religion he apprehends most agreeable to Truth, as far as it does not affect the Peace

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and Safety of the Government be lives under; without being determined by the Prejudices of Education, the Laws Elizabeth, of the civil Magistrate, or the Decrees of Councils, Churches, or Synods. This Principle would effectually put an End to all Impositions; and unless it be allowed, I am afraid our Separation from the Church of Rome can hardly be justified. The Bible (fays Mr. Chillingworth) and that only, is the Religion of Protestants; and every one by making use of the Helps and Affistances that God has put into his Hands, must learn and understand it for himself as well as he can.

It will appear hereafter what Sort of Discipline the PURITANS would have fet up; but these were the Objections that hinder'd their Compliance with the prefent Establishment, and for which they were content to suffer the Loss of all Things. Those that remained within the Church became itinerant Preachers, Lecturers, or Chaplains. The chief Leaders of Heads of the Separation, according to Mr. Fuller, were the the sepa-Reverend Mr. Colman, Mr. Button, Mr. Halingham, ration. Mr. Benson, Mr. White, Mr. Rowland, and Mr. Hawkins, all beneficed within the Diocese of London. These had their Followers of the Laity, who forsook their Parish Churches, and affembled with the deprived Ministers in Woods and private Houses, to worship God without the offensive Habits and Ceremonies of the Church.

The Queen being informed of their Proceedings, fent to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to take effectual Measures to keep the Laity to their Parish Churches, and to let them know, that if they frequented any separate Conventicles, or broke through the Laws of the Church, they should for the first Offence be deprived of their Freedom of the City of London, and after that abide what further Punishment she should direct. This was a vast Stretch of the Prerogative; for there was no Law as yet to diffranchise any Man for not coming to Church.

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But notwithstanding this threatning Message they Elizabeth, went on with their Assemblies, and on the 19th of 1567. June agreed to have a Sermon and a Communion at They are Plumbers-Hall, which they hired for that Day under apprehend- Pretence of a Wedding; but here the Sheriffs of London detected and broke them up, when they were Plumbersaffembled to the Number of about 100; most of L. of Grin-them were taken into Custody and fent to the Compdal,p ter, and next Day seven or eight of the Chief were L. of Par- brought before the Bishop of London, Dean Goodman, ker,p. 342. Mr. Archdeacon Watts, and Sir Roger Martin, Lord Their Exa- Mayor of London. The Bishop charged them with mination. absenting from their Parish Churches, and with setting up separate Assemblies for Prayer and Preaching and ministring the Sacrament. He told them, that by these Proceedings they condemned the Church of England, which was well reformed according to the Word of God, and those Martyrs that had shed their Blood for it. To which one of them replied in the Name of the rest, that they condemned them not, but only stood for the Truth of God's Word. Then the Bishop asked the ancientest of them, Mr. John Smith, what he could answer? Who replied, "That they thanked God for the Reformation; that as long as " they could hear the Word of God preached without idolatrous Gear about it they never affembled " in private Houses; but when it came to this Point, that all their Preachers were displaced who " would not subscribe to the Apparel, so that they could hear none of them in the Church for the " space of 7 or 8 Weeks, except Father Coverdale, they began to confult what to do; and remembring " there had been a Congregation of Protestants in " the City of London in Queen Mary's Days, and ano-" ther of English Exiles at Geneva, that used a Book

"framed by them there, they resolved to meet privately together and use the said Book." And finally, Mr. Smith offered in the Name of the rest, to yield, and do Penance at St. Paul's Cross, if the Bishop

Bishop and the Commissioners with him, could re- Queen prove that Book, or any Thing else that they held, Elizabeth, 1567.

The Bishop told him, They could not reprove the Peirce, Book, but that was no sufficient Answer for not going p. 42. to Church. To which Mr. Smith replied, that "He would as soon go to Mass as to some Churches, and particularly to his own Parish Church; for the Minister that officiated there was a very Papist." Others said the same of other Parish

Priests. The Bishop asked, If they accused any of them; upon which one of them presently named Mr. Bedel, who was there present, but the Bishop would

not enquire into the Accusation.

The Dean of Westminster, who was one of the Ecclefiaftical Commission, charged them with derogating from the Queen's Authority of appointing indifferent Things in God's Worship. To which one of them answered, that " it lay not in the Authority of a " Prince, nor the Liberty of a Christian Man, to " use and defend that which appertained to Papistry, " Idolatry, and the Pope's Canon Law." Another faid, that "thefe Things were preferr'd before the " Word of God and the Ordinances of Christ." The Bishop asked them what was preferr'd? One of them answer'd boldly, "That which was upon the " Bishop's Head and upon his Back; their Copes and " Surplices, and Canon Laws." Another faid, " That he thought both Prince and People ought to " obey the Word of God." To which the Bishop yielded, except in Things that were indifferent, which God had neither commanded nor forbid; in these he afferted, that Princes had Authority to order and command. Whereupon feveral of them cried out, " Prove that, where find you that?" But the Bishop would not enter into the Debate, but alleg'd the Judgment of the learned Bullinger; to which Mr. Smith replied, That perhaps they could shew Bullinger against Bullinger in the Affair of the Habits. The

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The Bishop asked them, whether they would be Elizabeth, determined by the Church of Geneva. Mr. Smith replied, " That they reverenced the Learned in Geneva, " and in other Places, but did not build their Faith " and Religion upon them." The Bishop produced the following Passage out of one of Beza's Letters, against them; That against the Bishops and Prince's Will they should exercise their Office, they [the Ministers of Geneval did much the more tremble at it. Mark, fays the Bishop, how the learned Beza trembles at your Case. But one of them faid they knew the Letter well enough, and that it made nothing against them, but rather against the Prince and the Bishops. Beza and his learned Brethren trembled at their Case, in proceeding to fuch Extremities with Men, as to drive them against their Wills to that which they did not care to mention. Their Words are these, "We hope that her Royal Majesty, and so " many Men of Dignity and Goodness, will endea-" vour that Care may rather be taken of fo many " pious and learned Brethren, than fo great an Evil " should happen, to wit, that the Pastors should be

Life of Grindal, Records, Nº XVI.

" Sins, or to give over; for we more dread that third "Thing (viz.) to execute their Ministry contrary to the Will of her Majesty and the Bishops, for Causes, which though we hold our Peace, may well enough be under-" flood." How the Bishop could think this was levell'd against the Non-Conformists is hard to understand.

" forced against their Consciences, to do that which " is evil, and fo to involve themselves in other Mens

To go on with the Examination. One of the Prifoners said, that "Before they compell'd the Cere-" monies, fo that none might officiate without them, " all was quiet." Another (viz.) Mr. Hawkins produced a Passage out of Melanchton, that "When " the Opinion of Holiness, or Necessity, is put un-" to Things indifferent, they darken the Light of of the Gospel." The Bishop replied, That the Ceremonies

monies and Habits were not commanded of Necessity. To which Hawkins rejoined, that they had made them Elizabeth, Matters of Necessity, as many a poor Man had felt 1567. to his Cost, who had been discharged of his Living for Non-Conformity. When the Bishop had occafionally faid, that he had formerly faid Mass, but was forry for it, one of them faid, he went still in the Habit of a Mass-Priest. To which he replied, that be bad rather minister without the Cope and Surplice, but for Order sake and Obedience to the Queen. When fome of the Commissioners urged them with the Reformation of King Edward, one faid, that "They " never went so far in his Time, as to make a Law " that none should preach or minister without the "Garments." Sundry other Expressions of some Warmth passed on both Sides; at length one of them delivered to Justice Harris their Book of Order, [the Geneva Book] and challenged any of the Commiffioners to disprove it by the Word of God and they would give over. The Bishop said they reprov'd it not, but they liked not their separate Assemblies to trouble the common Quiet of the Realm against the Queen's Will. But the others infifted on their fuperior Regards to the Word of God. In conclusion Their Sufthe Prisoners not yielding to the Bishop were sent to ferings. Bridewel, where they with their Brethren, and fundry Women, were kept in Durance above a Year: At length, their Patience and Constancy having been Grindal's fufficiently tried, an Order was fent from the Lords Life, p. 100 of the Council to release them; with an Admonition to behave themselves better for the future. Accordingly twenty four Men and feven Women were difcharged; the Names of the Men were, John Smith, John Roper, Robert Hawkins, James Ireland, William, Nickson, Walter Hynkesman, Thomas Rowland, George Waddy, William Turner, John Nayshe, James Adderton, William Wight, Thomas Lydford, Richard Langton, Alexander Lacy, John Leonard, Robert Tod, Roger Hawksworth, Robert Sparrow, Richard King, Christo-R 3

Queen pher Colman, John Benson, John Bolton, Robert Gates. Elizabeth, Whether these Severities were justifiable by the Laws of God or the Land, I leave with the Reader.

There was a Spirit of uncommon Zeal in these People to fuffer all Extremities for the Cause in which they were engaged. In one of their Letters, directed to all the Brethren that believed in Christ, the Writer, who was but a Layman, fays, - "The Rea-" fon why we will not hear our Parish Ministers, is " because they will not stand forth and defend the "Gospel against the Leavings of Popery, for fear of " loss of Goods, or punishment of Body, or Danger of Imprisonment, or else for fear of Men more " than God." He then calls up their Courage, " Awake, O ye cold and lukewarm Preachers, out of fleep; gird up your selves with the Truth; come " forth and put your Necks [to the Yoke] and think " with Peter, that Persecution is no strange Thing; " for which of the Prophets were not perfecuted as " well as Christ and his Apostles; not for evil Doing, " but for preaching God's Word, and for rebuking " the World of Sin, and for their Faith in Jesus " Christ? This is the Ordinance of God, and this is " the Highway to Heaven, by corporal Death to et eternal Life, as Christ saith, John v. Let us never fear Death that is killed [conquered] by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever. There is no " Condemnation to them that are in Christ. O Death! " where is thy Sting? Thanks be to God, that has given " us the Victory. Let us not then dissemble, as some " do, to fave their Pigs, but be valiant for the "Truth. I doubt not, but all they who believe " the Truth, and will obey it, will confider the " Cause; and the Lord, for his Christ's sake, make " Ephraim and Manasses to agree, that we may all " with one Heart and Mind unfeignedly feek God's "Glory, and the Edification of his People, that we " may live in all godly Peace, Unity and Concord. 66 This grant, O Lord, for Christ Jesus sake, to ee whom

M. S. p. 71. " whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all Queen Elizabeth. " Praife, Glory and Honour, for ever and ever.

Another in a Letter to Bishop Grindal, occasioned by his Lordship's Discourse to the Prisoner at his Examination before him, December 19. begins thus,

"Pleafeth your Wisdom, my Duty remember'd, " &c. being grieved at certain Words spoken

" by you, and at your extreme Dealing with us of " late, I am bold to utter my Grief in this manner.

"You said, if Discipline did not tend to Peace and "Unity, it were better refused; whereas our Savi-

" our Christ commandeth Discipline as one part of

" the Gospel, most necessary for the Church's Peace " and Order; the Apostles practised it, and Mr.

" Calvin and other learned Men, call it the Sinews

" of the Church, that keep the Members together;

" and Beza fays, where Discipline is wanting there

" will be a licentious Life and a School of Wicked-" ness — Secondly, You feemed to be offended

" with a late Exercise of Prayer, and Fasting, say-

" ing, That you had not heard of any Exercise of

" this kind without confent of publick Authority;

" to which the Example of the Ninevites plainly

" answers, who proclaimed a Fast before they ac-

" quainted the King with it; nor did the King blame " his Subjects for going before him in Well-doing,

" but approved it by doing the like - Thirdly,

"You faid, You would never ask God Mercy for M. S.

" using the Apparel; and should appear before him p. 22.

" with a better Conscience than we; whereas you

" faid in a Sermon, as many can witness, That you

" was forry, for that you knew you should offend

" many godly Consciences by wearing this Apparel;

" requiring your Auditory to have Patience for a

" Time, for that you did but use them for a Time,

" to the end you might the fooner abolish them:

" And now you displace, banish, persecute, and

" imprison such as will not wear, nor consent there-66 unto, and at the same Time say, you fear not to

Chap. V.

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" appear before God for so doing. But if the Corin-Elizabeth, thians, for eating Meat to the Offence of their " Brethren, are faid to fin against Christ, how much " more do you, who not only retain the Remnants " of Antichrift, but compel others to the same? " Better were it for you to leave your lordly Dignity, not given you by Christ, and to suffer Affliet ction for the Truth of the Gospel, than by enioying thereof to become a Persecutor of your " Brethren. Consider (I pray you) if throughout the whole Scriptures you can find one, that was " first a Persecutor, and after was persecuted for " the Truth, that ever fell to perfecuting again and " repented. I desire you, in the Bowels of Christ, " to consider your own Case, who by your own "Confession was once a Persecutor, and has since " been perfecuted; whether displacing, banishing, " and imprisoning God's Children more streightly " than Felons, Hereticks or Traytors, be perfecu-" ting again or no? They that make the best of it, 46 fay, you buffet your Brethren, which if the Ma-" fter of the House find you so doing you know your " Reward. I defire you, therefore, in the Bowels of Christ, not to restrain us of the Liberty of our "Consciences, but be a Means to enlarge our Liberty in the Truth and Sincerity of the Gospel; " and use your Interest, that all the Remnants of Antichrist may be abolished, with every Plant that our beavenly Father has not planted. - Signed, " Yours in the Lord to command, WILLIAM WHITE, " who joineth with you in every Speck of Truth, but utte terly detesteth whole Antichrist, Head, Body, and " Tail, never to join with you, or any, in the least Joint thereof; nor in any Ordinances of Man, contrary to

> But neither the Arguments nor Sufferings of the Puritans, nor their great and undiffembled Piety, had an Influence upon the Commissioners, who had their Spies in all suspected Places, to prevent their

" the Word of God, by his Grace unto the Church."

religious Assemblies; and gave out strict Orders, That no Clergyman should be permitted to preach Elizabeth, in any of the Pulpits of London, without a Licence 1568. from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London.

Queen

The Persecution of the Protestants in France and Refugees the Low Countries was hot and terrible about this encrease. Time. The King of France broke through all his Edicts, for the free Exercise of the reformed Religion; he banished their Ministers, and much Blood was spilt in their religious Wars. In the Netberlands the Duke D'Alva breathed out nothing but Blood and Slaughter, putting Multitudes to Death for their Religion. This occasioned great Numbers to fly into England, which encreased the Number of the Dutch Churches in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, London, Southwark, and elsewhere. The Queen, for their Encouragement, allowed them the Liberty of their own Mode of Worship, which turned to a good Account, for they brought their Manufactures over with them, which proved very beneficial to the Trade and Merchandize of the Nation.

Even in England the Hearts of all good Men were Dangerous ready to fail, for fear of the Return of popish Idola-State of the try; the Queen being suddenly taken with a severe Reformafit of Sickness this Summer, which brought her to the very Point of Death, and the presumptive Heir, MARY, late Queen of Scots, being a bigotted Papift. The Queen, together with her bodily Distemper, was under great Terror of Mind for her Sins, and for not discharging the Duty of her high Station as the ought: She faid, She had forgotten her God, to whom she had made many Vows, and been unthankful to bim. Prayers were composed, and publickly read in all Churches for her Majesty's Recovery, in which they petition'd, That God would heal her Soul, and cure ber Mind as well as ber Body. The Papifts were never in greater Expectations, nor the Reformation

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M. S.

p. 18.

mation in greater Danger, than now; and yet Bride-Elizabeth, well, and other Prisons, were full of Puritans, as appears by a manuscript Letter of Mr. Thomas Lever, now before me, dated December 5, 1568. in which he endeavours to comfort the Prisoners, and declares, that though the popish Garments and Ceremonies. were not unclean in themselves, yet he was determined for himself, by God's Grace, never to wear the Square Cap and Surplice, because they ten ed neither to Decency nor Edification, but to Offence, Diffension, and Division in the Church of Christ: Nor would he kneel at the Communion, because it was a fymbolizing with Popery, and looked too much like the Adoration of the Hoft. But at length it pleased Almighty God to diffipate for the present the Clouds that hung over the Reformation, by the Queen's Recovery.

Bilbobs Bible.

This Year was published the Bible in Folio, called the Bishops Bible, with a Preface by Archbishop Parker. It was only Cranmer's Translation revised and corrected by feveral Bishops and learned Men, whose Names may be feen in the Records of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. It was defigned to fet aside the Geneva Translation, which had given Offence. In the beginning, before the Book of Genesis, is a Map of the Land of Canaan; before the New Testament is a Map containing the Places mentioned in the four Evangelists, and the Journeys of Christ and his Apostles. There are several Cuts dispersed through the Book, and feveral Genealogical and Chronological Tables, with the Arms of fundry Noblemen, and particularly those of Cranmer and Par-

Strype's ker. There are also some References and marginal An. p.216. Notes, for the Explication of difficult Passages. This was the Bible that was read in the Churches till the last Translation of King James I. took place.

But there was another Storm gathering from Popifo Confederacy. Abroad, which threaten'd the Reformation all over Europe; most of the popish Princes having

enter'd

Queen 1568.

enter'd into a League to extirpate it out of the World: The principal Confederates were the Pope, the Em-Elizabeth, peror, the Kings of Spain, France, and Portugal; with the Duke of Savoy, and some lesser Princes: Their Agreement was, to endeavour by Force of Arms to depose all Protestant Kings or Potentates. and to place Catholicks in their room; and to difplace, banish, and condemn to Death, all Wellwishers, and Affistants of the Clergy of Luther and Calvin, while the Pope was to thunder out his Anathema's against the Queen of England, to interdict the Kingdom, and to absolve her Subjects from their Allegiance. In Profecution of this League, War was already begun in France, Holland, and in feveral Parts of Germany, with unheard of Cruelties against the Reformed. Under these Difficulties the Proteftant Princes of Germany enter'd into a League for their common Defence, and invited the Queen of England into it. Her Majesty sent Sir Henry Killigrew over to the Elector Palatine with a handsome Excuse; and at the same Time ordered her Ambassador in France, to offer her Mediation between that King and his Protestant Subjects: But the Confederacy was not to be broken by Treaties; upon which her Majesty, by way of Self-defence, and to keep off the Storm from her own Kingdoms, affifted the Confederate Protestants of France and Holland with Men and Money. This was the fecond Time the Queen had supported them in their religious Wars against their natural Kings. The foreign popish Princes reproached her for it; and her Majesty's Ministers had much ado to reconcile it with the Court Doctrines of Paffive-Obedience and Non-Refiftance.

At home the Papists were in Motion, having vast Their Expectations from certain Prophecies, that the Queen Numbers should not reign above 12 Years; their Numbers were formidable, and fuch was their Latitude, that it was not eafy to bring them within the Verge of

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Queen the Laws. In Lancashire the Common Prayer Book Elizabeth, was laid aside, Churches were shut up, and the Mass 1569. faid openly. The Queen fent down Commissioners of Enquiry, but all they could do was to bind fome Strype's of the principal Gentlemen to their good Behaviour p. 541. in Recognizances of 100 Marks. Two of the Colleges of Oxford, (viz.) New College and Corpus Christi were so over-run with Papists, that the Bishop of Grindal's Winchester their Visitor, was forced to break open Life, p. the Gates of the College, and fend for the Ecclefiaftical Commission to reduce them to Order. Great Numbers of Papifts harboured in the Inns of Court, and in feveral other Places of publick Refort, expecting with Impatience the Death of the Queen, and the Succession of the presumptive Heir, MARY, late Queen of Scotland.

Rebellion in the North.

Towards the latter End of the Year the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, with their Friends, to the Number of 4000, broke out into open Rebellion; their Pretence was, to restore the popish Religion and deliver the Queen of Scots. In the City of Durbam they tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book to pieces, and restored the Mass in all Places where they came; but hearing of the Advance of the Queen's Army under the Earl of Suffolk, they fled Northward and mouldered away, without standing a Battle: The Earl of Northumberland was taken in Scotland, and executed at York, with many of his Confederates; but the Earl of Westmorland escaped into Flanders and died in Poverty. No fooner was this Rebellion over but the Lord Dacres began another on the Borders of Scotland; but after a small Skirmish with the Governor of Berwick he was defeated and fled, and the Rabble were pardoned. There was a general Commotion among the Papifts in all Parts of the Kingdom, who would have united their Forces, if the Northern Rebels had kept their ground.

To give new Life to the Catholick Cause, the Pope Queen published a Bull, excommunicating the Queen, and Elizabeth, absolving her Subjects from their Allegiance. In this Bull he calls her Majesty an Usurper, and a Vas-The Queen sal of Iniquity; and having given some Instances of and Kingher Aversion to the Catholick Religion, he declares domexcommunicated. "her an Heretick, and an Encourager of Here-

" ticks; and anathematizes all that adhere to her.

"He deprives her of her Royal Crown and Dignity, Collier, and absolves all her Subjects from all Obligations p. 523.

" of Fidelity and Obedience. He involves all those in the same Sentence of Excommunication, who presume to obey her Orders, Commands, or Laws, for the suture; and excites all foreign Po-

" tentates to take up Arms against her." This Effects of alarm'd the Administration, and put them upon their ". Guard; but it quickly appear'd that the Pope's Thunderbolts had lost their Terror; for the Roman Catholick Princes not being forward to encourage the Court of Rome's pretended Power of excommunicating Princes, continued their Correspondence with the Queen; and her own Roman Catholick Subjects remained pretty quiet; though from this Time they separated openly from the Church. But the Queen took hold of the Opportunity to require all Justices of Peace, and other Officers in Commission, throughout all the Counties in England, to Subscribe their Names to an Instrument, professing their Conformity and Obedience to the Act of Uniformity in Religion, and for due resorting to their Parish Churches to bear Common Prayer. This affected Puritans as well as Papists. The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court were also cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and examined about their reforting to Church, and receiving the Sacrament, of which most of them were very negligent. This raifed a Clamour, as if the Queen intended to ranfack into Mens Consciences; in answer to which she published a Declaration, that the had no fuch Intention, "That the did not enquire es into

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" and that all that came to Church, and observed " her Injunctions, should be deemed good Subjects." So that if Men would be Hypocrites, her Majesty would leave them to God; but if they would not

come to Church, they should suffer the Law.

Penal Laws against the Papifts. 13 Eliz. cap. I.

254

When the next Parliament met they passed a Law to make it High Treason, To declare the Queen to be an Heretick, Schifmatick, Tyrant, Infidel or Usurper; to publish or put in Use the Popes Bulls; to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, or to receive Absolution by virtue The concealing, or not discovering Offenders against this Act, is Misprission of Treason. A Protestation was likewise drawn up, to be taken by all reputed Papists, in these Words; "I do profess and confess before God, that Queen Elizabeth, my

" Soverign Lady, now reigning in England, is right-" fully, and ought to be, and continue Queen, and

" lawfully beareth the imperial Crown of these " Realms, notwithstanding any Act or Sentence that

" any Pope or Bishop has done or given, or can do " or give; and that if any Pope, or other, fay or

" judge to the contrary, whether he fay it as Pope,

" or howfoever, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth " and teacheth Error." And that the Puritans might not escape without some Note of Disloyalty, another Protestation was drawn up for them; in

L. of Par-which they profess before God, that "they believe ker,p. 324.66 in their Consciences, that Queen Elizabeth is and

" ought to be lawful Queen of England, notwith-" flanding any Act or Sentence, that any Church,

" Synod, Confiftory, or Ecclefiaftical Affembly

" hath done or given, or can give; and that if any

" fay or judge the contrary, in what respect soever

" he faith it, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth and

" teacheth Error and Falshood."

There was no manner of Occasion for this last Protestation; for in the midst of these Commotions the Puris Puritans continued the Queen's faithful and dutiful Sueen Subjects, and served her Majesty as Chaplains in her Elizabeth, Armies and Navy, though they were not admitted into the Churches. One would have thought these formidable Conspiracies of the Roman Catholicks should have alienated the Queen's Heart from them, and prevailed with her Majesty to yield something for the sake of a firmer Union among her Protestant Subjects; but instead of this, the Edge of the Laws that were made against popish Recusants, was turned against Protestant Non-Conformists, which instead of bringing them into the Church, like all other Methods of Severity, drove them surther from it.

This Year died Mr. Andrew King smill, born in Death of Hampsbire, and educated in All Souls College, Oxon, Mr. Kingsof which he was elected Fellow in 1558. He had fuch mill. a great Memory, that he could readily rehearfe in the Greek Language all St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and other Portions of Scripture memoriter. He was a most pious and religious Perfon, undervaluing all worldly Profit, in comparison of the Affurance of his Salvation. In the Year 1563. Wood's there were but three Preachers in the University, of Athen. Ox. whom King smill was one; but after some Time, when P. 161, Conformity was pressed, and Sampson turned out of his Deanry, he withdrew out of the Kingdom, refolving to live in one of the best reformed Churches for Doctrine and Discipline, the better to prepare himfelf for the Service of the Church; accordingly he lived 3 Years at Geneva, from thence he removed to Laulanne, where he died this Year, in the prime of his Days, leaving behind him an excellent Pattern of Piety, Devotion, and all kinds of Virtues.

The rigorous Execution of the Penal Laws made 1570. Business for the Civilians; many were cited into the proceed-Spiritual Courts, and after long Attendance, and ings of the great Charges, were suspended or deprived; the Spiritual Pursuivant, or Messenger of the Court, was paid by the Mile; the Fees were exorbitant which the Priso-

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1-570.

ner must satisfy before he is discharged; the Method Elizabeth, of Proceeding was dilatory and vexatious, though they feldom called any Witnesses to prove the Charge, but usually tender'd the Defendant an Oath, to answer the Interrogatories of the Court; and if he refused the Oath they examined him without it, and convicted him upon his own Confession; if the Prisoner was dismissed he was almost ruined with the Charges. and bound in a Recognizance to appear again whenfoever the Court should fend for him. We shall meet with many fad Demonstrations of this in the latter Part of this Reign. The honest Puritans made Conscience of not denying any Thing they were charged with, if it was true, though they might certainly have put the Court upon the Proof of it: Nay, most of them thought themselves bound to confess the Truth, and bear a publick Testimony to it, before the Civil Magistrate, though it was made use of to their Disadvantage.

Mr. Axmination.

I have an Example of this now before me; the ton's Exa- Reverend Mr. Axton, Minister of Morton Corbet in Leicestersbire, was cited into the Bishop's Court three feveral Times this Year, and examined upon the Reasons of his refusing the Apparel, the Cross in Baptifm, and kneeling at the Sacrament, which he debated with the Bishop and his Officers with a decent Freedom and Courage. At the Close of the Debate the Bishop said;

BISH. Now Mr. Axton, I would know of you, what you think of the Calling of the Bishops of Eng-

land?

Axton. I may fall into danger by answering this Question.

BISH. I may compel you to answer upon your Oath.

AxT. But I may choose whether I will answer upon Oath or not. I am not bound to bring my felf into danger; but because I am persuaded it will redound to God's Glory, I will fpeak, be the Confe-

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quence what it will; and I trust in the Holy Spirit Queen that I shall be willing to die in Desence of the Elizabeth, Truth.

Bish. Well; what do you think of my Calling?

AxT. You are not lawfully called to be a Bishop, according to the Word of God.

Bish. I thought fo; but why?

AxT. For three Causes, 1. Because you were not ordained by the Consent of the Eldership.

BISH. But I had the Hands of 3 or 4 Bishops.

AxT. But that is not the Eldership St. Paul speaks of, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Bish. By what Eldership were you ordained?

Was it not by a Bishop?

AxT. I had indeed the laying on of the Hands of one of the Bishops of *England*, but that was the least Part of my Calling.

BISH. What Calling had you more?

Axt. I having exercised and expounded the Word several Times in an ordinary Assembly of 10 Ministers; they joined in Prayer, and being required to speak their Consciences in the Presence of God, declared upon the Trial they had of me, that they were persuaded I might become a profitable Labourer in the House of God; after which I received the Laying on of the Hands of the Bishop.

Bish. But you had not the Laying on of the

Hands of those Preachers.

Axt. No; I had the Substance, but I wanted the Accident, wherein I befeech the Lord to be merciful to me; for the Laying on of Hands, as it is the Word, so it is agreeable with the mighty Action of ordaining the Ministers of God.

BISH. Well, then your Ordination is imperfect as

well as mine. What is your fecond Reafon?

Axt. Because you are not ordained Bishop over any one Flock; nay, you are not a Pastor over any one Congregation, contrary to 1 Pet. v. 2. Feed the Flock; and to Ass xiv.23. from whence 'tis manifest that

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Queen there should be Bishops and Elders through every Elizabeth, Congregation.

BISH. What is a Congregation?

AxT. Not a whole Diocese, but such a Number of People as ordinarily assemble in one Place to hear the Word of God.

BISH. What if you had a Parish six or seven Miles long, where many could not come to hear once in a Quarter of a Year?

AxT. I would not be Pastor over such a Flock.

BISH. What is your third Reason?

AxT. Because you are not chosen by the People; Acts xiv. 23. And they ordained Elders by Election in every Church, Xesesowing arles, by the lifting up of Hands.

B's. CHANC. How came you to be Parson of Morton Corbett?

AxT. I am no Parson.

CHANC. Are you then Vicar?

Axt. No; I am no Vicar, I abhor those Names as Antichristian; I am Pastor of the Congregation there.

CHANC. Are you neither Parson nor Vicar? How

hold you your Living?

AxT. I receive these temporal Things of the People, because I being their Pastor, do minister to them spiritual Things.

CHANC. If you are neither Parson nor Vicar you

must reap no Profit.

Axt. Do you mean good Faith in that you say? Chanc. Yea, if you will be neither Parson nor

Vicar there is good Caufe why another should.

BISH. You must understand, that all Livings in the Church are given to Ministers as Parsons and Vicars, and not as Pastors and Ministers. How were you chosen Pastor?

AxT. By the free Election of the People and Leave of the Patron: After I had preached about fix Weeks by way of Probation, I was chosen by one Consent

of

of them all, a Sermon being preached by one of Queen my Brethren, fetting forth the mutual Duties of Pa-Elizabeth, stor and People.

BISH. May the Bishops of England ordain Mini-

fters?

Axt. You ought not to do it in the Manner ye do; that is, without the Confent of the Eldership, without sufficient Proof of their Qualifications, and without ordaining them to a particular Congregation.

BISH. Well, Mr. Axton, you must yield somewhat to me, and I will yield somewhat to you; I will not trouble you for the Cross in Baptism; and if you will wear the Surplice but sometimes it shall suffice.

AxT. I can't confent to wear the Surplice, 'tis against my Conscience; I trust, by the Help of God, I shall never put on that Sleeve which is a Mark of the Beast.

BISH. Will you leave your Flock for the Surplice? AxT. Nay; Will you perfecute me from my Flock for a Surplice? I love my Flock in Jefus Christ, and had rather have my right Arm cut off than be removed from them.

BISH. Well, I will not deprive you this Time.

AxT. I befeech you confider what you do in removing me from my Flock, feeing I am not come in at the Window, or by Simony, but according to the Institution of Jesus Christ.

On the 22d of November following Mr. Axton appeared again, and was examined touching Organs, Musick in Churches, and Obedience to the Queen's

Laws, &c.

BISH. You in refusing the Surplice are disloyal to

the Queen, and shew a Contempt of her Laws.

Axt. You do me great Injury in charging me with Disloyalty; and especially when you call me and my Brethren Traitors, and say, that we are more troublesome Subjects than the Papists.

S 2

Queen Bish. I say still, the Papists are afraid to stir, Elizabeth, but you are presumptuous, and disquiet the State more than they.

Axt. If I, or any that fear God, speak the Truth, doth this disquiet the State? The Papists have for 12 Years been plotting Treason against the Queen and the Gospel, and yet this doth not grieve you. But I protest in the Presence of God, and of you all, that I am a true and faithful Subject to her Majesty; also I do pray daily both publickly and privately, for her Majesty's Safety, and for her long and prosperous Reign, and for the Overthrow of all her Enemies, and especially the Papists. I do prosess my self an Enemy to her Enemies, and a Friend to her Friends; therefore if you have any Conscience, cease to charge me with Disloyalty to my Prince.

BISH. In as much as you refuse to wear the Surplice, which she has commanded, you do in effect deny her to be supreme Governess in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal.

AxT. I admit her Majesty's Supremacy so far, as if there be any Error in the Governors of the Church she has Power to reform it; but I do not admit her to be an Ecclesiastical Elder, or Church Governor.

BISH. Yes; but she is, and hath full Power and Authority all manner of ways; indeed she doth not administer the Sacraments and preach, but leaveth those Things to us. But if she were a Man, as she is a Woman, why might she not preach the Word of God as well as we?

Axt. May she, if she were a Man, preach the Word of God? Then she may also administer the Sacraments.

BISH. This does not follow, for you know Paul preached and yet did not baptize.

AxT. Paul confesses that he did baptize, though he was sent especially to preach.

BISH. Did not Moses teach the People? and yet he was their Civil Governor.

AxT.

AxT. Moses's Calling was extraordinary. Re- Queen member the King of Judab, how he would have sa- Elizabeth, crificed in the Temple of God. Take heed how you confound those Offices which God has distinguished. M. s.

BISH. You fee how he runneth.

P. 55, 56.

BICKLEY. You speak very confidently and rashly,

Bish. This is his arrogant Spirit.

Thus the Dispute broke off, and the good Man, notwithstanding all his Supplications, was deprived of his Living, and driven to seek his Bread in another Country, though the Bishop owned he was a Divine of good Learning, a ready Memory, and well qua-

lified for the Pulpit.

One fees here the Difficulties the Puritans laboured under in their Ordinations; they apprehended the Election of the People, and the Examination of Prefbyters, with the Imposition of their Hands, necessary to the Call of a Minister; but this, if it were done in England without a Bishop, would hardly entitle them to preach in the Church, or give them a legal Title to the Profits of their Livings: Therefore after they had past the former Trials they applied to the Bishop for the Imposition of his Hands; but others not fatisfied with the Ordination of a fingle Person, not rightly called (as they thought) to the Office of a Bishop, went beyond Sea, and were ordained by the Presbyteries of foreign Churches: For though the English Puritans had their Synods and Presbyteries, yet 'tis remarkable that they never ordained a fingle Person to the Ministry.

The Controversy with the Church, which had hi-Mr. Carttherto been chiefly confined to the Habits, to the wright opthereof in Baptism, and Kneeling at the Lord's Su, - Hierarchy
per, began now to open into several more consider-of the
able Branches, by the Lectures of the Reverend Curch.
Mr. Thomas Cartwright, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's Professor, a
couragious Man, a popular Preacher, a profound
S 2 Scho-

Dueen Scholar, and Master of an elegant Latin Stile; he Elizabeth, was in high Esteem in the University, his Lectures being frequented by vast Crouds of Scholars; and when he preached at St. Mary's they were forced to take down the Windows. Beza says of him, that he thought there was not a more learned Man under the Sun. This Divine, in his Lectures, disputed against certain Blemishes of the English Hierarchy, and particularly against these Six, which he subscribed with his own Hand.

Strupe's (1.) "The Names and Functions of Archbishops Ann. p.628." and Archdeacons ought to be abolished, as having "no Foundation in Scripture.

(2.) "The Offices of the lawful Ministers of the "Church (viz.) Bishops and Deacons, ought to be

" reduced to the Apostolical Institution; the Bishop
" to preach the Word of God and pray, and Dea-

" cons to take care of the Poor,

(3.) "The Government of the Church ought not to be intrusted with Bishops Chancellors, or the

" Officials of Arcideacons; but every Church should be governed by its own Minister and Presbyters.

(4.) "Ministers ought not to be at large, but eve-"ry one should have the Charge of a certain Flock. (5.) "No body should ask, or stand as a Candi-

" date for the Ministry.

(6.) "Bishops should not be created by civil Au"thority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the

66 Church.

These Propositions are said to be untrue, dangerous, and tending to the Ruin of Learning and Religion; they were therefore sent to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the University, who advised the Vice-Chancellor to silence the Author, or oblige him to recant. Cartwright challenged Dr. Whitgist, who preached against him, to a publick Disputation, which he refused unless he had the Queen's Licence; and Whitgist offered a private Conference by writing, which the other declined, as answering no valuable Purpose.

Other

Other dangerous and seditious Propositions (as Queen they were called) were collected out of Cartwright's Elizabeth, Lectures, and sent to Court by Dr. Whitgift, to incense the Queen and Chancellor against him.

(1.) " In reforming the Church 'tis necessary to His Positi-

" reduce all Things to the apostolical Institution. ons.

(2.) " No Man ought to be admitted into the Mi-

" niftry but who is capable of preaching.

(3.) "None but such a Minister of the Word ought to pray publickly in the Church, or admi-

" nister the Sacraments.

(4.) " Popish Ordinations are not valid.

(5.) "Only Canonical Scripture ought to be read

" publickly in the Church.

(6.) "The publick Liturgy should be so framed, that there be no private praying or reading in the

"Church, but that all the People attend to the

" Prayers of the Minister.

(7.) "The Care of burying the Dead does not be"long more to the ministerial Office than to the

" rest of the Church.

(8.). "Equal Reverence is due to all Canonical

"Scripture, and to all the Names of God; there is therefore no Reason why the People should stand

" at the Reading of the Gospel, or bow at the Name

" of Jesus.

(9.) "'Tis as lawful to fit at the Lord's Table as

" to kneel or stand.

(10.) "The Lord's Supper ought not to be admi"nister'd in private; nor should Baptism be admi"nister'd by Women or Lay-Persons.

(11.) "The Sign of the Cross in Baptism is su-

" perstitious.

" rent should offer his own Child to Baptism, making

" a Confession of that Faith he intends to educate it in, without being obliged to answer in the Child's

" Name, I WILL, I WILL NOT, I BELIEVE, &c.

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Queen "nor ought it to be allowed, that Women or Per-Elizabeth, co fons under Age should be Sponsors.

(13.) "In giving Names to Children 'tis conve-"nient to avoid Paganism, as well as the Names and

" Offices of Christ, Angels, &c.

(14.) "Tis papiffical to forbid Marriages at certain Times of the Year; and to give Licences in

" those Times is intolerable.

(15.) "Private Marriages, that is, such as are "not published before the Congregation, are high-"ly inconvenient.

(16.) "The Observation of Lent, and fasting on

" Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious.

(17.) "The Observation of Festivals is unlawful.
(18.) "Trading, or keeping Markets on the

" Lord's Day, is unlawful.

(19.) "In ordaining of Ministers the pronouncing those Words, Receive thou the Holy Ghost, is both

(20.) "Kings and Bishops should not be anointed."

" ridiculous and wicked.

These were Cartwright's dangerous Doctrines, which he touched occasionally in his Lectures, but with no design to move Discord, as appears by a Testimonial sent to the Secretary of State in his Favour, fign'd by fifteen confiderable Names in the University; in which they say, that they had heard his Lectures, and declare, that "He never touched " upon the Controversy of the Habits; and though " he had advanced some Propositions with regard " to the Ministry, according to which he wished "Things might be regulated, he did it with all ima-" ginable Caution and Modesty." Other Letters were written in his Favour, figned by 20 or 25 Names, of whom some were afterwards Bishops, but it was refolved to make him an Example. Cartwright himself writ an elegant Latin Letter to the Secretary, in which he declares, that he waved all Occasions of speaking concerning the Habits, but owns he had taught that our Ministry declined from the Miniftry

Strype's
Ann.
Vol. III.
p. 2.

niftry of the apostolical Church in some Points, ac- Queen cording to which he wish'd it might be modell'd; Elizabeth, but that he did this with all imaginable Caution, as 1570. almost the whole University would witness, if they Peirce's might be allowed. He prayed the Secretary to hear Vindicat. and judge the Cause himself; which was so far from P. 77. Novelty, that it was as venerable for its Antiquity as the apostolick Age it self; but though the Secretary was convinced, that his Behaviour was free from Arrogancy, or an Intention to move Trouble, and that only as a publick Reader in the University, he had given Notes of the Difference between the Miniftry in the Times of the Apostles, and the present Ministry of the Church of England, yet he left him to the Mercy of his Enemies, who poured upon him all the Infamy and Difgrace their Power would admit. They first denied him his Degree of Doctor in His Pu-Divinity, then forbid his reading publick Lectures, nifement: and at last deprived him of his Fellowship, and expell'd him the University. A short and compendious Way of confuting an Adversary!

Mr. Cartwright being now out of all Employment Cartat home travell'd beyond Sea, and settled a Corre-wright spondence with the most celebrated Divines in the goes beyond Protestant Universities of Europe. While he was abroad he was chosen Minister to the English Merchants at Answerp, and afterwards at Middleburgh, where he continued two Years with little or no Prosit to himself; after which he returned into England, being earnestly sollicited thereunto by Letters from Clarke's Mr. Deering, Fulk, Wiburne, Fox and Lever, when L. of Cartwe shall hear more of the Sufferings of this eminent wright, p. 18.

Divine for his Non-Conformity.

This Year Grindal Bishop of London being translated to York, Sandys Bishop of Worcester was removed to London; in his primary Visitation, Jan. 10. he charged his Clergy (1.) To keep strictly to the Book of Common Prayer. (2.) Not to preach without a Licence. (3.) To wear the Apparel, that

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Ducen is, the square Cap and Scholars Gown, and in Divine Elizabeth, Service, the Surplice. (4.) Not to admit any of other 1371. Parishes to their Communion. He also ordered all Clerks Tolerations to be called in; by which it appears Strype's that some sew of the Non-Conformists had been tole-annals, rated, or dispensed with hitherto, but now this was at an end. However, the Puritans encouraged one another by Conversation and Letters to Stedsastness in their Opposition to the Corruptions of the Church, and not to sear the Resentments of their Adver-

Proceedings in Parliament for Reformation. faries.

There was a Spirit in the Parliament, which began April 2. to attempt something in favour of the Puritans, upon whom the Bishops bore harder every Day than other. Mr. Strickland, an ancient Gentleman, offered a Bill for a further Reformation in the Church, and introduced it with a Speech, proving, That the Common Prayer Book, with some superstitious Remains of Popery in the Church, might eafily be altered without the Danger of changing Religion. But the Treasurer of the Queen's Houshold stood up and faid, "All Matters of Ceremonies were to be re-" ferr'd to the Queen, and for them to meddle " with the Royal Prerogative was not convenient." Her Majesty was so displeased with Mr. Strickland's Motion, that she sent for him before the Council, and forbid him the Parliament House, which alarmed the Members, and occasioned so many warm Speeches, that she thought fit immediately to restore him; this was destroying the Freedom of Parliaments, and carrying the Prerogative to its utmost length. But Mr. Strickland moved further, That a Confession of Faith should be published and confirmed by Parliament, as it was in other Protestant Countries; and that a Committee might be appointed to confer with the Bishops on this Head. Committee drew up certain Articles, according to those which passed the Convocation of 1562. but left out others. The Archbishop asked them, Why they

they left out the Article for Homilies, and for the Consecruting of Bishops, and some others relating to the Elizabeth, Hierarchy. Mr. Peter Wentworth replied, because they had not yet examined how far they were agreeable to the Word of God, having confined themfelves chiefly to Doctrines. The Archbishop replied, furely you will refer your felves wholly to us the Bishops in these Things? To which Mr. Wentworth replied warmly, No, by the Faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were but to make you Popes: Make you Popes who lift, for we will make you none. So the Articles relating to Diffipline were waved, and an Act was passed, confirming all the Doctrinal Articles agreed upon in the Synod of 1562.

The Act is entitled, For Reformation of Disorders in Att for subthe Ministers of the Church, " And enjoins all that have scribing Arany Ecclefiaftical Livings, to declare their Affent ticles of

" before the Bishop of the Diocese to all the Articles 13 Eliz.

" of Religion, WHICH ONLY CONCERN THE CONFES- cap. 12. " SION OF THE TRUE FAITH, AND THE DOCTRINE

" OF THE SACRAMENTS, comprized in the Book im-

" printed, and intituled, Articles, whereupon it was " agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. and the whole

" Clergy in the Convocation of 1562. for avoiding Diversi-

" ty of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching

" true Religion; and to subscribe them; which was

" to be testified by the Bishop of the Diocese, under

" his Seal; which Testimonial he was to read publick-

" ly with the faid Articles, as the Confession of his Faith, " in his Church on a Sunday, in the Time of Divine

" Service, or elfe to be deprived. If any Clergyman

" maintained any Doctrine repugnant to the faid Ar-

" ticles, the Bishop might deprive him. None were

" to be admitted to any Benefice with Cure, except

" he was a Deacon of the Age of 23 Years, and would " fubscribe, and declare his unfeigned Affent to the

" Articles above-mentioned. Nor might any admi-

" nifter the Sacraments under 24 Years of Age.

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Queen 1571.

It appears from the Words of this Statute, that Elizabeth, those Articles of the Church which relate to its Discipline were not defigned to be the Terms of Ministerial Conformity; and if the Queen and the Bishops Remarks. had governed themselves by it, the Separation had been stifled in its Infancy; for there was hardly a Puritan in England that refused Subscription to the Doctrinal Articles: If all the 39 Articles had been established there had been no need of the following Clause, Which ONLY concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Dostrine of the Sacraments. And yet notwithstanding this Act, many that held Benefices and Ecclefiaftical Preferments, and that offered to conform to the Statute, were deprived in the following part of this Reign; which was owing to the Bishops servile Compliance with the Prerogative, and preffing Subscription to more than the Law required.

Strype's Ann. p. 72.

It deserves further to be taken Notice of, that by a Clause in this Act the Parliament admits of Ordination by Presbyters without a Bishop; which was afterwards disallowed by the Bishops in this Reign, as well as at the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Church was deprived of great Numbers of learned and ufeful Preachers, who scrupled the Matter of Re-Ordination, as they would at this Time, if it had been infifted on. Many of the present Clergy had been Exiles for Religion, and had been ordained abroad, according to the Custom of foreign Churches, but would not be re-ordained, any more than those of the popish Communion; therefore to put an End to all Disputes the Statute includes both; the Words are thefe, "That " every Person under the Degree of a Bishop, that " doth, or shall pretend to be a Priest or Minister of God's Word and Sacraments, by reason of any " other Form of Institution, Consecration, or Or-" dering, than the Form fet forth in Parliament in " the Time of the late King Edward VI. or now " used in the Reign of our most Sovereign Lady,

" Oueen Elizabeth, shall before Christmas next, de- Queen clare his Affent, and subscribe the Articles afore-Elizabeth,

" faid." The meaning of which Clause, says Mr. Strype, is undoubtedly to comprehend Papifts, and likewise such as received their Orders in some of the foreign reformed Churches when they were in Exile

under Queen Mary.

'Tis probable that the controverted Clause of the Strype's 20th Article, The Church bath Power to decree Rites An. p. 71. and Ceremonies, and Authority, in Controversies of Faith, was not among the Articles of 1562. as has been shewn under that Year; though it might be (according to Laud and Heylin) inferted in the Convocation Book of 1571; but what has this to do with the Act of Parliament, which refers to a Book printed nine Years before. Besides, 'tis absurd to charge the Puritans with striking out the Clause, as Archbishop Laud has done; because they had no Share in the Government of the Church at this Time, nor Interest to obtain the least Abatement in their Favour; nor does it appear that they difallowed the Claufe under proper Regulations: One might rather suppose, that the Queen should take Umbrage at it as an Invasion of her Prerogative, and that therefore fome zealous Churchman, finding the Articles defective upon this Head of the Church's Authority, might infert it privately, to avoid the Danger of a Præmunire.

But after all, Subscription to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church ONLY, has been reckoned a very great Grievance by many pious and learned Divines, both in the Church and out of it; for 'tis next to impossible to frame 36 Propositions in any human Words, that ten Thousand Clergymen can give their hearty Affent and Confent unto. Some that agree to the Doctrine it felf may diffent from the Words and Phrases by which it is expressed; and others that agree to the capital Doctrines of Christianity may have fome Doubts about the deeper and

Art. 13.

Art. 8.

more abstruse Points of Speculation. It would be Elizabeth, hard to deprive a Man of his Living, and shut him out from all Usefulness in the Church, because he doubts of the local Descent of Christ into Hell; or, Whether the best Actions of Men before their Conversion have the Nature of Sins; or that Every Thing in the three Creeds, commonly called the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, may be proved by most certain Warrants of Holy Scripture, and are therefore to be believed and received. Wife and good Men may have different Speculations upon the Doctrine of the Decrees, which are a Depth which no Man can fathom. These, and some other Things, have pinched the Consciences of the Clergy, and driven them to find out Evasions destructive to Morality, and the Peace of their own Minds. Some have subscribed them as Articles of Peace, contrary to the very Title, which fays, They are for avoiding the Diversity of Opimons. Others have tortured the Words to a Meaning contrary to the known Sense of the Compilers. Some subscribe them with a fecret Reserve, as far as they are agreeable to the Word of God; and fo they may subscribe the Council of Trent, or even Mahomet's Alcoran. Others subscribe them not as Doctrines which they believe, but as Doctrines that they will not openly contradict and preach against; and others, I am informed, put no Senfe upon the Articles at all. but only subscribe them as a Test of their Obedience to their Superiors, who require this of them as the legal Way to Preferment in the Church. How hard must it be for Men of Learning and Probity to submit to these Shifts! when no kinds of Subscriptions can be a Barrier against ignorant or dishonest Minds. Of what Advantage is Uniformity of Profession without an Agreement in Principles? If the fundamental Articles of our Faith were drawn up in the Language. of Holy Scriptures; or if those who are appointed to examine into the Learning, and other Qualifications of Ministers, were to be Judges of their Orthodox

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Confessions of Faith, it would answer a better Purpose, Queen

than Subscription to human Creeds and Articles.

Tho' the Commons were forbid to concern themfelves with the Discipline of the Church, they M. s. ventur'd to present an Address to the Queen, p. 92.

complaining, "That for lack of true Discipline in Address of the Church, great Numbers are admitted Mini-the Com-

" flers that are infamous in their Lives and Conver-mons.

fations; and among those that are of Ability their

"Gifts in many Places are useless, by reason of Plu-"ralities and Non-Residency, whereby infinite

"Numbers of your Majesty's Subjects are like to

" perish for lack of Knowledge. By means of this, to-

" gether with the common blaspheming of the "Lord's Name, the most wicked Licentiousness of

" Life, the Abuse of Excommunication, the Com-

" mutation of Penance, the great Numbers of

" Atheifts, Schismaticks daily springing up, and

" the Increase of Papists, the Protestant Religion is in imminent Danger: Wherefore in regard first

" and principally to the Glory of God, and next in

" discharge of our bounden Duty to your Majesty;

" besides, being moved with Pity towards so many

" Thousands of your Majesty's Subjects, daily in

" danger of being loft for want of the Food of the.

" Word, and true Discipline, we the Commons in

" this present Parliament affembled, are humbly

" bold to open the Griefs, and to feek the falving of

" the Sores of our Country, and to befeech your

" Majesty, seeing the same is of so great Impor-

" tance, if the Parliament at this Time may not be

" fo long continued, as that by good and godly Laws

" Provision may be made for Supply and Reforma-

" tion of these great and grievous Wants and Abuses,

" that yet by fuch other Means, as to your Maje-

" fty's Wisdom shall seem meet, a perfect Redress

" of the same may be had; by which the Number

" of your Majesty's faithful Subjects will be en-

" creafed, Popery will be destroyed, the Glory

Queen " of God will be promoted, and your Majesty's Re-Elizabeth, " nown will be recommended to all Posterity." But 1571. the Queen broke up the Parliament without taking any Notice of the Supplication.

Convoca-

M. S.

p. 92.

The Convocation that began with this Parliament affembled April 3d, when the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Alcock presented a Supplication to them in behalf of the deprived Ministers, praying their Interest with the Queen for a Redress of their Grievances; "If a " godly Minister (fays he) omit but the least Cere-" mony, for Conscience sake, he is immediately " indicted, deprived, cast into Prison, and his "Goods wasted and destroyed; he is kept from his Wife and Children, and at last excommunicated. We therefore befeech your Fatherhoods to pity " our Case, and take from us these stumbling Blocks." But the Convocation were of another Spirit, for instead of removing their Burdens they encreased them; by framing certain new Canons of Discipline, against the Puritans; as, that the Bishops should call in all their Licences for Preaching, and give out new ones to fuch as were best qualified; and among the Qualifications they infift not only upon Subscription to the Doctrines of the Church enjoined by Parliament, but upon Subscription to the Common Prayer Book, and Ordinal for Confecration of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God: And they declare, that all

fuch Preachers as do not subscribe, or that disturb Peoples Minds with contrary Doctrine, shall be excommunicated. But as these Canons never had the Sanction of the Queen's Broad Seal, surely the enforcing them upon the Puritans was a Stretch of Power hardly to be justified. Bishop Grindal confessed they had not the Force of a Law, and might possibly involve them in a Pramunire; and yet the Bishops urged them upon the Clergy of their several Dioceses. They cancell'd all the Licences of

Preachers,

Sparrow, p. 223.

Preachers, and infifted peremptorily on the Subscription above-mentioned.

Queen Elizabeth;

The Complaints of the Ministers under these Hardships reached the Ears of the Elector Palatine of the trype's
Rhine, who was pleased to order the learned Zanchy, Ann. p.97.
Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelburgh.

Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelburgh, to write to the Queen of England in their Behalf, befeeching her Majesty, not to insist upon Subscriptions, of upon wearing the Habits, which gave fuch Offence to great Numbers of the Clergy, and was like to make a Schism in the Church. The Letter was inclosed to Bishop Grindal, but when he had read it he would not fo much as deliver it to the Queen, for fear of disobliging her Majesty, whose Refolution was to put an End to all Distinctions in the Church, by preffing the Act of Uniformity. Instead therefore of relaxing to the Puritans, Orders were fent to all Church-Wardens, Not to suffer any to read, pray, preach, or minister the Sacraments in any Churches, Chapels, or private Places, without a new Licence from the Queen or the Archbishop, or Bishop of the Diocese, The more refolved Purito be dated since May last. tans were therefore reduced to the Necessity of assembling in private, or of laying down their Ministry.

Though all the Bishops were obliged to go into these Measures of the Court, yet some were so sensible of the Want of Discipline, and of preaching the Word, that they permitted their Clergy to enter into Associations for the promoting of both. The Ministers of the Town of Northampton, with the Consent and Approbation of Dr. Scambler their Bishop, the Mayor of the Town, and the Justices of the County, agreed upon the following Regulations for

Worship and Discipline.

1. "That finging and playing of Organs in the thid.
"Choir shall be put down, and Common Prayer Rules for read in the Body of the Church, with a Psalm be-Discipline."
fore and after Sermon.

Queen 2. "That every Tuesday and Thursday there shall Elizabeth," be a Lecture from 9 to 10 in the Morning, in the

" chief Church of the Town, beginning with the "Confession in the Book of Common Prayer, and

" ending with Prayer and a Confession of Faith.

3. "Every Sunday and Holiday shall be a Sermon after Morning Prayer, with a Pfalm before and after.

4. " Service shall be ended in every Parish Church

by nine in the Morning every Sunday and Holi-

"day, to the end that People may refort to the Ser"mon in the chief Church, except they have a

" Sermon in their own.

5. " None shall walk abroad, or fit idly in the

Streets in time of Divine Service.

6. "The Youth shall every Sunday Evening be

" examined in a Portion of Calvin's Catechism,

"which the Reader shall expound for an Hour.
7. "There shall be a general Communion once

" a Quarter in every Parish Church, with a Ser-

ee mon.

8. " A Fortnight before each Communion, the

" Minister with the Church-Wardens shall go from

" House to House, to take the Names of the Com-

" municants, and examine into their Lives; and

" the Party that is not in Charity with his Neigh-

66 bour, shall be put from the Communion.

9. "After the Communion the Minister shall visit

es every House, to understand who have not re-

" ceived the Communion, and why.

10. " Every Communion-Day each Parish shall

44 have two Communions, one beginning at 5 in the

" Morning, with a Sermon of an Hour, and ending

" at Eight, for Servants; the other from 9 to 12

er for Masters and Dames.

11. " The Manner of the Communion shall be ac-

cording to the Order of the Queen's Book, faving

that the People being in their Confession upon

their Knees, shall rife up from their Pews and so pass

to the Communion-Table, where they shall receive Queen

the Sacrament in Companies, and then return to Elizabeth, their Pews, the Minister reading in the Pulpit.

12. " The Communion Table shall stand in the

"Body of the Church, according to the Book, at

" the upper End of the middle Isle, having 3 Mini" sters, one in the middle to deliver the Bread, the

" other two at each end for the Cup, the Ministers

often calling upon the People to remember the

" Poor. The Communion to end with a Pfalm;

13. " Excessive ringing of Bells on the Lord's

" Day is prohibited; and carrying of the Bell be-

" fore Corpses in the Streets, and bidding Prayers

" for the Dead, which was used till within these two

"Years, is restrained."

Here was a Sort of Affociation, or voluntary Difcipline set up, separate from the Queen's Injunctions, or Canons of the Church; this was what the Puritans were contending for, and would have acquiesced in, if it might have been established by a Law.

Besides these Attempts for Discipline, the Clergy, with leave of their Bishop, set up religious Exercises among themselves, for the Interpretation of some Text of Scripture, one speaking to it orderly after another; these were called Prophesyings, from the rise of the apostolical Direction, 1 Cor. xiv. 31. Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted.

They also conferred among themselves, touching sound Doctrine and good Life and Manners.

The Regulations or Orders for these Exercises in

Northampton, were thefe;

1. "That every Minister, at his first Allowance Their Or-

" his Confent, in Christ's true Religion with his

" Brethren, and submit to the Discipline and Order

" of the fame.

2. " The Names of all the Members shall be written in a Table; three of whom shall be concerned

68 at each Exercise; the first, beginning and ending

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es with

Queen " with Prayer, shall explain his Text, and confute Elizabeth, co foolish Interpretations, and then make a practical " Reflection, but not dilate to a common Place.

3. "Those that speak after may add any Thing

" they think the other has omitted, tending to exof plain the Text; but may not repeat what has been " faid, nor oppose their Predecessor, unless he has

" fpoken contrary to the Scriptures.

4. " The Exercise to continue from 9 to 11; the " first Speaker to end in 3 Quarters of an Hour, the

" fecond and third not to exceed each I Quarter of

an Hour; one of the Moderators always to con-

« clude.

5. " After the Exercise is over, and the Auditors

dismissed, the President shall call the learned Bre-" thren to him to give their Judgment of the Per-

of formances, when it shall be lawful for any of the

" Brethren to propose their Objections against them

in writing, which shall be answered before the next

Exercise.

6. " If any break Orders, the President shall

" command him, in the Name of the Eternal God,

to be filent; and after the Exercise he shall be re-

" primanded.

7. "When the Exercise is finished the next Speaker

" shall be appointed, and his Text given him."

The Confession of Faith which the Members of these Prophesyings signed at their Admission, was to the following Purpose.

Their Con-Faith.

"That they believed the Word of God, confession of " tained in the Old and New Testament, to be a " perfect Rule of Faith and Manners; that it ought

to be read and known by all People, and that the 46 Authority of it exceeds all Authority, not of the

Pope only, but of the Church also; and of Coun-

" cils, Fathers, Men and Angels.

" They condemn as a tyrannous Yoke, whatfoever

" Men have fet up of their own Invention, to make " Articles of Faith, and the binding Mens Consciences

ee by

"by their Laws and Institutes: In sum, all those Queen
"Manners and Fashions of serving God, which Elizabeth,
"Men have brought in without the Authority of 1571.

"the Word for the Warrant thereof, though recommended by Custom, by unwritten Traditions,

or any other Names whatsoever; of which fort are the Pope's Supremacy, Purgatory, Transubstan-

" tiation, Man's Merits, Free-Will, Justification by

"Works, praying in an unknown Tongue, and Distintions of Meats, Apparel, and Days; and briefly all

" the Ceremonies, and whole Order of Papistry, which

" they call the Hierarchy; which are a devilish Con-

" fusion, establish'd as it were in spight of God, and

to the Reproach of Religion.

"And we content our selves (say they) with the

"Simplicity of this pure Word of God, and Dothereof; a Summary of which is in the

" Apostles Creed; resolving to try and examine, and also to judge all other Doctrines whatsoever by

this pure Word, as by a certain Rule and perfect

"Touchstone. And to this Word of God we hum-

66 bly fubmit our felves, and all our Doings, willing

" and ready to be judged, reformed, or further in-

" ftructed thereby, in all Points of Religion.

Mr. Strype calls this A well minded, and religiously disposed Combination of both Bishop, Magistrates, and People. It was design'd to stir up an Emulation in the Clergy to study the Scriptures, that they might be more capable of instructing the People in Christian Knowledge; and though Men of loose Principles censur'd it, yet the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who had a special Letter from the Queen, to inquire into all Novelties, and were acquainted with the Scheme above-mentioned, gave them as yet neither Check nor Disturbance; but when her Majesty was informed that they were Nurseries of Puritanism, and tended to promote Alterations in the Government of the Church, she quickly suppressed them, as will be seen in its proper Place.

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This Year put a Period to the Life of the famous Queen Elizabeth, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, Author of the fa-1571. mous Apology for the Church of England. He was born in Devonshire, 1522. and educated in Christ Church College, Oxon, where he proceeded M. A. 1544. In Jewel's Death and King Edward's Reign he was a zealous Promoter of Character. the Reformation; but not having the Courage of a Martyr, he yielded to fome Things against his Conscience in the Reign of Queen Mary, for which he asked Pardon of God and the Church among the Exiles in Germany, where he continued a Contessor for the Gospel till Queen Elizabeth's Accession to the Crown, when he returned home, and was preferr'd to the Bishoprick of Salisbury, 1559. He was one of the most learned Men among the Reformers, a Calvinist in Doctrine, but for absolute Obedience to his Sovereign in all Things of an indifferent Nature, which led him not only to comply with all the Queen's Injunctions about the Habits, when he did not approve them, but to bear too hard upon the Consciences of his Brethren who were not satisfied to comply. He writ feveral Treatifes in his Life-time, and others were printed after his Death; but that which gained him greatest Reputation, was his Apology, which was translated into the foreign Languages, and ordered to be chained in all the Churches of England. He was a truly pious Man, and died in a comfortable Frame of Mind. Some of his last Words were, I have not so lived that I am ashamed to die; neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness. Christ is my Righteousness. Lord, let thy Servant depart in Peace; which he did at Monkton Farley, Sept. 23. 1571. in the 50 h Year of his Age, and lies buried in the middle of the Choir of the Cathedral of Salifbury.

The R 303rand Mr. Whitehead's

In the same Year died the Reverend Mr. David Whitehead, a great Scholar, and a most heavenly Professor of Divinity. He was educated in Oxford, and was Chaplain to Queen Anne Bullein, and one of the four Divines nominated by Archbishop Cranmer to Bishopricks in Ireland. In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, Mary's Time he went into voluntary Exile, and refided at Frankfort, where he answered the Objections of Dr. Horne, concerning Church Discipline and Worship. Upon his return into England he was chosen one of the Disputants against the popish Bishops, and shewed himself so profound a Divine, that the Queen, out of her high Efteem for him, offered him the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; but he refused it from puritanical Principles, and would accept of no Preferment in the Church, as it then stood: He excused himself to the Queen, by faying, he could live plentifully on preaching the Gospel without any Preferment; and accordingly did fo: He went up and down like an Apostle, preaching the Word where it was wanted; and spent his Life in Cœlibacy, which gained him the greater Esteem with the Queen, who had no great Affection for married Priests. He died Ath. Ox. this Year in a good old Age; but in what Church or P. 172.

Chapel he was buried I know not.

Our Archbishop was very busy this Summer, Abp. Parwith the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, in haras-ker's Zeal

fing the Puritans; for which purpose he summoned for Uniforbefore him the principal Clergy of both Provinces that were disaffected to the Uniformity established by Law, and acquainted them, that if they intended to continue their Ministry they must take out new Licences, and fubscribe certain Articles, according to a new Act of Parliament, for reforming certain Diforders in Ministers; otherwise they must resign quietly or be deprived. He took in the Bishops above-mentioned to countenance his Proceedings, but Grindal declared he would not be concerned, if his Grace proceeded to Sufpension and Deprivation; upon which Parker writ back, that "He thought it high "Time to fet about it; and however the World " might judge, he would ferve God and his Prince, " and put her Laws in Execution; that Grindal was

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1571.

Queen " too timorous, there being no danger of a Pramu-Elizabeth, " nire; that the Queen was content the late Book of " Articles (though it had not the Broad Seal) should be profecuted; and in case it should hereafter be repealed there was no fear of a Præmunire, but only of a Fine at her Pleasure, which he was persuaded " her Majesty, out of love to the Church, would not

" levy: But Grindal being now at York wifely declined the Affair.

M. S. p. 117. Puritans suspended.

In the Month of June the Archbishop cited the chief Puritans about London to Lambeth, (viz.) Mr. Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburn, Goff, Percival, Deering, Field, Browne, Johnson, and some others. These Divines being willing to live peaceably, offered to subscribe the Articles of Religion as far as concerned the Dostrine and Sacraments only, and the Book of Common Prayer, as far as it tended to Edification, it being acknowledged on all hands, that there were fome Imperfections in it; but they prayed, with refpect to the Apparel, that neither Party might condemn the other, but that those that wore them, and those that did not, might live in Unity and Concord.

L. of Par- How reasonable soever this was, the Archbishop told ker,p.326, them peremptorily, that they must come up to the Standard of the Queen's Injunctions or be deprived. Goodman was also required to renounce a Book that he had writ many Years ago, when he was an Exile, against the Government of Women; which he refused, and was therefore fuspended. Lever quietly resign'd his Prebend in the Church of Durham. Browne being domestick Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, his Patron undertook to screen him; but the Archbishop writ him Word, that no Place within her Majesty's Dominions was exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners, and therefore if his Grace did not forthwith fend up his Chaplain they should be forced to use other Methods. This was that Robert Browne who afterwards gave Name to that Denomination of Diffenters called Brownists; but his Family and Relations

lations covered him for the present. Johnson was domestick Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Bacon at Go-Elizabeth, rambury, where he used to preach and administer the Sacrament in his Family: He had also some Place at Sr. Albans, and was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He appeared before the Commissioners in July, but refusing to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer as agreeable to the Word of God, he was suspended, though he affured them, that he used the Book, and thought for Charity fake it might be fuffered, till God should grant a Time of more perfect Reformation; that he would wear the Apparel though he judged it neither expedient nor for Edification; and that he was willing to fubscribe all the Doctrinal Articles of the Church, according to the late Act of Parliament: But the Commissioners insisting peremptorily upon an absolute Subscription, as above, he was suspended, and resigned his Prebend in the Church of Norwich; but about two Years after he fell into further Troubles which cost him his Life.

The learned Beza writ to the Bishops not to be the 1572: Instruments of such Severities; and being informed Beza's Letthat a Parliament was shortly to be called, in which ter for Rea Consultation was to be had concerning the Establishing of Religion, he excited the Lord Treasurer to endeavour some Reformation of Discipline; "For " I will not diffemble (fays he) that not a few com-" plain of divers Things wanting in the Church; " and when I fay not a few, I do not mean that " worse fort whom nothing pleases but what is per-" fect, and absolute in all respects; but I understand " godly Men, learned Men, and some that are best " affected to God's Church, and Lovers of their " Nation. I look upon the Reformation of Disci-" pline as of great Importance to the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, and the Strengthning of the Reformation; and therefore there is nothing " the Queen's Majesty and her Council should soones er think of than this, however great and difficult

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Elizabeth, " Nation affords so many Divines of Prudence, 1572. .. Learning and Judgment in these Affairs: If they

" together with the Bishops, to whom indeed espe-" cially, but not alone, this Care belongs, would

" deliberate hereupon, I doubt not but fuch Things

" would follow whence other Nations would take

" Example."

Thus did this learned Divine interceed for the Recovery of Discipline, and the Ease of tender and ferupulous Consciences. But this was more than our Archbishop thanked him for (fays Mr. Strype) after

L. of Par-he had taken fo much pains in pressing the Act of

ker,p. 344. Uniformity.

Attempts ment for Reforma-

The Parliament met May 8; the Lord Keeper in Parlia- open'd it with a Speech, in which he recommended to the Houses in the Queen's Name, "To see

" that the Laws relating to the Discipline and Cere-" monies of the Church were put in due Execution;

and that if any further Laws were wanting, they

" should consider of them, and so (says his Lord-

" ship) Gladius Gladium juvabit, The Civil Sword will

" support the Ecclesiastical, as before Time has been " used." But the Parliament seeing the ill Use the Queen and Bishops made of their spiritual Power, instead of making new Laws to enforce the Ceremonies, ordered two B lls to be brought in to regulate them; in one of which the Hardships that the Puri-

L. of Par-tans complain'd of were redreffed. The Bills past ker,p.394 smoothly through the Commons, and were referr'd to a felect Committee of both Houses, which alarm'd the Bishops, and gave the Queen such

Offence, that two Days after she fent to acquaint the Commons by their Speaker, that it was her the Queen. Pleasure, that no Bills concerning Religion should henceforth be received, unless the same should be first considered and liked by the Bishops or Clergy

in Convocation; and further, her Majesty commanded them to deliver up the two Bills last read in

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the House, touching Rites and Ceremonies. This was Queen a high Strain of the Prerogative, and a Blow at the Elizabeth, very Root of the Freedom of Parliaments. But the 1572. Commons fent her Majesty the Bills, with a servile Request, that she would not conceive an ill Opinion of the House if she should not like them. Her Majesty sent them Word, within a Day or two, that she utterly difliked the Bills, and never returned them. This awakened a brave Spirit of Liberty among some of the Members; many free Speeches were made upon this Occasion, and among others, Sir Peter Wentworth flood up and faid, "That it grieved him to fee, how " many Ways the Liberty of free Speech in Parlia-" ment had been infringed. Two Things, fays he, " do great Hurt among us, one is a Rumour that " ran about the House, when the Bill about the " Rites of the Church was depending; Take beed what " you do, the Queen liketh not such a Matter, she will be " offended with them that profecute it. The other is, that " fometimes a Message was brought to the House, " either commanding or inhibiting our Proceed-"ings." He added, "That it was dangerous al-" ways to follow a Prince's Mind, because the Prince " might favour a Cause prejudicial to the Honour of "God, and the Good of the State. Her Majesty " has forbid us to deal in any Matter of Religion, " unless we first receive it from the Bishops. This " was a doleful Message; there is then little hope of " Reformation. I have heard from old Parliament " Men, that the Banishment of the Pope, and the " reforming true Religion, had its beginning from " this House, but not from the Bishops; few Laws " for Religion had their Foundation from them; and " I do furely think (before God I speak it) that the " Bishops were the Cause of that doleful Message." But for this Speech Sir Peter was fent to the Tower.

In the mean time the late Act of the 13th Eliz. Subscriptifor subscribing the Articles, was put in Execution all on urged over England, together with the Queen's Injunctions; upon the

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1572. Strype's Ann. p. 187.

and according to Mr. Strype's Computation about Elizabeth, 100 Clergymen were deprived this Year for refusing to subscribe. The University of Cambridge was a Nest of Puritans; many of the Graduates were disaffected to the Discipline of the Church, as particularly Mr. Browning, Mr. Brown of Trinity College, Mr. Millain of Christ's, Mr. Charke of Peter-bouse, Mr. Deering of Christ's College, and several in St. John's College, who being Men of Learning, had great Numbers of Followers; but Dr. Whitgift the Vice-Chancellor watched them narrowly, and kept them under. The Reverend Mr. Charke in one of his Sermons at St. Mary's had faid, that " there ought to be a Parity " among the Ministers in the Church; and that the " Hierarchical Orders of Archbishops, Patriarchs, " Metropolitans, &c. was introduced into the " Church by Satan." For which he was fummoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, and refusing to recant, was expell'd the University. Charke writ a handsome Latin Apology to Lord Burleigh their present Chancellor, in which he confesses that it was his Opinion, that the Church of England might be brought nearer to the apostolick Charatter or Likeness; but that this must not be said either in the Pulpit or Desk, under the severest Penalties. The Chancellor knowing him to be a good Scholar, and in Confideration that he had been hardly dealt with, interceded for him, but to no purpose. Mr. Browning, Mr. Deering, and others, met with the like Usage. Deering was a Man of good Learning, and made a chief Figure in the University; he was also Reader at St. Paul's, London, and a most popular Preacher; but being an Enemy to the superior Order of Bishops, he fell into the Hands of the Commissioners and was filenced.

Paritans apply to Parliament.

The Puritans finding it in vain to hope for a Reformation from the Queen or Bishops, resolved for the future to apply to Parliament, and stand by the Constitution; for this purpose they made Interest among the Mem-

bers,

bers, and compiled a Treatife, fetting forth their chief Queen Grievances in one View; it was drawn up by the Reve-Elizabeth; rend Mr. Field, Minister of Aldermary, London, affisted by Mr. Wilcox, and was revised by several of the Bre- Their first thren. It was entitled an ADMONITION TO THE PAR-Admoniti-LIAMENT; with Beza's Letter to the Earl of Leicester, on. and Gualter's to Bishop Parkburst for Reformation of Church Discipline, annexed. It contains the Platform of a Church; the manner of electing Ministers; their feveral Duties, and their Equality in Government. It then exposes the Corruptions of the Hierarchy, and the Proceedings of the Bishops, with some Severity of Language. When Mr. Pearson, the Archbishop's Chaplain, taxed the Authors with this in Prison, Mr. FIELD replied, "This concerns me; the Scriptures " of the Old and New Testament use such Vehe-" mency; we have used gentle Words too long, " which have done no good; the Wound grows " desperate and wants a Corrosive; 'tis no Time to " blanch or few Pillars under Mens Elbows, but "God knoweth we meant to touch no Man's Person, " but their Places, and Abuses." The Admonition concludes with a Petition to the Houses, that a Discipline more consonant to the Word of God, and agreeing with the foreign reformed Churches, may be established by Law. The Authors themselves, Ministers viz. the Reverend Mr. Field and Wilcox, presented it that preto the House, for which they were sent for into Cu-sented it stody, and by the Influence of the Bishops committed imprison'd. to Newgate, October 2. Upon this the Book already M. S. printed was suffered to go Abroad, and had 3 or 4 Edi-135. tions within the Compass of 2 Years, notwithstanding L. of Parall the Endeavours of the Bishops to find out the Press. ker,p.347.

The Imprisonment of the two Ministers occafioned the drawing up a fecond Admonition, by Mr. second Ad-CARTWRIGHT, lately returned from beyond Sea, monition, with an humble Petition to the two Houses, for Relief against the Subscription required by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which had no Foundation

Queen in Law, but was an Act of Sovereignty in the Crown. Elizabeth, and was against the Peace of their Consciences; many having lost their Places and Livings for not complying; they befeech their Honours to take a View of the Causes of their Non-subscribing, that it might appear they were not disobedient to the Church of God, or to their Sovereign; and they most humbly entreat for the removal and abolishing of such Corruptions and Abuses in the Church as with-held their Compliance. "The Matters (fay they) contained " in the Admonition, how true foever they be, have " found small Favour; the Persons that are thought " to have made it are laid up in no worse Prison than " Newgate; the Men that fet upon them are no " worse than Bishops; the Name that goeth of them is no better than Rebels; and great Words there " are, that their Danger will yet prove greater. "Well, whatsoever is said or done against them, " that is not the Matter, but the Equity of the " Cause, that is the Matter; and yet this I will say, " that the State sheweth not it self upright, if it suf-" fers them to be molested for that, which was spo-" ken only by way of Admonition to the Parliament, " which was to confider of it, and receive or reject " it, without further Matter to the Authors, except " it contained some wilful Maintenance of Treason " or Rebellion, which it cannot be proved to do." Two other Pamphlets were published on this Occafion, one entitled, An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their Brethren. The other, An Exhortation to the Bishops and Clergy to answer a little Book that was published last Parliament; and an Exhortation to other Brethren to judge of it by God's Word, till they saw it answered.

Apology of the Prifomers.

Peirce's

Vindic.

p. 85.

The Prisoners themselves writ an elegant Latin Apology to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in which they confess their writing the Admonition, but that they attempted not to correct or change any Thing in the Hierarchy of themselves, but referr'd all to

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the Parliament, hoping by this means that all Diffe- Queen rences might be composed in a legal Way, and the Elizabeth Corruptions which the most learned foreign Divines complained of might be removed, to the preventing Strype's any Schism or Separation in the Church. But the Ann. p. 186 Treasurer had not Courage to intermeddle with an Affair which might embroil him with the Queen, or at least with her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, tho' it was well enough known he had a Good-will to the Caufe. But the Commissioners not content with the Severity of the Law, sported themselves in an arbitrary Manner with the Miseries of their Fellow-Creatures: detaining them in Prison beyond the Time limited by the Statute, as appears by their humble Supplication to the Earl of Leicester, representing " That Their Sup-" they had been condemned according to the Act of plication. "Uniformity, to a Year's Imprisonment, which "they had now fuffered patiently in the common " Goal of Newgate, besides 4 Months close Impri-" forment before their Conviction, which they ap-" prehend to be contrary to Law: That by this " Means they and their poor Wives and Children " were utterly impoverished; their Health very " much impaired, by the unwholfome Savour of the " Place, and the cold Weather; and that they were " like to fuffer yet greater Extremities: They there-" fore humbly befeech his Lordship, for the tender " Mercies of God, and in Confideration of their poor "Wives and Children, to be a Means to the most " honourable Privy Council, that they may be en-" larged; or, if that could not be obtained, that "they might be confined in a more wholfome Pri-" fon." They fent another Petition of the fame Nature to the Lords of the Council; and a third was fent in the Names of their Wives and Children. They also writ a Confession of their Faith, dated from And Con-Newgate, December 4. 1572. with a Preface, in which they fession of complain of the Reproaches and Calumnies of their Faith.

Adversaries; "Because (say they) we would have

" Bishops

Queen "Bishops unlorded, according to God's Word, there-Elizabeth, "fore 'tis said, We seek the Overthrow of Civil 1572. "Magistrates: Because we say, all Bishops and Mi-

"Sovereignty over one another; therefore they

" fay, when we have brought this in among the Bi" shops, we shall be for levelling the Nobility of

"the Land. Because we find fault with the Regimen of the Church as drawn from the Pope,

therefore they say, we design the Ruin of the

"State. Because we say the Ministry must not be a bare reading Ministry, but that every Minister

" must be learned, able to preach, to consute Gain" fayers, to comfort, to rebuke, and to do all the

"Duties of a Shepherd, a Watchman, and a

"Steward; therefore they bear the World in hand that we condemn the Reading of the Holy Scriptures

" in Churches. Because we are afraid of joining

" with the Church in all her Rites and Ceremonies,

" therefore we are branded with the odious Names of Donatists, Anabaptists, Aerians, Arians, Hinck-

" feldians, Puritans, &c."

The Confession it self is Orthodox, according to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and must give a general Satisfaction to them that read it; tis written by the Authors of the first Admonition to the Parliament, to testify their Persuasion in the Faith, against the uncharitable Surmises of Dr. Whitgist, utter'd in his Answer to their Admonition, in defence both of themselves and their Fautors; and is subscribed Johannes Fields. I have the whole before me, but shall only transcribe a sew Passages relating to the present Controversy.

"We hold and believe, That we ought to keep inviolably that Kind of Government that is left us

" in the Gospel. — That the Office of a Pastor is to preach the Word, and administer the Sacra-

" ments, and therefore that bare Readers, or fingle

"Service Sayers, are no more fit for Pastors, than

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M. S.

"Women or Children that can read well; yet we Queen deny not the Reading of the Scriptures in all Con-Elizabeth, gregations, but this is not a Part of the Minister's 1572.

"We think it unlawful to withdraw from a Church where the Word is truly preached, the Sacraments fincerely minister'd, and true Eccle- fiastical Discipline exercised. We are not for an unspotted Church on Earth, and therefore, tho the Church of England has many Faults, we would not willingly withdraw from it; and yet we believe that God's Children, when they are threaten'd with Persecution, and the Church Doors are shut against them, may draw themselves into private Assemblies, separating from cursed Idolatry and pestilent Popery, though the Laws of Princes are against it; and whosoever resulted to be subject to these Congregations separating themselves, resisteth the Ordinance of

"We affirm, that the Church of God is a Com-"pany or Congregation of the Faithful, called and gathered out of the World, by the preaching of the Gospel, united in the true Faith, and resolving to form their Lives, Government, Order and

"Ceremonies, according to the Word of God.
"We hold, that there ought to be joined to the
"Pastors of the Church Elders and Deacons, for
"the bridling of Vices, and providing for the
"Poor: That no Pastor ought to usurp Dominion
"over another; nor no Church exercise Lordship

" or Rule over another.

" God.

"We believe, that the Pastor should be chosen by the Congregation, and being chosen, should be confirmed in his Vocation by the Elders, with publick Prayer and Imposition of Hands.

"Concerning Ceremonies we hold, that they ought to be few, and such as have no shew of Evil, but manifestly tend to Decency and good Order.

Queen 1572.

" We reject therefore all the popish Ceremonies and Elizabeth, " Apparel. - We hold, that Churches may dif-" fer in Order and Ceremonies, and yet keep the "Unity of the Faith; and therefore we condemn " not other Churches that have Ceremonies diffe-" rent from ours. \_\_\_ Concerning publick Wor-" ship; we hold, that there ought to be Places ap-" pointed for this Purpose, and that there may be a " Præscript Form of Prayer, and Service in the known "Tongue, because all have not the Gift of Prayer, but we would not have it patched out of the Pope's " Portuises: But be the Form of Prayer never so " good, we affirm that Ministers may not think " themselves discharged when they have said it over, " for they are not fent to fay Service, but to preach " Deliverance through Christ: Preaching therefore " must not be thrust out of Doors for Reading, " Neither ought the Minister so to be tied to a Pra-" fcript Form, that at all Times he must be bound of " Necessity to use it; for who can draw a Form of " Prayer, necessary for all Times, and fit for all " Congregations. We deny not, but it is well that there be various Manners of Prayers, but we " must take heed that they be not long and tedious;

wherefore Preaching, as it is the chief Part of a " Minister's Office, so all other Things must give " place to it.

" Concerning finging of Plalms, we allow of the "People's joining with one Voice in a plain Tune, " but not of toffing the Pfalms from one fide to

" the other, with the intermingling of Organs. "Touching Holidays we fay, That Religion is

tied to no Time; nor is one Day more Holy than another; but because Time must be had to hear " the Word of God, and to administer the holy Sacraments, therefore we keep the Lord's Day as we " are commanded, but without all Jewish Supersti-

"tion. --- We think, that those Feast-Days

" of Christ, as of his Birth, Circumcision, Passover,

66 Re-

" Resurrection, and Ascension, &c. may by Christian

"Liberty be kept, because they are only devoted Elizabeth, to Christ, to whom all Days and Times belong. 1572.

" But Days dedicated to Saints, with Fasts on their

"Eves, we utterly dislike, though we approve of the Reverend Memory of the Saints, as Examples

" to be propounded to the People in Sermons; and

" of publick and private Fasts, as the Circumstances

of Nations or private Persons require.

The Confession concludes with an Article concerning the Office of the Civil Magistrate. "We hold, that Christians may bear Office; that Magistrates may put Offenders to Death lawfully; that they may wage War, and require a lawful Oath of the Subject; that Subjects are bound to obey all their just and lawful Commands; to pray for them, to give them all Honour; to call them by their lawful Titles, and to be ready with their Bodies and Goods, Lives, and all that they have, to ferve them with bodily Service; yea, all these

"Things we must do though they be Infidels, and

obtain their Dominion, either by Inheritance, by

" Election, by Conquest, or otherwise. On the M. S. other hand, 'tis the Magistrates Duty to provide p. 131.

" for the publick Peace and Quiet of their Subjects;
" and to fet forth Christ's pure Religion, by advan-

" cing the Preaching of the Gospel, and rooting out

" all Superstition and Idolatry."

The Authors of this Confession lay in Prison a considerable Time; for though the Inhabitants of Aldermary, London, presented two Supplications for the Enlargement of their valuable Pastor, and learned and faithful Preacher, as they called Mr. Field; and though some great Friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their Release. The Archbishop sent his Chaplain to confer with them in Prison, after they had been there 3 Months, for which they were thankful. The Conference began with a suitable Prayer, which Mr. Field made, and was carried

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Queen on with fuch Decency, as moved the Chaplain's Elizabeth, Compassion; but nothing would prevail with the inexorable Commissioners to release them, till they had suffered the Extremity of the Law, and paid their Fees, though the Keeper gave it under his hand, that they were so poor as not to have Money to pay for their Lodgings or Victuals.

To return to the ADMONITION, which confifted of Twenty three Chapters, under the following Ti-

tles.

Heads of the Admonition to the Parliament.

Chap. I. Whether Christ forbiddeth Rule or Superiority
to Ministers.
II. Of the Authority of the Church in Things in-
different.
- III. Of the Election of Ministers.
IV. Of Ministers baving no pastoral Charge;
and of Ceremonies used in ordering Ministers.
- V. Of the Residence of the Pastors.
- VI. Of Ministers that cannot preach, and of
Licences to preach.
VII. Of the Apparel of Ministers.
- VIII. Of Archbishops, Metropolitans, Bishops,
Archdeacons, &c.
IX. Of the Communion Book.
X. Of Holidays.
XI. What kind of Preaching is most effectual.
XII. Of Preaching before the Administration of
the Sacraments.
- XIII. Of reading the Scriptures.
- XIV. Of ministring and preaching by Deacons,
XV. Of Matters touching the Communion.
XVI. Of Matters touching Baptism.
XVII. Of Seniors, or Government by Elders.
- XVIII. Of certain Matters concerning Disci-
pline of the Church.
XIX. Of Deacons and Widows.
- XX. Of the Authority of the Civil Magistrate
in Ecclesiastical Matters.
- XXI. Of Subscribing the Communion Book.

Chap.

Chap. XXII. Of Cathedral Churches.

Queen XXIII. Of Civil Offices in Ecclesiastical Per-Elizabeth, lons.

These were the chief Heads of Complaint, which Answer'd the Puritans having laid before the World, the Bi-by White shops thought themselves obliged to answer. Dr. gift. John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, was appointed to this Work, which he performed with great Labour and Study, and dedicated it to the Church of England, His Method was unexceptionable; the whole Text of the Admonition being fet down in Paragraphs, and under each Paragraph the Doctor's Answer. Before L. of Whitit was printed it was revised and corrected by Arch-gift, p. 42. bishop Parker, Dr. Cooper Bishop of Lincoln, and Pern Bishop of Ely; so that in this Book (says Mr. Strype) may be feen all the Arguments for and against the Hierarchy, drawn to the best Advantage.

Dr. Whitgift's Book was answered by Mr. Cart-Carewright, whose Performance was called a Master-wright repiece in its Kind, and had the Approbation of great plies. Numbers in the University of Cambridge, as well as foreign Divines. Whitgift replied again to Cartwright, and had the Thanks of the Bishops and of the Queen; who, as a Reward for his excellent and learned Pains, made him Dean of Lincoln, while Cartwright to avoid the Rigor of the Commissioners, was forced to abscond in Friends Houses, and at length retire into Banishment.

But it was impossible for these Divines to settle the Controversy, because they were not agreed upon one and the same Standard, or Rule of Judgment. Mr. Cartwright maintained, that The Holy Scriptures were not only a Standard of Dostrine, but of Discipline and Government; and that the Church of Christ in all Ages was to be regulated by them. He was therefore for confulting his Bible only, and for reducing all Things as near as possible to the apostolical Standard. Dr. Whitgift went upon a different Principle, and maintained, That though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect  $U_3$ Rule Queen

Rule of Faith, they were not design'd as a Standard of Elizabeth, Church Discipline or Government; but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil Government we live under; that the apostolical Government was adapted to the Church in its Infancy, and under Persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the . Church grew to Maturity, and had the civil Magistrate on its side. The Doctor therefore, instead of reducing the external Policy of the Church to Scripture, takes into his Standard the four first Centuries after Christ; and those Customs that he can trace up thither, he thinks proper to be retained, because the Church was then in its mature State, and not yet under the Power of Antichrift.

Remarks.

The Reader will judge of these Principles for himfelf. One is ready to think, that the nearer we can come to the apostolical Practice the better; and the less our Religion is incumber'd with Rites and Ceremonies of later Invention, the more it must refemble the Simplicity that is in Christ. If our bleffed Saviour had defigned that his Worship should be fet off with Pomp and Grandeur, and a Multitude of Ceremonies, he would have told us fo; and it may be have fettled them, as he did for the Church of the Jews; but nothing of this appearing, Men should be cautious of inferting the Commandments or Traditions of Men into the Religion of Christ, lest they cast a Reflection upon his kingly Office.

The Temper vious of the

The Dispute between Whitgift and Cartwright was and Beha-managed with some sharpness; the latter thought he Disputants had reason to complain of the Hardships himself and his Brethren suffered; and Whitgift having the Government on his fide, thought he stood upon higher Ground, and might affume a superior Air; when Cartwright and his Friends pleaded for Indulgence because they were Brethren, the Doctor replies, "What " fignifies their being Brethren; Anabaptists, Arians, and other Hereticks, would be accounted Brethren; their haughty Spirits will not suffer ce them

them to see their Error; they deserve as great Pu- Queen infhment as Papists, because both conspire against Elizabeth, the Church. If they are shut up in Newgate tis a meet Reward for their disorderly Doings; for

"Ignorance may not excuse Libels against a private Man, much less when they stander the whole "Church." — How would the Doctor have liked this Language in the Mouth of a Papist sixteen Years before? But this has been the Method of warm and

zealous Disputants; the Knots they cannot untie with their Fingers they would cut asunder with the Sword.

Thus Dr. Whitgift routed his Adversary; he had Whitgift's already deprived him of his Professor's Chair, and of fevere Uhis Degree of Doctor of Divinity; and being now fage of bis Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, he got him expell'd the University upon this Pretence: Mr. Cartwright being senior Fellow of his College, was only in Deacons Orders; the Doctor being informed of this, and Life of that the Statute requiring fuch to take upon them Whitgift, the Order of Priesthood, might be interpreted to p. 64. Priest's Orders, concluded he was perjured; upon which he fummoned the Heads of Colleges together, and declared, that Mr. Cartwright had broken his Oath, and without any further Admonition, push'd his Interest among the Masters, to rid the College of a Man, whose Popularity was too great for his Ambition, infomuch that he declared he could not establish Order in the University while a Perfon of his Principles was among them; after this he writ to the Archbishop, Sept. 21st, 1572. and begg'd his Grace to watch at Court, that Cartwright might get no Advantage against him, for (fays he) he is flatly perjur'd, and it is God's just Judgment that he should be so punished, for not being a full Minister, A pitiful Triumph!

The Queen also, and her Commissioners, bran-the dished their Swords against Cartwright and his Fol-Queen's lowers; her Majesty by Proclamation called in the Admonition, commanding all her Subjects, that had

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Queen any in their Possession, to bring them to the Bishop Elizabeth, of the Diocese, and not to sell them, upon Pain of Imprisonment; upon which Mr. Stroud the Publisher brought in 34, and his Wise burnt the rest that were unsold: This Mr. Stroud was the suspended Minister of Cranbrook, an excellent Preacher, and universally beloved; but being reduced to Poverty, he was for-

M. S. p. 195. beloved; but being reduced to Poverty, he was forced to condescend to the low Offices of correcting the Press, and of publishing Books for a Livelihood; when he appear'd before the Bishop of London upon this Occasion, his Lordship reproached him for laying down the Ministry, though Parker had actually deprived him, and forbid him to preach six Years before.

And the Bi-

The Bishops were no less careful to crush the Favourers of the Admonition; for when Mr. Wake of Christ Church had declared in favour of it, in a Sermon at Paul's Cross, the Bishop of London sent for him next Morning into Custody; but he made his Escape; Mr. Crick, Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, having also commended the Book in a Sermon at the same Place, the Archbishop sent a special Messenger to apprehend him; and though he escaped for the present the afterwards sell into the Hands of the

L.of Whit-present, he afterwards sell into the Hands of the gift, p. 53. Commissioners and was deprived; the like Missortune besel Dr. Aldrich, an eminent Divine, and Dignitary of the Church, with many others; notwithstand-

tary of the Church, with many others; notwithstanding which, Dr. Sandys Bishop of London, in his Letter to the Treasurer, calls for further Help; "The City stays he) will never be quiet, till these Authors of

Sedition, who are now esteemed as Gods, as Field,

" Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the City; the People refort to them, as in

" Popery they were wont to run on Pilgrimages; if these Idols, who are honoured as Saints, were

" removed from hence, their Honour would fall into the Dust, and they would be taken for Blocks as

"they are. A sharp Letter from her Majesty would

cut the Courage of these Men. Good, my Lords, for the Love you bear to the Church of Christ,

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es resist the tumultuous Enterprizes of these new Queen fangled Fellows." Thefe were the Weapons Elizabeth, with which the Doctor's Answer to the Admonition were enforc'd; fo that we may fairly conclude with Fuller the Historian, "That if Cartwright had the bet-" ter of his Adversary in Learning, Whitgift had more " Power to back his Arguments; and by This be not

only kept the Field, but gained the Victory."

On the other hand 'tis certain, vast Numbers of the Clergy both in London and the two Universities. had a high Opinion of Cartwright's Writings; he had many Admirers; and if we may believe his Adversaries, wanted not for Presents and Gratuities: Many Hands were procured in Approbation and L. of Par-Commendation of his Reply to Whitgift; and some ker, p.427. faid, they would defend it to Death. In short, tho' Whitgift's Writings might be of use to confirm those who had already conformed, they made no Converts among the Puritans, but rather confirmed them in their former Sentiments.

To purfue this Controverly to the end: In the Year conclusion 1573. Dr. Whitgift published his Defence against of the con-Cartwright's Reply; in which he states the Difference troverly. between them thus, The Question is not, whether many Whitgift's Things mentioned in your PLATFORM OF DISCIPLINE L. P. 56. were fitly used in the Apostles Time, or may now be well used in sundry reformed Churches, this is not denied; but whether, when there is a settled Order in Dostrine and Government established by Law, it may stand with godly and Christian Wisdom to attempt so great Alteration, as this PLATFORM must needs bring in, with Disobedience to the Prince and Laws, and Unquietness of the Church, and Offence of many Consciences. If this were the whole Question, surely it might stand with the Wisdom of the Legislature in settled Times, to make fome Concessions in favour of pious and devout Men; nor can it be inconsistent with Godly and Christian Wisdom, for Subjects to attempt it by lawful and peaceable Methods.

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L. p. 64.

Two Years after [ 1575. ] Mr. Cartwright pub-Elizabeth, lish'd a second Reply to Whitgift's Defence; it consisted of two Parts; the first was intituled, The second Reply of T. C. against Dr. Whitgift's second Answer touching the Church Discipline; with these two Sentences of Scripture in the Title Page, For Zion's fake I will not hold my Tongue; for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, till the Righteousness thereof break forth as the Light, &c. - Ye are the Lord's Remembrancers : Keep not filence, Ifa. lxii. 1, 6, 7. 'Tis dedicated to the Church of England, and all that love the Truth in it. In his Preface he answers divers personal Matters between the Doctor and himself: He remembers him of his illegal depriving him of his Fellowship, and pronouncing him perjured. He fays, he never opened his Lips for the Divinity Chair, as he had falfly charged him: That he had never defired the Degree of a Doctor, but by the Advice of more than a Dozen learned Ministers, who, confidering his Office of Divinity Reader, thought he ought to affume the Title. He added, that he never refused a private Conference with him [Whitgift], but that he offered it, and the other refused it, saying, he was incorrigible; indeed, he did refuse private Conference by writing, having had Experience of his Adverfary's Unfaithfulness; and because he thought that the Do-Etrine he had taught openly fhould be defended openly. Whitgift charged him, that after he was expell'd the College, he went up and down doing no good, Whiteift's but living at other Mens Tables. How ungenerous was this! After the Doctor had taken away his Adversary's Bread, and stopt his Mouth, that he might not preach, to reproach him with doing no good, and being beholden to his Friends for a Dinner. Cartwright own'd, that he was poor; that he had no Wife nor House of his own; and that it was with fmall Delight that he lived upon his Friends, but

> that he still did what little good he could, in instructing their Children. Whitgift charged his Adversary

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further, with want of Learning, though he had filled the Divinity Chair with vast Reputation, and had Elizabeth, been stiled by Beza, Sol, the very Sun of England: He, taxes him with making Extracts of other Men's Notes, and that he had fcarce read one of the ancient Authors he had alleg'd. To which Cartwright modeftly replied, that as to great Reading he would let it pass; for if Whitgift had read all the Fathers, and he scarce one, it would easily appear to the learned World by their Writings; but that it was fufficiently known that he had hunted him with more Hounds than one.

The Strength of his Reply lies in reducing the Policy of the Church as near as possible to the Standard of Scripture; for when Dr. Whitgift alleg'd some of the Fathers of the 4th and 5th Century on his fide, Cartwright " replied, That forafmuch as the Fathers have erred, " and that Corruptions crept early into the Church, " therefore they ought to have no further Credit than their Authority is warranted by the Word " of God and good Reason; to press their bare Au-" thority without relation to this, is to bring an in-

" tolerable Tyranny into the Church of God."

The fecond Part of Cartwright's Reply was not pub-Strype's lish'd till 2 Years forward, when he was fled out of the Ann. Kingdom; it is intitled, The rest of the second Reply of Thomas Cartwright against Master Doctor Whitgift's Answer, touching the Church Discipline, imprinted 1577. in which he shews, that Church-Government by an EL-DERSHIP is by Divine Appointment, and of perpetual Obligation. He then considers the Defects of the Church of England, and treats of the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters; of Ecclesiastical Persons bearing Civil Offices; and of the Habits. He apologizes for going through with the Controversy at such a Distance of Time, but he thought it of Importance, and that it need not be ashamed of the Light. Speaking of his own Poverty, Difgrace and Banishment, for appearing in this Cause, he says,

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Queen "It were an intolerable Delicacy, if he could not Elizabeth, "give up a little Ease and Commodity, for that whereunto his Life was due, if it had been asked;

or that he should grudge to dwell in another Corner of the World, for that Cause for which he

"ought to be ready altogether to depart out of it." But he was fensible he strove against the Stream, and that his Work might be thought unseasonable, his Adversary being now advanced so much above him; for this Year Whitgift was made a Bishop, when poor Cartwright was little better than a wan-

dering Beggar.

Thus ended the Controversy between these two Remarks. Champions; fo that Fuller, Heylin, and Collier, must be mistaken, when they fay, Whitgift kept the Field, and carried off a complete Victory, when Cartwright had certainly the last Word. But whoever had the better of the Argument, Whitgift got most by it; and when he was advanced to the Pinacle of Church-Preferment acted an ungenerous Part towards his Adversary for many Years, prosecuting him with continual Vexations and Imprisonments, and pointing all his Church Artillery against him, not suffering him fo much as to defend the common Cause of Christianity against the Papists, when he was called to it; but at length, being wearied out with the Importunities of great Men, or growing more temperate in his old Age, he suffered him to govern a small Hospital in Warwick, given him by the great Earl of Leicester, where this great and good Man's grey Hairs came down with Sorrow to the Grave.

To return, notwithstanding all this Opposition from the Queen and her Commissioners, the Puritans gained ground; and though the Press was restrained, they galled their Adversaries with Pamphlets, which were privately dispersed both in City and Country. Parker employed all his Emissaries to discover their printing Presses, but to no purpose; whereupon he complained to the Treasurer in these Words, "I un-

" derstand

"derstand throughout all the Realm (says he) how the Matter is taken; the Puritans are justified, Elizabeth, and we judged to be extreme Persecutors; I have observed this for seven Years; if the Sincerity of L. of Partite Gospel should end in such Judgments, I fear ker, p. 389 the Council will be overcome. The Puritans flander us with Books and Libels, lying they care not how deep, and yet the more they write the more they are applauded and comforted.—"The Scholars of Cambridge were generally with the Puritans, but the Masters and Heads of Colleges were against them; so that many who ventured to preach for the Discipline were deprived of their Fellowships, and expelled the University, or obliged to a publick Retractation.

There being no further Prospect of a publick Re-First Prefformation by the Legislature, some of the leading bytery at Puritans agreed to attempt it in a more private way; worth, for this Purpose they erected a Presbytery at Wandsworth, a Village 4 Miles from the City, conveniently fituated for the London Brethren, as standing on the Banks of the River of Thames. The Heads of the Affociation were Mr. Field Lecturer of Wandsworth, Mr. Smith of Mitcham, Mr. Crane of Roehampton, Mr. Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintlee, and Edmonds, to whom afterwards were joined Mr. Travers, Charke, Barber, Gardiner, Crook, Egerton, and a Number of very confiderable Laymen. On the 20th of November 11 Elders were chosen, and their Offices described in a Register, intitled, The Orders of Wandsworth. This was the first Presbyterian Church in England. All imaginable Care was taken to keep their Proceedings private, but the Bishop's Eye was upon them, who gave immediate Intelligence to the High Commission, upon which the Queen issued out a Proclamation, for putting the Act of Uniformity in Execution; but though the Commissioners knew of the Presbytery, they could not discover the Members of it, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring Counties. While

While the Queen and Bishops were defending the Elizabeth, Out-works of the Church against the Puritans, and bracing up the Building with Articles, Canons, Ingrowth of junctions, and penal Laws, enforced by the Sword of the Civil Magistrate, the Papists were sapping the very Foundation; for upon publishing the Pope's Bull of Excommunication against the Queen, great Numbers deserted the publick Worship, and resorted to private Conventicles to hear Mass, while others that kept their Stations in the Church, were secretly undermining it. "There were at this Time (says a Strype's "learned Writer) certain Ministers of the Church

Ann. p.98. "that were Papists, who subscribed and observed the Orders of the Church, wore a side Gown, a square Cap, a Cope and Surplice. They would run into Corners, and say to the People, believe not this new Doctrine, it is naught, it will not long endure; although I use Order among them outwardly, my Heart is not with them, but with the Mother Church of Rome. No, no, we do not preach, nor yet teach openly; though we read their new devised Homilies for a Colour to satisfy the Time for a Season." In Yorkshire they

went openly to Mass, and were so numerous, that the Protestants stood in awe of them. In London there was a great Resort to the Portugal Ambassador's Chapel; and when the Sheriss, by order of the Bishop of London, sent his Officers to take some of them into Custody, the Queen was displeased and ordered them immediately to be released.

sad state Sad was the State of Religion (says Mr. Strype) at of Religion this Time; "the Substantials being lost in contend-L. of Par-" ing for Externals; the Churchmen heaped up maker, p. 395." ny Benefices upon themselves, and resided up-

- " on none; neglecting their Cures. Many of them alienated their Lands, made unreasonable Leases,
- " and Waste of Woods, and granted Reversions, and Advowsons to their Wives and Children.
- "Among the Laity there was little Devotion; the

" Lord's Day greatly profaned, and little observed; Queen " the Common Prayers not frequented; fome lived Elizabeth, " without any Service of God at all; many were " mere Heathens and Atheists; the Queen's own " Court an Harbour for Epicures and Atheists, and " a kind of lawless Place, because it stood in no Parish; which Things made good Men fear fome fad " Judgments impending over the Nation." The Governors of the Church expressed no Concern for suppressing of Vice, and encouraging Virtue; there were no Citations into the Commons for Immoralities: But the Bishops were every Day shutting the Mouths of the most pious, useful and industrious Preachers in the Nation, at a Time when the Queen was fick of the small Pox, and troubled with fainting Fits, and the whole Reformation depended upon the fingle Thread of her Life.

This uncertain State of Religion was the more Parisian terrible, because of the Parisian Massacre, which Massacre. happen'd this very Summer on the 24th of August, being Bartholomew-Day, when great Numbers of Protestants having been invited to Paris, on pretence of doing Honour to the King of Navarre's Marriage to the King's Sifter, ten Thousand were massacred in one Night, and twenty Thousand more in other Parts of the Kingdom, within the Compass of a few Weeks, by his Majesty's Commission; no distinction being made between Lords, Gentlemen, Justices, Strype's Lawyers, Scholars, Physicians, and the meanest of Ann. the People; they spared neither Women, Maids, p. 160. Children in the Cradle, nor Infants in their Mothers Womb. Many fled to Geneva and Switzerland, and great Numbers into England, to fave their Lives. The Protestant Princes of Germany were awaken'd with this Butchery; and the Queen put the Coasts into a Posture of Defence, but made no Concessions for uniting her Protestant Subjects among themselves.

This Year died the Reverend and Learned Mr. Death of John Know, the Apostle, and chief Reformer of the Mr. Know.

1573.

Queen Kirk of Scotland. This Divine came into England in Elizabeth, the Reign of King Edward VI. and was appointed one of the itinerant Preachers for the Year 1552. he was afterwards offered a parochial Living in London, but refused it; upon King Edward's Death he retired beyond Sea, and became Preacher to the English Exiles at Frankfort, till he was artfully spirited away by the Contrivance of Mr. Cox, now Bishop of Ely, for not reading the English Service. He afterwards preached to the English at Geneva; but upon the breaking up of that Congregation in the Year 1559, he returned to Scotland, and was a great Instrument in the Hand of Providence for the Reformation of that Kirk. He was a Son of Thunder, and feared not the Face of any Man in the Cause of Religion, which betrayed him fometimes into too coarse Treatment of his Superiors. However, he had the Respect of all the Protestant Nobility and Gentry of his Country; and after a Life of great Service and Labour, he died comfortably in the midst of his Friends, in the 67th L. of Par- Year of his Age, being greatly supported in his last

ker,p.366. Hours from the 17th Chapter of St. John, and 1 Cor. 15th Chapter, which he ordered to be frequently read to him: His Body was attended to the Grave

with great Solemnity and Honour.

their late Applications to Parliament, reprimanded the Bishops for not suppressing them, and resolved now her felf to bend all the Powers of the Crown that way. Accordingly Commissioners were appointed un-Ibid. P. 479. A Severe

der the great Seal, in every Shire to put in Execution the penal Laws by way of Oyer and Terminer, and Persecution the Queen published a Proclamation in the Month of October, declaring her Royal Pleasure, that all Offenders against the Att of Uniformity should be severely punished. Letters were also sent from the Lords of the Council to the Bishops, dated Nov. 7th. 1573. to enforce her Majesty's Proclamation, in which, after having reproached them with holding their

The Queen being incenfed against the Puritans for

their Courts only to get Money, or for such like Queen Purposes, they now require them in her Majesty's Elizabeth, Name, either by themselves, which is most fit, or 1573. by their Archdeacons, personally to visit and see that the Habits with all the Queen's Injunctions, be exactly and uniformly observed in every Church of their Diocese; and to punish all Refusers according to the Ecclefiaftical Laws. The Lord Treasurer alfo made a long Speech before the Commissioners in the Star Chamber, in which by the Queen's Order, " He charged the Bishops with Neglect, in not en-" forcing her Majesty's Proclamation; he said the " Queen could not fatisfy her Conscience without " crushing the Puritans, for she thought none of her "Subjects worthy of her Protection that favoured "Innovations, or that directly or indirectly coun-" tenanced the Alteration of any Thing established " in the Church: That by too much Lenity some " might be apt to think the Exceptions of these No-" velists against the Ceremonies were reasonable and " well founded, or but trifling Matters of Disputa-" tion; but the Queen was resolved that her Orders and Injunctions should not be contemned; "that the publick Rule should be inviolable observed; and that there should be an absolute Obe-"dience, because the Safety of her Government de-" pended upon it." The Treasurer therefore or L. of Parfome other, proposed to the Council, that all Mini-ker,p.456. fters throughout the Kingdom should be bound in a Bond of 200 l. to conform in all Things to the Act of Uniformity, and in case of Default their Names to be Strype's returned into the Exchequer by the Bishop, and the An. p. 260. Bond to be fued. If this Project had taken place it Life of would have ruined half the Clergy of the King-Grindal, dom.

Another Occasion of these extraordinary Proceed-Birchet's ings of the Court, is said to arise from the accidental Madness Madness of one Peter Birchet, of the Middle Temple, and Death; who had the Name of a Puritan, but was disordered

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Sucen in his Senses; this Man came out of the Temple in his Elizabeth, Gown, Octob. 14. about 11 in the Morning, and see1573. ing Mr. Fitz Gerard, Lieutenant of the Pensioners,

ing Mr. Fitz Gerard, Lieutenant of the Pensioners, Sir William Winter, and Mr. Hawkins, Officers of the Queen's Navy riding through the Strand, with their Servants on foot, came up to them and fuddenly struck Hawkins with a Dagger through the right Arm into the Body about the Arm-hole, and immediately ran into the Bell-Inn, where he was taken, and upon Examination being ask'd, Whether he knew Mr. Hawkins? He answer'd, he took him for Mr. Hatton, Captain of the Guards, and one of the Privy Chamber, whom he was moved to kill by the Spirit of God, by which he should do God and his Country acceptable Service, Because be was an Enemy of God's Word, and a Maintainer of Papistry. In which Opinion he persevered without any Signs of Repentance, till for fear of being burnt for Herefy he recanted before Dr. Sandys Bishop of London, and the rest of the Commissioners. The Queen asked her two Chief Justices, and Attorney General, what corporal Punishment the Villain might undergo for his Offence; it was proposed to put him to Death as a Felon, because a premeditated Attempt with an Intention of killing, had been fo punished by King Edward II. though the Party wounded did not die; but the Judges did not apprehend this to be Law. It was then moved, that the Queen by virtue of her Prerogative, should put him to Death by martial Law; and accordingly a Warrant was made out under the great Seal for his Execution, though the Fact was committed in Time of Peace. This made fome of the Council hesitate, apprehending it might prove a very bad Precedent. At length the poor Creature put an end to the Dispute himself, for on the 10th of November in the Afternoon he killed his Keeper Longworth with one Blow, striking him with a Billet on the hinder Part of the Head, as he was looking upon a Book in the Prison Window in the Tower >

Tower; for this Crime he was next Day indicted Queen and arraigned at the King's Bench, where he confef-Elizabeth, 1573. fed the Fact, faying, that Longworth in his Imagination was Hatton: There he received Judgment for Murder, and the next Day, Nov. 12. had his right Hand first cut off at the Place in the Strand where he struck Hawkins, and was then immediately hanged on a Gibbet there purposely set up, between 8 and 9 of the Clock in the Morning, and continued hanging there for 3 Days. The poor Man talked very wildly, and was by fits downright mad, so that if he had been shut up in Bedlam after his first Attempt, as he ought to have been, all further Mischief had been prevented. However, it M. S. was very unreasonable to lay this to the Charge of p. 876. the Puritans, and to take Occasion from hence, to fpread a general Perfecution over the whole Kingdom: But the Queen was for laying hold of all Opportunities to suppress a Number of conscientious Men, whom she would often fay, She hated more than the Papists.

The Commissioners being thus pushed forwards visitation from above, fent Letters to the Bishops, exhorting of the Diothem to command their Archdeacons, and other Ec-cefe of clefiaffical Officers, to give it in Charge to their Norwich. clefiaftical Officers, to give it in Charge to their Clergy and Quest-Men, to prefent the Names and Sirnames of all Non-Conformists in their several Parishes, before the first Week in Lent. A Letter of this fort was sent, among others, to the old Bishop to his chandle of Norwich, dated from Ludler, Jan. 30th. 1573. This was very unacceptable Work to a Man that Life of was dropping into his Grave; but he gave Orders as Parker, he was commanded, and many Ministers of his Dio-P. 4494 cese being returned unconformable, were suspended from reading Common Prayer and administring the Sacraments, but allowed still to catechife Youth, and continue their Parts in the publick Exercises or Prophesyings, for which the Bishop was severely reprimanded, and threaten'd by the Commif-Sioners

Queen fioners with the Queen's high Displeasure; where-Elizabeth, upon he allowed his Chancellor to filence them totally, though it was against his Judgment; for in his Letter to a Gentleman on this Occasion, he writes, " -- I was obliged to reftrain them, unless I would L. of Par- " willingly procure my own Danger. - Thereker,p.452. 66 fore let not this Matter seem strange to you, for " the Matter was of Importance, and touched me " fo near, that I could do no less if I would avoid " extreme Danger." But after all, his Lordship being suspected of Remissiness. Parker directed a special Commission to Commissaries of his own appointing, to visit his Diocese parochially; which they did, and reported, that some Ministers were absent and so could not be examined; other Churches had no Surplices, but the Ministers faid they would wear them when provided; but that there were about 300 Non-Conformists whom they had suspended; some of whom, as the good old Bishop writ, were godly and learned, and bad done much good.

**Turitans** lick Difputation.

The Heads of the Puritans being debarr'd the Lieffer a pub- berty of preaching and printing, challenged their Adversaries to a publick Disputation: This had been allowed the Protestants in Queen Mary's Reign, and the Papists at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth; but the Queen and Council would not now admit, that what was established by Law should be exposed to Queflion, and referr'd to the Hazard of a Dispute. Instead therefore of a Conference they took a shorter way, by fummoning the Disputants before the Ecclefiastical Commission, to answer to fundry Articles exhibited against them, and among others to this, Whether the Common Prayer Book is every part of it grounded upon Holy Scripture? An Honour hardly to be allowed to any human Composure: And for not

L. of Par-answering to the Satisfaction of the Commissiker,p.413. oners, Mr. Wyburne, Johnson, Brown, Field, Wilcox, Sparrow, and King, were deprived, and the 4 last committed to Newgate, from whence 2 of them had

been

been but lately released. They were told further, Queen that if they did not comply in a short Time they Elizabeth, should be banished; though there was no Law for it.

Mr. Cartwright was fummon'd among the rest, but Proclamawifely got out of the way, upon which the Commissioners tion aiffued out the following Order, "To all Mayors, Bai-gainst " liffs, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and all wright.

" others the Queen's Officers, to be aiding and affift-

" ing to the Bearer [their Messenger] with the best

" Means they can devise to apprehend one Thomas " CARTWRIGHT, Student in Divinity, wherefoever

" he be within the Realm, and to bring him up to Lon-

don with a fufficient Guard, to appear before us her Strype's " Majesty's Commissioners in Causes Ecclesiastical, An. p.279.

" for his Misdemeanors in Matters of Religion. De-

" cemb. 15th, 1573. figned by John Rivers, Mayor,

" Edwin, Bishop of London, Alex. Nowell, Dean of " St. Paul's, Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster,

" together with the Attorney General, Solicitor Gene-

" ral, Recorder, Master of the Rolls, and Master of " the Requests." But Mr. Cartwright lay concealed

among his Friends till he got an Opportunity to leave

the Kingdom.

The Reverend Mr. Deering, Reader of St. Paul's, Mr. Deerwas also suspended for some trifling Words spokening depreagainst the Hierarchy in Conversation; and in order ved. to his Restoration was obliged to subscribe 4 Articles, (viz.) To the Supremacy; to the 39 Articles; to the Book of Common Prayer; and that the Word and Sacraments are rightly administer'd in the Church of England; which he did, with fome few Exceptions. The Commissioners then examined him upon 15 or 20 Articles more, of which these were some.

(1.) "Whether we be tied by God's Word to the " Order and Use of the Apostles and of the Primitive

" Church in all Things?

(2.) "Whether nothing may be in the Church, concerning Ceremonies or Regimen, but only " that

X 3

The HISTORY Chap. V. Queen " that which Christ himself has commanded in his

Elizabeth, 66 Word? 1573.

310

(3.) " Whether every particular Parish Church, " of Necessity, and by the Order of God's Word,

ought to have their Pastors, Elders, and Deacons

" chosen by the People, and they only to have the

" whole Government of the Church in Ecclefiastical

Matters?

(4.) "Whether there should be an Equality " among the Ministers of this Realm, as well con-

" cerning Government and Discipline, as the Mini-

" fration of the Word and Sacraments?

(5.) " Whether the Patrimony of the Church, as "Glebe Lands and Tithes, &c. ought to be taken

" from them?

(6.) " Whether the present Ministers of the " Church of England are true Ministers, and their

" Administrations effectual?

(7.) " Whether it be more agreeable to God's Word, and more for the Profit of the Church, to

" use a Form of Common Prayer; or that every

" Minister pray publickly, as his own Spirit shall

" direct him?

(8.) " Whether the Children of Papists ought to " be re-baptized?

(9.) "Whether an Ecclefiastical Person may

" have more Livings than one?

(10.) " Whether a Minister of Christ may exer-

" cife a Civil Function?"

Peirce's Vindic. p. 82.

The rest of the Articles, making in all above 20, were about the Obligation of the Judicial Laws of Moses, and the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters of Religion. To all which Mr. Deering gave wife and modest Answers, yielding as much as his Principles, and the Nature of Things would admit; but being called, as it were, before an Inquisition, as he thought himself not bound to be his own Accuser, he prayed their Honours, that what he had faid might not be interpreted to his Prejudice; but the ComCommissioners took Advantage of his Answers, and Queen Elizabeth.

deprived him of his Lecture.

Mr. Deering appealed from the Commissioners to the Council, who were pleased to restore him, which He is regalled the Archbishop, as appears by his Letter stored. to one of the Commissioners, dated July 6th, 1573. in which are these Words, "We have fent " you certain Articles taken out of Cartwright's " Book, by the Council propounded to Mr. Deer-" ing, with his Answers to the same; and also a Copy " of the Council's Letter to Mr. Deering, to restore " him to his former Reading and Preaching, notwithstanding our Advices never required thereunto. "These Proceedings puff them up with Pride, " make the People hate us, and magnify them with " great Triumphing, that her Majesty and her " Privy Council have good liking of this new Build-" ing - but we are perfuaded her Majesty has no " liking thereof, howfoever the Matter be favoured " by others."

Mr. Deering was a learned, pious, and peaceable Non-Conformift; his printed Sermons are polite and nervous. In his Letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh on this Occasion, he offered to shew before any Body of learned Men, the Difference between Bishops of the primitive Church, and those of the prefent Church of England, in the following Parti-

culars:

1. Bishops and Ministers then were in one Degree, now they are divers.

2. There were then many Bishops in one Town,

now there is but one in a whole Country.

3. No Bishop's Authority was more than in one City, now it is in many Shires,

4. Bishops then used no bodily Punishments, now

they imprison, fine, &c.

5. The primitive Bishops could not excommunicate, or absolve, meerly by their own Authority, now they may,

X 4

6. Then,

Queen 6. Then, without Consent of Presbyters, they could Elizabeth, make no Ministers, now they do.

7. They could confirm no Children in other Parishes, they do now in many Shires.

8. They had then but one Living, now they have divers.

9. They had neither Officials, Commissaries nor Chancellors.

Collier's 10. They dealt in no Civil Government by any Ch. History, established Authority.

11. They had no Right to alienate any Parsonage,

or let it in Lease.

12. Then they had a Church where they served the Cure, as those we call Parish Priests, though they were Metropolitans or Archbishops; so that Ambrose, St. Austin, and others, who lived as late as the 4th or 5th Century, and were called Bishops, had very little Agreement with ours. But for this our Archbishop never left him till he was silenced again and deprived.

Other Ministers deprived.

On the 29th of Jan. 1573. the Reverend Mr. Arthur Wake Parson of Great Willing, value 100 l. a Year; Eusebius Paget Parson of Owld, 100 l. a Year; Thurston Mosely Parson of Hardingston, 401. a Year; George Gilderd Parson of Collingtrowge, and William Dawson Parson of Weston Favel, 100 Marks, all in the Diocese of Peterborough, of which Dr. Scambler was Bishop, and James Ellis Doctor of the Civil Law Chancellor, were first suspended for three Weeks, and then deprived of their Livings. They were all Preachers; four of them were licensed by the Univerfity as learned and religious Divines, and three of them had been Moderators in the Exercises. The Reasons of their Deprivation were not for Errors in Doctrine, or Depravity of Life, but for not subscribing two Forms of the Commissioner's devising, one called Forma Promissionis, the other Forma Objuratio-In the Forma Promissionis they sweam and subscribe, "To use the Service and Common Prayer Book, and the publick Form of Administration of

" Sacraments, and no other; that they will ferve in Queen " their Cures according to the Rites, Orders, Forms Elizabeth, " and Ceremonies prescribed; and that they will " not heareafter preach or speak any Thing tending to the Derogation of the faid Book, or any Part " thereof, remaining authorized by the Laws and " Statutes of this Realm." In the Forma Objurationis they subscribe and protest upon Oath, " That " the Book of Confecration of Archbishops and Bi-" shops, and of the ordering of Deacons, set forth " in the Time of King Edward VI. and confirmed " by Authority of Parliament, doth contain in it all "Things necessary for such Consecration and Or-" dering, having in it nothing that is either fuper-" flitious or ungodly, according to their Judgment; " and therefore that they which be confecrated and " ordered according to that fame Book, be duly, orderly, and lawfully ordained and confecrated, " and that they do acknowledge their Duty and " Obedience to their Ordinary and Diocesan as to a " lawful Magistrate under the Queen's Majesty, so " far forth as the Laws and Statutes do require; M. S. " which Obedience they do promife, according as p. 198. " the Laws shall bind them to perform. In Testi-" mony whereof they do hereunto subscribe their " Names."

The Ministers offered to use the Book of Common Prayer and no other; and not to preach against the same before the Meeting of the next Parliament; but they apprehended the Oath and Subscription to be contrary to the Laws of God and the Realm, and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury; but their ibid. Appeal was denied. They presented a Supplication p. 202-to the Queen, and another to the Parliament, but could not be heard, though their Case was most compassionate, for they had Wives and large Families of Children, which were now reduced to Poverty and Want, so that (as they say in their Supplication) if God in his Providence does not help they must beg.

In the Room of the deprived Ministers certain Out-Ducen Elizabeth, landish Men succeeded that could hardly read so as to be understood; the People were left untaught; inflead of having two Sermons every Lord's Day, there was now but one in a Quarter of a Year, and for the most part not that. The Parishioners sign'd Petitions to the Bishop for their former Preachers. but to no purpose; they must swear and subscribe. or be buried in filence.

Mr. Johnferings. M. S.

On the 20th of September the Reverend Mr. Robert fon's suf- Johnson, already mentioned, sometime domestick Chaplain to the Lord-Keeper Bacon, now Parson of St. Clements near Temple-Bar, was tried at Westmin-

Vindicat. p. 83.

p. 199.

ster-Hall for Non-Conformity; it was alleg'd against him, That he had married without the Ring; and that he had baptized without the Cross. Mr. Peirce fays, he was also accused of a Misdemeanor, because when once he was administring the Sacrament, the Wine falling short, he fent for more, but did not confecrate it afresh, accounting the former Confecration fufficient for what was to be applied to the fame Use; but nothing of this kind appears in his two Indictments which are now before me, with the Names of all the Witnesses; but for the other Offences (viz.) for omitting these Words in the Office of Baptism, I receive this Child into the Congregation of Christ's Flock, and do sign him with the Sign of the Cros, in token, &c. And for omitting these Words in the Marrying of Leonard Morris and Agnes Miles, With this Ring I thee wed, with my Body I thee worship, and with all my worldly Goods I thee endow, in the Name of the Father, &c. and for refusing to subscribe, he was shut up in close Prison for seven Weeks, till he died in great Poverty and Want.

Form of Clergy. M. S.

P. 200,

The Forms of Subscription varied in the several Subscripti- Dioceses, but the usual Subscription and Protestation en for the for such Clergymen as were cited before the Commisfioners for Non-Conformity, was this, " I promife un-" feignedly by these Presents, and subscribe with my

" Hand

" Hand, that I will teach the Word of God foberly, fin- Queen " cerely and truly, according to the Doctrine efta-Elizabeth,

" blished by Law, without moving unnecessary

" Contentions; and that I will never fuffer any Per-" fon to use my Licence of preaching, by rafing

" out the Name, or abusing the Seal; and that I " will deliver up my Licence, being fo required by

" that Authority from whence I had it."

1. "I acknowledge the Book of Articles agreed on " in the Synod of 1563, and confirmed by the Queen

" to be found, and agreeable to the Word of God. 2. " That the Queen's Majesty is supreme Go-

" vernor of the Church of England next under " Christ, as well in Ecclesiastical as in Civil Causes.

3. " That in the Book of Common Prayer there " is nothing evil, or repugnant to the Word of

"God, and that it may be well used in this our Chri-

" stian Church of England.

4. " That as the publick preaching of the Word in the Church of England, is found and fincere, fo

"the publick Order of Administration of Sacra-

" ments, is confonant to the Word of God.

" And whereas I have in publick Prayer, and " Administration of Sacraments, neglected and omit-

" ted the Order by publick Authority fet down, fol-

" lowing my own Fancy in altering, adding, or " omitting of the fame, not using such Rites as by

" Law and Order are appointed; I acknowledge

" my fault therein, and am forry for it, and humbly " pray pardon for that Diforder. And here I do

" fubmit my self to the Order and Rites set down;

" and I do promise that I will from henceforth in " publick Prayer, and Administration of the Sa-

" craments, use and observe the same. The which

" I do prefently and willingly testify with the Sub-

" fcription of mine own Hand."

But this not reaching the LAITY, many of whom deserted their own Parish Churches, and went to hear the Non-Conformists, the Commissioners framed the

Laity.

M. S.

p. 201.

following Subscription for such of them as should be Queen Elizabeth, presented as Defaulters.

1573. 1. " I acknowledge the Queen's Majesty to be " chief Governor of the Church of England under Form of " Chrift. Subscrip-

tion for the

2. \_ "That in the Book of Common Prayer " there is nothing repugnant to the Word of God.

3. - "That as the publick Preaching in this "Church of England is found, fo the publick Ad-" ministration of the Sacraments is confonant to the

" And whereas I have absented my self from my

" Word of God.

" Parish Church, and have refused to join with the " Congregation in publick Prayer, and in receiving " the Sacrament, according to the publick Order fet down, and my Duty in that behalf, I am right " forry for it, and pray that this my Fault may be " pardoned; and do promise, that from henceforth " I will frequent my Parish Church, and join with " the Congregation there, as well in Prayer as in " the Administration of the Sacraments, according " to fuch Order as by publick Authority is fet down

" and established; and to witness this my Promise I

" do hereunto willingly fubscribe my Name.

The Officers of the Spiritual Courts planted their Spies in all suspected Parishes, to make Observation of those who came not to Church, and cause them to be summoned into the Commons, where they were punished at Pleasure. The Keepers were charged to take Notice of fuch as came to visit the Pritoners, or bring them Relief; and upon Notice given, Spies were fet upon them to bring them into Trouble. Complaints have been made of their rude Language to the Bishops, and the rest of the Commissioners; and 'tis possible, that their lordly Behaviour, and arbitrary Proceedings, might fometimes make their Passions overflow. Oppression will make a wife Man mad. But I have the Examinations of feveral before me, in which nothing of this kind ap-

pears.

White's

Examina-

pears. On the other hand, 'tis certain the Conduct of Queen the Commissioners was high and imperious; their Elizabeth, under Officers were ravenous, and greedy of Gain; the Fees of the Court were exorbitant, fo that if an M. S. honest Puritan fell into their Hands he was fure to be p. 176. half ruin'd before he got out, tho' he was clear'd of the Charge. In short, the Commissioners treated those that came before them neither like Men nor Chriflians, as will appear, among many others, by the following Examination of Mr. White, a substantial Citizen of London, Jan. 18, 1573. who had been fined, and toffed from one Prison to another, contrary to Law and Justice, only for not frequenting his Parish Church. His Examiners were the Lord Chief Justice; the Master of the Rolls; the Master of the Requests; Mr. Gerard; the Dean of Westminster; the Sheriff of London, and the Clerk of the Peace. After fundry others had been dispatch'd Mr. White was brought before them, whom his Lordship accosted after this manner;

L.C. 7. Who is this?

White. White, an't please your Honour.

L. C. J. White, as black as the Devil.

White. Not so my Lord; one of God's Children.

L. C. J. Why will you not come to your Parish Church?

White. My Lord, I did use to frequent my Parish Church before my Troubles, and procured several godly Men to preach there, as well as in other Places of Preaching and Prayer; and since my Troubles I have not frequented any private Assemblies, but as I have had leave and liberty have gone to my Parish Church; and therefore those that presented me have done it of Malice; for if any of these Things can be proved against me simply, or that I hold all Things in common, your Lordship may dismiss me from hence to the Gallows.

Mr. Ger. You have not usually frequented your

White.

Queen White. I allow I have more used other Places, Elizabeth, where I was better edified.

Mr. Ger. Then your Presentment is in part true? White. Not, an't please you, for I am presented for not coming at all to my Parish Church.

Ger. Will you then come to Prayers when there is

no Sermon?

White. I would avoid those Things that are an Ofsence to me and others, and disturb the Peace of the Church; however, I crave the Liberty of a Subject, and if I do not publickly frequent both Preaching, Prayer, and the Sacraments, deal with me accordingly.

Dean West. What fault find you in the Common

Prayer?

White. Let them answer to whom it appertains; for being in Prison almost a Year about these Matters, I was upon a Statute relating to that Book indicted, and before I came to liberty almost out-lawed, as your Worship, Mr. Gerard, knows.

Mast. Req. What Scripture have you to ground

your Conscience against these Garments?

White. The whole Scriptures are for destroying

Idolatry, and every Thing that belongs to it.

Mast. Req. These Things never served to Idolatry. White. Shough; they are the same which hereto-fore were used to that purpose.

Mast. Req. Where is the Place where these are for-

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bidden?

White. In Deuteronomy, and other Places, the Israelites are commanded, not only to destroy the Altars, Groves, and Images, with all thereto belonging, but also to abolish the very Names; and God by Isaiah commandeth, not to pollute our selves with the Garments of the Image, but to cast it away as a menstruous Clout.

Mast. Rolls. These are no Part of Idolatry, but are commanded by the Prince for Civil Order, and if you will not be ordered you shew your felf disobedient to the Laws.

White.

1573.

White. I would not willingly disobey any Law, Queen only I would avoid those Things that are not warrant- Blizabeth, ed by the Word of God.

Mast. Reg. These Things are commanded by Act of Parliament, and in difobeying the Laws of your

Country you disobey God.

White. I do it not of Contempt but of Conscience; in all other Things I am an obedient Subject.

L. C. J. Thou art a contemptuous Fellow, and

wilt obey no Laws.

White. Not fo, my Lord, I do and will obey Laws, and therefore refusing but a Ceremony out of Conscience, and not refusing the Penalty for the fame, I rest still a true Subject.

L. C. J. The Queen's Majesty was over-seen not to make you of her Council, to make Laws and Or-

ders for Religion.

White. Not fo, my Lord, I am to obey Laws

warranted by God's Word.

L. C. J. Do the Queen's Laws command any Thing against God's Word?

White. I do not fo fay, my Lord.

L. C. J. Yes, marry do you, and there I will hold you.

White, Only God and his Laws are absolutely per-

fect: All Men and their Laws may err.

L.C.J. This is one of Shaw's Darlings; I tell thee what, I will not fay any Thing of Affection, for I know thee not, faving by this Occasion; thou art the wickedest, and most contemptuous Person, that has come before me, fince I fat in this Commiffion.

White. Not fo, my Lord, my Conscience witnesfeth otherwise.

Mast. Req. What if the Queen should command to wear a grey Frize Gown, would you come to Church then?

White. That were more tolerable, than that God's Ministers should wear the Habit of his Enemies.

L. C. 7.

Queen L. C. J. How, if she should command to wear a Elizabeth, Fool's Coat and a Cock's Comb?

White. That were very unfeemly, my Lord, for God's Ministers.

Dean West. You will not then be obedient to the

Queen's Commands.

White. I would only avoid those Things that have no Warrant in the Word of God, that are neither decent nor edifying, but flatly the contrary, and are condemned by the foreign Reformed Churches.

L. C. 7. You would have no Laws.

White. If there were no Laws I would live a Christian and do no wrong; if I received any, fo it were.

L. C. J. Thou art a Rebel.

White. Not so, my Lord, a true Subject.

L. C. J. Yea, I swear by God, thou art a very Rebel; for thou wouldst draw thy Sword, and list up thy Hand against thy Prince if Time served.

White. My Lord, I thank God, my Heart standeth right towards God and my Prince; and God will not condemn, though your Honour hath so judged.

L. C. J. Take him away.

White. I would speak a Word which I am sure will offend, and yet I must speak it; I heard the Name of God taken in vain; if I had done it, it had been a greater Offence than that which I stand here for.

Ger. White, White, you don't behave your self

well.

White. I pray your Worship, shew me wherein, and I will beg pardon and amend it.

L. C. J. I may swear in a Matter of Charity.

White. There is now no fuch Occasion; but because it is bruited, that at my last being before you, I denied the Supremacy of my Prince, I desire your Honours and Worships, with all that be present, to bear Witness, that I acknowledge her Majesty the chief Governor, next under Christ, over all Persons and Causes within her Dominions, and to this I will subscribe. I acknowledge the Book of Articles, and the

the Book of Common Prayer, as far as they agree with the Word of God. I acknowledge the Sub-Elizabeth, stance of the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church to be found and fincere; and so I do of Rites and Orders, as far as they agree with the Word of God.

Dean of West. You will not then allow, that all Things in the Book of Common Prayer are taken

out of the Word of God?

White. Though they should be so, yet being done by Man, I cannot give them the same Warrant as to the Writings of the Holy Ghost.

L. C. J. Take him away.

White. I would to the Lord Jesus, that my two Years Imprisonment might be a Means of having these Matters fairly decided by the Word of God, and the Judgment of other Reformed Churches.

L. C. J. You shall be committed, I warrant you. White. Pray, my Lord, let me have Justice; I am unjustly committed; I desire a Copy of my Pre-

fentment.

L. C. J. You shall have your Head from your

Shoulders; have him to the Gate-House.

White. I pray you commit me to some Prison in London, that I may be near my House.

L. C. J. No, Sir, you shall go thither.

White. I have paid Fines and Fees in other Prifons; fend me not where I shall pay them over again.

L. C. J. Yes, marry shall you: This is your

Glory.

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White. I desire no such Glory.

L. C. J. It will cost you 20— I warrant you, before you come out.

White. God's Will be done.

These Severities against zealous Protestants, of pious and sober Lives, raised the Compassion of the common People, and brought them over to their Interests. "It was a great Grief to the Archbishop stays (says Mr. Strype) and to other good Bishops, to

Queen " fee Persons going off from the first Establishment Elizabeth, 66 of the Protestant Religion among us, making 1573. " as if the Service Book was unlawful, and the Ecce clefiaftical State Antichristian; and labouring to " fet up another Government and Discipline -But who drove them to these Extremities? Why were not a few Amendments in the Liturgy yielded to at first, whereby conscientious Men might have been made easy; or liberty given them to worship

God in their own Way?

Puritan the People. L. of Par

ker, p. 427.

Notwithstanding the Dangers already mentioned, Ministers " People resorted to the suffering Puritans in Prison, carefied by cc as in Popery they were wont to run on Pilgri-

" mage: (They are the Bishop of London's Words.) " Some Aldermen, and feveral wealthy Citizens, " gave them great and ftout Countenances, and

" perfuaded others to do the like."

Separate Communions.

Separate Communions were established, where the Sacrament was administer'd privately, after the Manner of the foreign Reformed Churches; and those that join'd with them, according to Archbishop Parker, fign'd the following Protestation.

on of the Members. L. of Par-

88 Romish Beast.

Protestati- .. DEING thoroughly persuaded in my Consci-" ence, by the Working and by the Word of the " Almighty, that these Relicks of Antichrist are aboker,p.435." minable before the Lord our God; and also, for " that by the Power, Mercy, Strength, and Good-" nefs of the Lord our God only, I am escaped from "the Filthiness and Pollution of these detestable Traditions, through the Knowledge of our Lord " and Saviour Jesus Christ: And last of all, in as " much as by the working also of the Lord Jesus his " Holy Spirit, I have joined in Prayer and Hearing "God's Word, with those that have not yielded " to this Holatrous Trash, notwithstanding the Dan-" ger for not coming to my Parish Church, &c. "Therefore I come not back again to the Preaching of them that have received these Marks of the

1. " Be-

1. " Because of God's Commandment to go for- Queen ward to Perfection, Heb. vi. 1. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Psalm Elizabeth,

" lxxxiv. 1. Ephef. iv. 15. Also to avoid them, 1573.

" Rom. xvi. 17. Epbes. v. 11. 1 Thess. v. 22.

2. " Because they are an Abomination before the

" Lord our God, Deut. xxvii. 25, 26. and xiii. 17.

Ezek. xiv. 6.

3. " I will not beautify with my Presence those if filthy Rags, which bring the heavenly Word of

" the ETERNAL our Lord God into Bondage, Sub-

" jection and Slavery.

4. " Because I would not communicate with other

" Mens Sins, John ii. 9, 10, 11. 1 Cor. vi. 17.

" Touch no unclean Thing, &c. Sirach xiii. 1.

5. "They give Offence both to Preacher and

" Hearers, Rom. xvi. 17. Luke xvii. 1.

6. "They glad and strengthen the Papists in their Errors, and grieve the Godly, Ezek. xiii. 21, 22.

" Note this 21st Verse.

7. " They do persecute our Saviour Jesus Christ in his Members, Acts ix. 4, 5. 2 Cor. i. 5. Also

" they reject and despise our Lord and Saviour Jesus

" Christ, Luke x. 16. Moreover, those Labourers,

" who at the Prayer of the Faithful, the Lord hath " fent forth into his Harvest, they refuse and also

" reject, Matth. ix. 38.

8. " These popish Garments are now become ve" ry Idols indeed, because they are exalted above

" the Word of the Almighty.

9. " I come not to them because they should be "ashamed, and so leave their idolatrous Garments,

" &c. 2 Theff. iii. 14. If any Man obey not our Sayings,

" note bim.

" Moreover, I have now joined my felf to the "Church of Christ, wherein I have yielded my felf

" fubject to the Discipline of God's Word, as I pro-

" mised at my Baptism, which if I should now again forsake, and join my self with their Traditions, I

fhould forfake the Union wherein I am knit to the Y 2 "Bedy

" Body of Christ, and join my self to the Discipline Dueen Elizabeth, " of Antichrift; for in the Church of the Traditiona-1573. " ries there is no other Discipline than that which has

" been maintained by the Antichristian Pope of " Rome, whereby the Church of God has always

been afflicted, and is until this Day, for the which

" Caufe I refuse them.

"God give us Grace still to strive in suffering " under the Cross, that the blessed Word of our God

" may only rule, and have the highest Place, to cast

down strong Holds, to destroy or overthrow Policy, or .. Imaginations, and every high Thing that is exalted

against the Knowledge of God, and to bring into Cap-

" tivity or Subjection, every Thought to the Obedience of " Christ, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. That the Name and Word of

the ETERNAL our Lord God may be exalted, and

" magnified above all Things, Plalm viii. 2. Finis.

To this Protestation the Congregation fingularly did swear, and then received the Communion for the Ratification of their Affent; if we may believe the Relation of Archbishop Parker, who writ this last Paragraph with his own Hand; though his Grace had not always the best Information, nor was sufficiently careful to distinguish between subscribing and swearing.

Dutch and French Churches forbid to ritans to munion.

Sundry Non-Conformists who were willing to be at ease, and avoid the Hazard of Persecution, took shelter in the French and Dutch Churches, and joined receive Pu-themselves to their Communion: There were not many of this Sort, because they understood not their their Com-Language. But the Queen and Council had their Eye upon them, and resolved to drive them from this Shelter; for this Purpose a Letter was writ from the Council Board, to the Ministers and Elders of the Dutch Church in London, bearing Date April 1573. in which they fay, "That they were not ignorant, that " from the beginning of the Christian Religion vari-" ous Churches had various and divers Rites and Ce-

" remonies ;

remonies; that in their Service and Devotions Queen fome flood, some kneeled, and others lay prostrate, Elizabeth, and yet the Piety and Religion was the same, if 1573.

"they directed their Prayers to the true God, without Impiety and Superstition. They added fur-

ther, That they contemned not their Rites; nay,

"that they approved their Ceremonies as fit and convenient for them, and that State whence they

" fprang. They expected therefore, that their Congregation should not despife the Customs of the

" English Church, nor do any Thing that might create a Suspicion of disturbing its Peace; and in

" particular, that they should not receive into their Com- L. of Par-"munion any of this Realm that offered to join with ker,p.334.

"them, and leave the Customs and Practice of their native Country, least the Queen should be moved to ba-

" nish them out of the Kingdom."

Endeavours had been used to bring these Churches under the Jurisdiction or Superintendency of the Bishop of the Diocese for the Time being; but they pleaded their Charter, and that Grindal, while Bishop of London, was their Superintendent only by their own Confent; but there happening a Quarrel fometime after in the Dutch Church at Norwich, the Queen's Commissioners interposed; and because the Elders refused to own their Jurisdiction, they banished all their three Ministers; which struck such a Terror into those of London, that when they received the Strype's Council's Letter they were perfectly submissive, and Ann. after returning Thanks for their own Liberties, they p. 284. promifed to expel all fuch out of their Church; and for the future not to receive any English, who from fuch Principles should separate themselves from the Customs of their own Country.

Gualter, Bullinger, and other foreign Divines, writ again this Year to the Bishops their Correspondents for Moderation, but nothing could be obtained; only Parkburst, Bishop of Norwich, lamented the Case, and wished to God, that all the English People would

Y 3

follow

Queen follow the Church of Zurich, as the most absolute Elizabeth, Pattern. " The Papists (fays he) lift up their 1574. " Crests, while Protestants walk about the Streets " dejected and forrowful; for at this Time there are of not a few Preachers that have laid down their " Cures of Souls and left them to Fools and Idiots. and that for this Reason, because they would not

" use the Linen Garment called a Surplice. New and fevere Edicts are lately published here against

fuch as refuse to observe our Ceremonies: Pray "God give a good Iffue, and have Mercy upon all

" the Churches of Christ!"

1574. Prophelyings of the Clergy increaje.

The Prophelyings of the Clergy, begun in the Year 1571. had by this Time spread into the Dioceses of York, Chefter, Durbam, and Ely; the Bishop of London set them up in several Parts of his Diocese; as did most of the other Bishops. The Clergy were divided into Classes, or Associations, under a Moderator appointed by the Bishop; their Meetings were once a Fortnight; the People were present at the Sermon; and after they were dismissed, the Members of the Affociation whose Names were subscribed in a Book, censured the Performance. These Exercises were of great Service to expose the Errors of Popery, and fpread the Knowledge of the Scriptures among the People.

Suppress'd cele of Norwich.

But the Queen was told by the Archbishop, that in the Dio- they were no better than Seminaries of Puritanism; that the more averse the People were to Popery, the more they were in danger of Non-Conformity: That these Exercises tended to Popularity, and made the People so inquisitive, that they would not submit to the Orders of their Superiors, as they ought. It was said further, that some of the Ministers disused the Habits, and discoursed on Church Discipline; and that others were too forward to shew their Abilities, to the Discouragement of honest Men of lower Capacities; and that all this was notorious in the Diocese of Norwich. Upon this the Queen gave the Archbishop

Queen

bishop private Orders to put them down every where, and to begin with Norwich; his Grace ac-Elizabeth, cordingly writ to Matchet, one of his Chaplains in that Diocese, requiring him to repair to his Ordinary, and shew him, how the Queen had willed him to suppress those vain Prophesyings; and that thereupon he should require the faid Ordinary, in her Majesty's Name, immediately to discharge them from any fur-

ther fuch Doings.

This was very unacceptable News to the good old Bishop, who taking hold of the Word Vain, writ to the Archbishop, desiring to be resolved, Whether he meant thereby the Abuse, or some vain Speeches used in some of these Conferences; or in general, the whole Order of those Exercises? Of which he freely declared his own Approbation, faying, "That they had, and still did bring fingular "Benefit to the Church of God, as well in the Cler-" gy as in the Laity, and were right necessary Ex-" ercifes to be continued, fo the same were not abu-" fed, as indeed they had not been, unless in one or two " Places at the most; whereof after he had Know-" ledge he writ an earnest Letter to his Chancellor, " that fuch Persons as were over busy Speakers should " be put to filence, unless they would subscribe to " the Articles of Conformity in Religion, or else " promise not to intermeddle with any Matter esta-" blished and commanded by her Majesty; which was performed accordingly, fince which Time he " had not heard, but all Things had fucceeded quiet-" ly without Offence to any."

The Archbishop was vexed at this Letter, and writ back to his Chaplain, "That it was one of his old "Griefs, that this Bishop had shewn his Letter to his " Friends, who had eluded its true Meaning, by " standing upon the Word Vain. It is pity, says he, "That we should shew any Vanity in our Obedience." In the mean Time the Bishop of Norwich writ to the Privy Council, who knew nothing of this AfQueen fair; but were surprized at the Archbishop's Elizabeth, Order, and gave his Lordship Instructions to uphold the Prophesyings. Their Letter was as sollows:

Council's Letter to continue them. Life of Parker, p. 460, 461.

" C Alutem in Christo. Whereas we understand that " there are certain good Exercises of Prophesyings, and expounding of Scriptures in Norfolk, as " namely, at Holt Town, and other Places, where-" by both Speakers and Hearers do profit much in " the Knowledge of the Word of God. And whereas some not well minded towards true Religion, " and the Knowledge of God, speak evil and slanderously of these Exercises, as commonly they " used to do against the sincere Preaching of God's " holy Word: These are to require your Lordship, that fo long as the Truth is godly and reverently " uttered in their Prophesyings, and that no seditious, " hæretical, or schismatical Doctrine, tending to the Disturbance of the Peace of the Church, can 66 be proved to be taught or maintained in the fame; "that so good an Help and Means to further true "Religion may not be hinder'd and stayed, but may " proceed and go forward to God's Glory, and the edifying of the People. Thus not doubting of " your forwardness herein, your Office and Calling 66 dutifully requiring the same at your Hands, we bid your Lordship right heartily farewel.

Your Lordship's loving Friends,

From London, this 6th of May, 1574.

T. Smith, Edwin Bp. London, Wa. Mildmay, Fran. Knollys.

The Atp. prevails.

The Archbishop was surprized to see his Orders countermanded by the Privy Council; but bis Grace took no Notice of it to them, but acquainted the Queen with it; by whose Direction he writ again to the Bishop;

that whereas he understood he had received Letters gueen from the Council to continue the Prophefyings, con-Elizabeth, trary to the Queen's express Command, he desired to know, what Warrant they had given him for their Proceedings: Upon this the Bishop of Norwich writ back to the Bishop of London, who was one of those that had signed the Letter, for Advice; but his Lordship and the Council were afraid to meddle any further.

Parker being thus supported by the Queen writ again to Norwich, commanding the Bishop peremptorily to obey the Queen's Orders, upon pain of her Majesty's high Displeasure; and advised him not to be led by fantastical Folk, nor take such young Men into his Counsels, who when they had brought him into Danger could not bring him out of it. Of my Care It. of Parhave for you and the Diocese (says the Archbishop) Iker, p. 462. write thus much.

Upon this, the good old Bishop submitted, and writ to his Chancellor from Ludlam, June the seventh, "— Whereas by the Receipt of my Lord of Can"terbury's Letter I am commanded by him, in the 
"Queen her Majesty's Name, that the Prophesyings 
"throughout my Diocese should be suppressed, these 
are therefore to will you, that as conveniently as 
you may, you give Notice to every of my Commissaries, that they in their several Circuits may 
suppress the same. And so I leave you to God." 
Thus were these religious Exercises suppressed in one Diocese, which was but the Prologue to their Downsal over the whole Kingdom.

But his Lordship did not long survive this distin-Death of guishing Mark of the Archbishop's Displeasure, for Parkhurst towards the latter End of the Year he departed this Bishop of Life, to the great Loss of his Diocese, and of the whole Church of England. John Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, was born at Guisford in Surrey, 1511. and educated in Merton College, Oxon. He had been domestick Chaplain to Queen Katherine Parr, Tutor to

Bishop

Queen 1574.

Bishop Jewel, and Rector of the rich Parsonage of Elizabeth, Clive; all which he forfook in the Reign of Queen Mary, and was an Exile at Zurich in Switzerland all her Reign: He was fo delighted with the Order and Discipline of that Church, that he would often wish the Church of England was modell'd according to it. He

Strype's Ann. P. 343.

was an open Favourer of the Puritans, and never enter'd willingly into any Methods of Severity against them. " I find (fays he, in one of his Letters to Arch-" bishop Parker) that rough and severe Methods do " the least good, and that the contrary has won over " divers; and therefore I choose to go in this Way, " rather than with others, to over-rule by Rigor " and Extremity." He would willingly have allowed a Liberty of officiating in the Church, to fuch as could not conform to the Ceremonies; but upon Command from above, he was forced fometimes to obey his Superiors, contrary to his Judgment. The Bishop was a zealous Protestant, and a great Enemy to Popery; a learned Divine, a faithful Pastor, a diligent and conftant Preacher, and an Example to his Flock, in Righteousness, in Faith, in Love, in Peace, in Word, and in Purity. He was exceeding hospitable, and kept a Table for the Poor; and was univerfally beloved, honoured, and effeemed by his whole Diocefe. This Character is given him (fays Mr. Strype) by one that knew him well, Thomas Becon, a Native of Norfolk, and of known Eminency in those Days. He was made Bishop of Norwich 1560. and died of the Stone this Year, in the 63d Year of his Age.

Religious broke up.

Sundry well disposed People in the Parishes of Bal-Assemblies sham in Cambridgeshire, and of Strethall in Essex, met together on Holidays, and at other Times, after they had done work to read the Scriptures, and to confirm one another in the Christian Faith and Practice; but as foon as the Commissioners were informed of these Assemblies, the Parsons of the Parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them; though

though the honest People declared themselves conformable to the Orders of the Church, and that they Elizabeth, only met together after Dinner, or after Supper, up- 1574. on Holidays only, for their own and their Families Instruction; for the Reformation of Vice, and for a further Acquaintance with the Word of God: The Occasion of their Assemblies we have in their own Words, " For that heretofore (fay they) we have " at divers Times spent and consumed our Holidays " vainly, in drinking at the Ale-House, and play-" ing at Cards, Tables, Dice, and other vain Pa-" stimes, not meet for us, and fuch of our Calling and Degree, for the which we have been often " blamed of our Parson; we thought it better to " bestow the Time in soberly and godly reading the " Scriptures, only for the Purpofes aforesaid, and " no other. We do not favour or maintain any of " the Opinions of the Anabaptists, Puritans, Papists " or Libertines, but would be glad to learn our Duty " towards God, our Prince, and Magistrates, to-" wards our Neighbours and our Families, in fuch " fort as becomes good and faithful, and obedient " Subjects, and it is our greatest and only Defire, " to live, follow, and perform the same according-

" ly, as God shall give us Grace." But our Arch-L. of Parbishop had rather these poor People should be drink-ker, p. 473. ing and carding at an Ale-House, than at a religious

Affembly not appointed by publick Authority.

The Reverend Mr. Sampson, late Dean of Christ Sampson Church, Oxon, was this Year struck with the dead resigns his Palfy on one Side, which made him resign his Lecture. Palfy on one Side, which made him resign his Lecture. Some in the Church at Whittington College, which he had held to this Time, and for which he had 10 l. a Year: It was in the Gift of the Cloth-Workers Company, to whom he recommended Mr. Deering for his Successor; but Deering being silenced for Non-Conformity, the Archbishop utterly resused him, which Sampson complained of in a Letter to the Treasurer, saying, "That though my Lord of Canterbury hiked

Queen "not to take Pains in the Congregation himself, yet Elizabeth," should he not forbid others that were both able 1574. "and willing; that he could find no fault with Mr. L. of Par- "Deering's Doctrine or Manner of Life; and that ker, p. 478. "this was no great Promotion." He therefore humbly defired, that if the Cloth-Workers chose him, that his Lordship would use his Interest with the Archbishop not to resuse him; but his Grace was inflexi-

ble, and fo the Bufiness miscarried.

Writes to Grindal in favour of Puritanism.

This Mr. Sampson was a most exact Man in his Principles and Morals; and having fuffered the Loss of all Things for a good Conscience, he took the Liberty to write freely to his Superiors upon proper Occasions; and among others to Grindal Archbishop of York, who had been his Companion in Exile, but was now advanced to the Dignity of a Lord Archbishop. Sampson in one of his Letters put him in mind of his former low Condition, and cautioned him against being too much exalted with his high Title. Grindal told him, he did not value the Title of a Lord, but that his great Care was, to discharge his Function faithfully until the great Day of the Lord. Sampson replied, "That if he whom worldly Policy " had made a Lord, kept the Humility of an humble Brother and Minister of the Gospel, he was a " Phanix; but his Port, his Train of Waiting-" Men in the Streets, his Gentlemen-Ushers going before him with bare Heads, and his Family full

" before him with bare Heads, and his Family full of idle ferving Men, looked very lordly." He adds, "That his own and his Brethren's Revenues of the wild not be leid and in special and the service of the wild not be leid and in special and the service of the wild not be leid and in special and the service of the wild not be leid and in special and the service of the wild not be leid and the service of

"fhould not be laid out in maintaining a Parcel of lazy idle Servants, but rather upon those who were Labourers in the Harvest of the Lord Jesus.

"That whereas the Archbishop had called them

"Puritans, it was a Name unjustly imposed on Brethren with whose Doctrine and Life none could

"find fault: If by Puritans fuch were meant as following Novatus, diffembled themselves to be

"Teachers, and wished the Ceremonies might be "observed,

" observed, while they hated the Custom of the an- Queen " tient Church, then might a Number of Church Elizabeth, " Men be called Puritans; and he prayed God to 1574. " purge them and make them more pure-" And L. of Parwhereas the Archbishop in his Letter had pitied his ker, p.469. Complaints of Poverty and Lameness, he said, "He " complained of nothing; if he should complain of " the former it would be before he had need; but " when he had need he would complain to those to " whom he might complain. Concerning his Lame-" nefs, he was so far from complaining of that, that " he humbly thanked God for it; and these Chains " he would chuse to carry before the Clogs and Cares " of a Bishoprick." Such was the Plain-dealing of this Confessor to one of the highest Dignitaries in the Church.

Parker's Zeal against the Puritans betrayed him Abamplot fometimes into great Inconveniencies; like a true father'd Inquisitor, he listned to every idle Story of his on the Scouts, and fent it presently to the Queen or Puritans. Council; and the older he grew the more did his Jealousies prevail. In the Month of June one of his Servants acquainted him, That there was a Defign of the Puritans against the Life of the Lord Treafurer and his own; and that the chief Conspirator was one Undertree, encouraged by the great Earl of Leicester: The old Archbishop was almost frighted out of his Wits at the News, as appears by the following Passage in his Letter to the Treasurer; "This horrible Conspiracy (fays he) has so astoni-" ed me, that my Will and Memory are quite " gone; I would I were dead before I fee with my " corporal Eyes that which is now brought to a full "Ripeness." He then prays, that the Detector of this Conspiracy may be protected and honourably confidered, and the Conspirators punished with the utmost Severity, otherwise the End would be worse than the Beginning. And that he might not feem to express all this Concern for his own Safety,

1574.

he tells the Treasurer. That it was for bis sake and Elizabeth, the Queen's that he was so jealous, " for he feared. " that when Rogues attempted to destroy those that were so near her Majesty's Person, they would at " last make the same Attempt upon ber too; and that even some that lay in her Bosom [Leicester] " when Opportunity ferved, would fting her." The Archbishop fent out his Scouts to apprehend the Conspirators that his Steward had named, who pretended a fecret Correspondence with Undertree; and among others that were taken into Custody, were the Reverend Mr. Bonbam, Brown, and Stonden, Divines of great Name among the Puritans: Stonden had been one of the Preachers to the Queen's Army, when the Earl of Warwick was fent against the Northern Many Persons of Honour were also accu-Rebels. fed, as the Earl of Bedford, Leicester, and others. But when Undertree came to be examined before the Council, the whole appeared to be a Sham, between Undertree and the Archbishop's Steward, to disgrace the Puritans, and punish them as Enemies to the State as well as the Church. So early was the vile Practice of fathering sham Plots upon the Puritans begun, which was repeated fo often in the next Age. Undertree had forged Letters in the Names of Bonbam, Stonden, and others; as appeared to a Demonstration when they were produced before the Council, for they were

L. of Par-all written with one Hand. When he was examined ker,p.466. about his Accomplices he would accuse no body, but took the whole upon himself; so that their Honours writ immediately to the Archbishop to discharge his Prisoners. But, which is a little unaccountable, neither Undertree nor the Archbishop's Steward received

any Punishment.

Parker Conduct in the Plot.

His Grace's Reputation suffered by this Plot; all defends his impartial Men cried out against him, for shutting up Men of Character and Reputation in Prison upon such idle Reports. The Puritans reflected upon his Honour and Honesty; and in particular the Bishop of

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1575.

London, and Dr. Chatterton Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, whom in his Wrath he called a Elizabeth, Chatterer; and in his Letter to Grindal Archbishop. of York, faid, "That he cared not three Chips for " ought that could be proved as to his Allegiance; " he doing it so fecretly, faithfully and prudently as " he did; and would do the fame again, if he knew " no more than he did at that Time." The Earl of Leicester could not but refent his ill Usage of him. which he had an Opportunity to repay had he been fo minded; the Archbishop having executed an Act of Justice [as he called it] upon a Person in the late Plot, after he had received a Letter from Court forbidding him to do it; which was not very confiftent with his Allegiance. But the Archbishop braved out his Conduct against every Body, after his own Brethren the Bishops, and all the World had abandon'd him. He told the Lord Treasurer.

" That he cared not for Leicester, though he was in-L. of Par-" formed he took Counsel with the Precisians to undo ker, p.477.

" him: That though he had writ to the Earl, and " to another Puritan Courtier, it was not in way of " Submission, as some of the Crew reported and

" took it. - That the Earl had peaceably writ " again to him, diffembling his Malice like a right

" Courtier; but he notwithstanding understood what " was purposed against him, for Religion sake he

" took it." This was the Spirit and Language of

our Archbishop!

One of the last publick Acts in which his Grace 1575. was employed, was visiting the Diocese of Winchester, the visits and in particular the Isle of Wight; and here he made Wight. use of such Methods of Severity (says-Mr. Strype) as made him talked against all over the Country. This Island was a Place of Resort for foreign Protestants, and Sea-faring Men of all Countries, which occafioned the Habits and Ceremonies not to be fo strictly observed as in other Places, their Trade and Commerce requiring a Latitude: When our Arch-

bishop

Queen bishop came thither with his Retinue he gave himself Elizabeth, no trouble about the Welfare of the Island, but turn-1575 ed out all those Ministers that refused the Habits, L. of Par- and fhut up their Churches. This was fo great a ker, p. 491. Concern to the Inhabitants, that they fent up their

Complaints to the Earl of Leicester, who made such a Report to the Queen of the Archbishop's Proceedings, that her Majesty immediately gave Order, that Things should return to their former Channel; and when his Grace came to Court after his Visitation, her Majesty received him but coldly, and declared her Displeasure against his unseasonable Severities. Bishop of Winchester also complained, that the Clergy of his Diocese had been sifted in an unmerciful Manner; all which instead of softning our Prelate drew from him the following angry Letter to the Lord Treasurer, wherein he complains, "Of the strong In-

pendix.

L. of Par- " terest the Puritans had at Court; and of the Inconker, Ap- " flancy of some of the Bishops; that several of that

NºXCIX." Order lay by and did little, while others endea-That the Queen was " voured to undermine him. " almost the only Person that stood firm to the

" Church; but if the Precisians had the Advantage,

" her Majesty would be undone. That he was not " fo much concerned for the Cap, Tippet, Surplice,

" Wafer Bread, and fuch like Ceremonies, as for

the Authority of the Laws that enjoined them. "The Queen indeed had told him, that he had the

" supreme Government Ecclesiastical, but upon

"Experiment he found it very much hamper'd and embarrassed. Before God (says he) I fear that

"her Highness's Authority is not regarded; and

" if publick Laws are once difregarded the Govern-

" ment must fink at once."

There was but one Corner of the British Dominions that our Archbishop's Arm could not reach, (viz.) the Isles of Guernsey and Fersey; these had been a Reand Jersey ceptacle for the French Refugees from the Parisian Massacre; and lying upon the Coasts of France, the Inha-

Reformation of Guernfey

Queen

Inhabitants were chiefly of that Nation, and were allowed the Use of the Geneva or French Discipline, Elizabeth, by the Lords of the Council. An Order of the States of France had been formerly obtained, to feparate them from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance in Normandy, but no Form of Discipline having been fettled by Law fince the Reformation, Mr. Cartwright and Snape were invited to affift the Ministers in framing a proper Discipline for their Churches: This fell out happily for Cartwright, who being forced to abandon his native Country, made this the Place of his Retreat. The two Divines being arrived, one was made titular Pastor of Mount Orgueil, in the Isle of Jersey; and the other of Castle Cornet in Guernsey. Representatives of the feveral Churches being affembled at St. Peter's Port, in Guernsey, they communicated to them a Draught of Discipline, which was debated, and accommodated to the Use of those Islands, and finally fettled the Year following, as appears by the Title of it, which is this; The Ecclesiastical Discipline observed and practised by the Churches of Jersey and Guernsey, after the Reformation of the same, by the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, Sark, and Alderney, confirmed by the Authority, and in the Presence of the Governors of the same Isles, in a Synod bolden in Guernsey, June 28, 1576. and afterwards revived by the said Ministers and Elders, and confirmed by the said Governors in a Synod, bolden in Jersey the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th Days of October, 1577. The Book con-Heylin's fifts of 20 Chapters, and each Chapter of several Ar- Aerius ticles, which were constantly observed in these Redivivus Islands till the latter end of the Reign of King James P. 276. the First, when the Liturgy of the Church of England took place.

Though the Papists were the Queen's most dan-State of gerous Enemies, her Majesty had a peculiar Tender-Strype's ness for them; she frequently released them out of An. p. 329, Prison, 410.

Queen

minaries

erected.

Prison, and connived at their Religious Assemblies, Elizabeth, of which there were above 500 in England at this Time: Many of the Queen's Subjects reforted to the Portugal Ambassador's House in Charter-bouse Yard. where Mass was publickly said; and because the Sheriffs and Recorder of London disturbed them, they were committed to the Fleet by the Queen's express Foreign Se-Command. At the same Time they were practising against the Queen's Life: And that their Religion might not die with the present Age, Seminaries were erected and endowed, in feveral Parts of Europe, for the Education of English Youth, and for providing a Succession of Missionaries to be sent into England for the Propagation of their Faith. The first of these was erected when the Kingdom was excommunicated; after which many others were founded, to the

> The Ift at Douay, 1569. by Philip King of Spain. 1579. by Pope Gregory 13th. 2d at Rome. 3d at Valladolid, 1589. by the King of Spain. 1593. by the same. 4th at Seville, 5th at St. Omers, 1596. by the same. 1606. by Joseph Creswel, Jesuit. 6th at Madrid, 7th at Louvaine, 1606. by Philip III. of Spain. 8th at Leige, 1616. by the Abp. of that Country. 9th at Ghent, 1624. by Philip IV.

unspeakable Prejudice of the Protestant Religion. To fet them before the Reader in one View: Col-

leges were erected at the following Places;

Fuller, B. IX. p. 92.

The popish Nobility and Gentry sent over their Children to these Colleges for Education; and 'tis incredible what a Mass of Money was collected in England for their Maintenance, by their Provincials, Sub-Provincials, Affistants, Agents, Coadjutors, Familiars, &c. out of the Estates of such Catholicks as · were possessed of Abbey Lands; the Pope dispensing with their holding them on these Considerations. The Oath taken by every Student at his Admission was this;

" Having

"Having resolved to offer my self wholly up to Queen
"Divine Service, as much as I may, to sulfil the Elizabeth,
"End for which this our College was sounded, I 1575.

" promise and swear in the Presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine Heart, with

" the Affiftance of Divine Grace, in due Time to

" receive boly Orders, and to return into England, to convert the Souls of my Country-Men and Kindred,

" when, and as often as it shall feem good to the

" Superior of this College.

The Number of Students educated in these Colle-De Schifges may be collected from hence; that whereas ac-mat. Ang. cording to Saunders an eminent popish Writer, p. 365. there were but 30 old Priests remaining in England, this Year [1575], the two Colleges of Douay and Rome alone, in a very sew Years, sent over 300; and tis not to be doubted, but there was a like

Proportion from the reft.

About this Time began to appear the Family of Family of Love, which derived its Pedigree from one Henry Love. Nicolas, a Dutchman. By their Confession of Faith published this Year, it appears that they were high Enthusiasts; that they allegorized the Doctrines of Revelation, and under a Pretence of attaining to spiritual Perfection, adopted some odd and whimfical Opinions, while they grew too lax in their Morals, being something akin to the Quietists in the Church of Rome, and the Quakers among our selves. They had their private Assemblies for Devotion, for which they tasted of the Severities of the Government.

But the Weight of the penal Laws fell heaviest upon some of the German Anabaptists, who resused to join
with the Dutch or English Churches: There were two
Sorts of Anabaptists that sprung up with the Resormation in Germany; one was of those who differ'd only
about the Subject and Mode of Baptism, whether it
should be administer'd to Infants, or in any other
manner than by Dipping the whole Body under Wa-

Z 2

Queen ter. But others, who carried that Name, were meer Elizabeth, Enthusiasts, Men of sierce and barbarous Tem1575. pers, who broke out into a general Revolt, and raised Anabapthe War called the Rustick War. They had an untiffs burnt. intelligible Way of talking of Religion, which they

usually turned into Allegory; and these being joined in the common Name of Anabaptists, brought the other under an ill Character. Twenty seven of them were apprehended in a private House without Aldersgate-Bars, on Easter Day, 1575. where they were affembled for Worship: Of these, four recanted the following Errors, (1.) That Christ took not Flesh of the Substance of the Virgin. (2.) That Infants born of faithful Parents ought to be rebaptized. (3.) That no Christian Man ought to be a Magistrate. (4.) That it is not lawful for a Christian Man to take an Oath. But others refusing to abjure, 11 of them all Dutchmen, were condemned in the Confistory of St. Paul's to be burnt, 9 of whom were banished, and 2 suffered the Extremity of the Fire in Smithfield, July 22.1575. (viz.) John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort. Thus the Writ de Hæretico comburendo, which had hung up only in Terrorem for 17 Years, was taken down and put in Execution upon these unhappy Men. The Dutch Congregation interceded earnestly for their Lives; as did Mr. Fox the Martyrologist, in an elegant Latin Letter to the Queen, but she was immoveable; so distant was her Majesty from the tender Spirit of her Brother King Edward.

Death of Abp. Parker.

A little before the burning of these Hereticks MATTHEW PARKER, Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this Life: He was born at Norwich, 1504. and educated in Bennet College, Cambridge. In the Reign of King Edward VI. he married, and was therefore obliged to live privately under Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession he was advanced to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; and how he managed in that high Station may be collected from the foregoing History. He writ a Book entitled, Antiquitates Britannicae, which shows him to have

have had fome Skill in Ecclefiastical Antiquity; but Queen he was a fevere Churchman; of a rough and uncourtly Elizabeth, Temper, and of high and arbitrary Principles both in Church and State; a Slave to the Prerogative and the Supremacy; and a bitter Enemy to the Puritans, whom he persecuted to the Length of his Power, and beyond the Limits of the Law. His Religion confifted in a fervile Obedience to the Queen's Injunctions, and in regulating the publick Service of the Church: But his Grace had too little Regard for publick Virtue; his Entertainments and Feaftings being chiefly on the Lord's Day: Nor do we read among his Episcopal Qualities, of his diligent Preaching or pious Example. Fuller calls him a Parker indeed, careful to keep the Fences, and shut the Gates of Discipline, against all such Night-Stealers as would invade the fame; and indeed this was his chief Excellency. He was a confiderable Benefactor to Bennet College, the Place of his Education, where he ordered his MS. Papers to be deposited, which have been of confiderable Service to the Writers of the English Reformation. He died of the Stone on the 17th of May, 1575. in the 72d Year of his Age, and was interr'd in Lambeth Chapel the 6th of June following; where his Body rested till it was removed at the end of the Civil Wars by a private Gentleman, who purchased that Palace for a Mansion House.



## CHAP. VI.

From the Death of Archbishop PARKER to the Death of Archbishop GRINDAL.

Queen

R. EDMUND GRINDAL, Archbishop of York, Elizabeth, J fucceeded Parker in the See of Canterbury, and 1576. was confirmed Feb. 15th. 1576. He was a Divine of moderate Principles, and moved no faster in Courses of Severity against the Puritans than his Superiors obliged him, being a Friend to their Preaching and Prophesyings. Sandys was translated from London to York, and Aylmer was advanced to the See of London. This last was one of the Exiles, and had been a Favourer of Puritanism; for in his Book against Know, entitled, An Harbour for faithful Subjects, he declaims against the Wealth and Splendor of the Bishops, and speaks with Vehemence against their Lordly Dignities and Civil Authority. In the Convocation of 1562. when the Question about the Habits was debated, he withdrew, and would not be concerned in the Affair; but upon his Advancement to the Episcopal Order he became a new Convert, and a cruel Persecutor of the Puritans. He was a little Man, of a quick Spirit, and of no extraordinary Character in Life.

Proceedings of Parliament,

The Parliament being now fitting, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, to tax such as did not come to Church and receive the Sacrament with certain Sums of Money; but it was thought proper to drop it for the present.

And Convocation. Life of Grindal, p. 194.

The Convocation was busy in framing Articles touching the admitting able and fit Persons to the Ministry, and establishing good Order in the Church. Thirteen of them were published with the Queen's Licence, though they had not the Broad Seal; but the other two, For marrying at all Times of the Year,

and for private Baptism by a lawful Minister, in Cases Queen of Necessity, her Majesty would not countenance. Elizabeth, One of the Articles makes void all Licences for Preach- 1576. ing dated before the 8th of Feb. 1575. but provides, All Licen-That such as should be thought meet for that Office should be ces made re-admitted without Difficulty or Charge. This had wid. been practifed once and again in Parker's Time, and was now renewed, that by disqualifying the whole Body of the Clergy, they might clear the Church of all the Non-Conformists at once; and if all the Bishops had been equally fevere in renewing their Licences, the Church would have been destitute of all Preaching; for the Body of the Conforming Clergy were fo ignorant and illiterate, that many who had Cure of Souls, were incapable of Preaching, or even of Reading to the Edification of the Hearers; being obliged by Law only to read the Service, and administer the Sacrament in Person once in half a Year, on forseiture of 5 Pounds to the Poor.

The Non-Conformist Ministers, under the Chara-Diligence cter of Curates or Lecturers, supplied the Defects of of the these idle Drones, for a small Recompence from the Preachers. Incumbent with the voluntary Affistance of the Parish; and by their warm and affectionate Preaching gained the Hearts of the People: They resided upon their Curacies, and went from House to House visiting their Parishioners, and instructing their Children; they also inspected their Lives and Manners, and according to the apostolical Direction, reproved, rebuked, and exhorted them, with all Long-suffering and Dostrine, as long as they could keep their Licences. Thus most of the Puritan Ministers remained as yet within the Church, and their Followers attended upon the Word and Sacrament in fuch Places where there were fober and orthodox Preachers.

But still they continued their Associations and pri-Rise of the vate Assemblies, for recovering the Discipline of the Controversy Church to a more primitive Standard: This was a cipline.

Grievance to the Queen and Court Bishops, who

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were

1576.

were determined against all Innovations of this kind. Elizabeth, Strange! That Men should confess in their publick Service every first Day of Lent, That there was a godly Discipline in the primitive Church; that this Discipline is not exercised at present in the Church of England, but that it is much to be wished that it were restor'd; and yet never attempt to restore it, but set themselves with Violence and Oppression to crush all Endeavours that way! for the Reader will observe, that this was one chief Occasion of the Sufferings of the Puritans in the following Part of this Reign.

Affociatipurpose. L. of Grin-

dal, p.215.

Some of the Ministers of Northampton and Warwickons for this shire, in one of their associated Meetings, agreed upon certain Rules of Discipline in their several Parishes; but as foon as they began to practife them, the Court took the alarm, and fent Letters to the new Archbishop to suppress them. His Grace accordingly fent to the Bishops of those Dioceses, to see Things reduced to their former Channel; and if need were, to fend for Assistance from himself or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners: Accordingly Mr. Paget and Mr. Oxenbridge, the two Heads of the Affociation, were taken

into Custody and sent up to London.

Some Time after there was another Affembly at Mr. Knewstubs's Church, at Cockfield in Suffolk, where 60 Clergymen of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, met together to confer of the Common Prayer Book, and come to some Agreement as to what might be tolerated, and what was necessary to be refused. They consulted also about Apparel, Holidays, Fastings, Injunctions, &c. From thence they adjourned to Cambridge, at the Time of the next Commencement, and from thence to London, where they hoped to be concealed by the general Refort of the People to Parliament: In these Assemblies they came to the following Conclusions, which were drawn up in an elegant Latin Stile by Mr. Cartwright and Travers, and given to the Ministers for their Direction in their feveral Parishes.

Fuller, B. IX. p. 135.

## Concerning Ministers.

Elizabeth,

ET no Man, though he be an University 1576.

Man, offer bimself to the Ministry; nor let conclusions

any Man take upon him an uncertain and vague of the Puri
Ministry, though it be offered unto him.

"But such as are called by some Church, let them their syimpart it to the Classis or Conference, of which they

" are Members, or to some greater Church Assem-

" blies; and if the Called be approved, let them be

" commended by Letters to the Bishop, that they may be ordained Ministers by him.

"Those Ceremonies in the Book of Common

" Prayer, which being taken from Popery are in Controversy, ought to be omitted, if it may be

" done without Danger of being put from the Mi-

" niftry; but if there be imminent Danger of being

" deprived, then let the Matter be communicated to the Classis in which that Church is, to be deter-

" mined by them.

"If Subscription to the Articles and Book of Common Prayer shall be again urged, it is thought that the Book of Articles may be sub-

" feribed, according to the Stat. 13 Eliz. that is, To

" such only as contain the Sum of the Christian Faith

" and the Doctrine of the Sacraments. But neither the

"Common Prayer Book, nor the rest of the Articles may be allowed; no, though a Man should

" be deprived of his Ministry for refusing it."

## Concerning Church-Wardens.

"It feems that Church-Wardens, and Collectors for the Poor, may be thus turn'd into Elders and Deacons.

" Let the Church have Warning of the Time of

" Election, and of the Ordinance of the Realm, " 15 Days before hand; but especially of Christ's

64 Ordinance, touching appointing of Watchmen

" and Overfeers in his Church, who are to take care

Queen 44 that no Offence or Scandal arise in the Church; Elizabeth, 44 and if any such happen, that it be duly abolished.

Of Collectors for the Poor, or Deacons.

- "Touching Deacons of both Sorts, (viz.) Men and Women, the Church shall be monish'd what
- si is required by the Apostle; and that they are not
- " to choose Men of Custom or Course, or for their
- Riches, but for their Faith, Zeal and Integrity; and that the Church is to pray in the mean Time,
- to be so directed, that they may choose them that
- " are meet.
  - " Let the Names of those that are thus chosen, be
- " publish'd the next Lord's Day, and after that,
- " their Duties to the Church, and the Church's Duty
- " towards them; then let them be received into
- " their Office with the general Prayers of the whole
- 46 Church."

## Of Classes.

- "The Brethren are to be requested to ordain a Distribution of all Churches, according to the
- " Rules fet down in the Synodical Discipline, touch-
- " ing Classical, Provincial, Comitial, and Assemblies
- " for the whole Kingdom.
- "The Classes are to be required to keep Acts of memorable Matters, and to deliver them to the
- " Comitial Affembly, and from thence to the Provin-
- " cial Affembly.
  - "They are to deal earnestly with Patrons, to pre-
- " fent fit Men whensoever any Church falls void in
- " their Classis.
  - " The Comitial Affemblies are to be admonished to
- " make Collections for the Relief of the Poor, and
- of Scholars, but especially for the Relief of such
- Ministers as are deprived for not subscribing the Articles tender'd by the Bishops; also for the Re-
- " lief of Scots Ministers, and others; and for other
- " profitable and necessary Uses.

" Provincial Synods must continually foresee in due Queen
"Time to appoint the keeping of their next Provin. Elizabeth,
"cial Synods; and for the sending of chosen Persons
"with certain Instructions to the National Synod, to

be holden whenfoever the Parliament for the Kingdom shall be called, at some certain Time

" every Year."

The Design of these Conclusions was to introduce a Remarks. Reformation into the Church without separating from it. The chief Debate in their Assemblies was, How far this or the other Conclusion might consist with the Peace of the Church, and he moulded into a Consistency with Episcopacy. They ordained no Ministers; and the they maintained the Choice of the People to be the essential Call to the pastoral Charge, yet most of them admitted of Ordination and Industion by the Bishop only, as the Officer appointed by Law, that the Minister might be enabled to demand his legal Dues from the Parish.

In the Room of that pacifick Prelate Parkburst, Ministers Bishop of Norwich, the Queen nominated Dr. Freke, depriv'd. a Divine of a quite different Spirit, who in his primary Visitation made fad Havock among the Puritan Ministers. Among others that were suspended in that Diocese, were Mr. John More, Mr. Richard Crick, Mr. George Leeds, Mr. Thomas Roberts, and Mr. Richard Dowe, all Ministers in or near the City of Norwich: They addressed the Queen and Council for Relief; but were told, that her Majesty was fully bent to remove all those that would not be persuaded to conform to all Orders established. The Reverend Mr. M. s. Gawton, Minister of Goring, in the same Diocese, p. 253. being charged with not wearing the Surplice, nor ob-Strype's ferving the Order of the Queen's Book, he confessed An. p.448. the former, but faid that in other Things he was conformable, though he did not keep exactly to the Rubrick. When the Bishop charged him with holding divers Errors, he answered, We are here not above

Queen

above half a Dozen unconformable Ministers in this Elizabeth, City [Norwich]; and if you will confer with us by Learning, we will yield up our very Lives if we are not able to prove the Doctrines we hold to be confonant to the Word of God. After his Suspension he fent his Lordship a bold Letter, in which he maintained, that Christ was the only Lawgiver in his "If any King or Prince in the World ordain or allow other Officers than Christ has allowet ed, we will (fays he) rather lay down our Necks on the Block than confent thereunto; wherefore do not object to us so often the Name of our " Prince, for you use it as a Cloak to cover your " cursed Enterprizes. Have you not thrust out " those who preached the lively Word faithfully and " fincerely? Have you not plucked out those " Preachers where God fet them in? And do you " think that this Plea will excuse you before the " high Judge, I did but execute the Law?"

Mr. Harvcy.

Mr. Harvey, another Minister of the same City, was cited before the Bishop May 13. for preaching against the Hierarchy of Bishops and their Ecclesiaffical Officers; and at a Court held at St. George's Church he was suspended from his Ministry, with Mr. Vincent Goodwin and John Mapes.

rey. M. S. p. 285.

Mr. Rockrey, B. D. of Queen's College, Cambridge, a Mr. Rock-Person of great Learning and Merit, was expell'd the University for Non-Conformity to the Habits. Lord Burleigh the Chancellor got him reftored, and dispensed with for a Year, at the End of which the Mafter of his College admonished him 3 Times to compose himself to the Custom of the University in the Habits, which he refusing, was finally discharged, as an Example to keep others to their Duty.

Mr. Greenham. Peirce's Pindic. p. 97.

About the same Time Mr. Richard Greenham, Minister of Drayton, was suspended, a Man of a most excellent Spirit, who though he would not subscribe or conform to the Habits, avoided speaking of them, that he might not give Offence; and whoever reads

his

his Letter to Cox, Bishop of Ely, will wonder what Queen fort of Men they must be, that could bear hard on so Elizabeth,

peaceable a Divine.

Some Time before the Death of Parker Mr. Stroud, Mr. the suspended Minister of Cranbrook, returned to his Stroud's Parish Church, but being represented to the present Troubles. Archbishop as a Disturber of the Peace, he was forbid to continue his accustomed Exercises in the Church, and commanded to leave the Country; but the good Man was so universally beloved, that the whole County of Kent almost sign'd Petitions to the Archbishop for his Continuance among them.

" WE know, most Reverend Father (say they) that Mr. Stroud has been several Times beaten and " whipt with the untrue Reports of flanderous Tongues, and accused of Crimes whereof he has most clear-" ly acquitted himself to the Satisfaction of others. " Every one of us, for the most part, Most gracious " Lord, hath heard him preach Christ truly, and " rebuke Sin boldly, and have feen him hitherto " apply to his Calling faithfully, and live among " us peaceably; fo that not only by his diligent "Doctrine our Youth has been informed, and our " felves confirmed in true Religion and Learning; but also by his honest Conversation and Example " we are daily allured to a Christian Life, and the " Exercises of Charity; and no one of us, Reverend " Father, hath hitherto heard from his own Mouth, " or by credible Relation from others, that he has " publickly in his Sermons, or privately in Conver-" fation, taught unfound Doctrine, or opposed the " Discipline, about which great Controversy (alas!) " is now maintained; yea, he has given faithful "Promife to forbear the handling any Questions " concerning the Policy of the Church, and we think in our Consciences he has hitherto perform-" ed it. In Confideration whereof, and that our "Country may not be deprived of so diligent a La1576.

bourer in the Lord's Harvest; nor that the Ene-Elizabeth, ce mies of God's Truth, the Papists, may find Mat-" ter of Joy and Comfort; nor the Man himself in " receiving a kind of Condemnation without Exaes mination, be thus wounded at the Heart and discouraged: We most humbly beseech your "Grace, for the poor Man's fake, for your own " fake, and the Lord's fake, either to take judicial "Knowledge of his Cause, to the end he may be

confronted with his Adversaries; or else of your er great Wisdom and Goodness, to restore him to 46 his liberty of preaching the Gospel among us.

And we as in Duty bound shall ever pray, &c."

p. 196.

This Petition was figned by 19 or 20 Hands; another was figned by 24 Ministers; and a third by George Ely Vicar of Tenterden, and 21 Parishioners; Tho. Bathurst, sen. Minister of Stapleburst, and 9 Parishioners; William Walter of Frittenden, and 14 of his Parishioners; Antony Francis Minister of Lamberberst, and 4 Parishioners; Alexander Love Minister of Rolenden, and 18 Parishioners; Christopher Vinebrook Minister of Helcorne, and 9 Parishioners; William Vicar of Tyfberst, and 10 Parishioners; Matthew Wolton Curate of Beneden, and 11 Parishioners; William Cocks Minister of Marden, and 13 Parishioners; William Hopkinson Minister of Saleberst, and 8 Parishioners.

Such a Reputation had this good Man among all that had any Taste for true Piety, or the Protestant Religion! He was a peaceable Divine, and by the Threatning of Aylmer, Bishop of London, had been prevailed with to subscribe with some Reserve, for the Support of a starving Family; and yet he was continually molefted and vexed in the Spiritual Courts.

Death of kington.

Two eminent Divines of Puritan Principles died Bishop Pil-this Year; one was James Pilkington, B. D. and Bishop of Durbam; he was born of a knightly Family near Bolton in Lancashire, and was educated in St.

Fobn's

John's College, Cambridge, of which he was Master. In the Reign of Queen Mary he was an Exile, and Elizabeth, Confessor for the Gospel; upon the Accession of, Queen Elizabeth he was nominated to the See of Durbam, being efteemed a learned Man and a profound Divine; but could hardly be prevailed with to accept it on the Account of the Habits, to which he expressed a very great Dislike; he was always a very great Friend and Favourer of the Non-Conformists, as appears by his Letters, and a truly Ath. Ox Pious and Christian Bishop. He died in Peace at his House at Bishops-Aucland, Jan. 23. 1576. in the 56th Year of his Age; Dr. Humphreys, and Mr. Fox the Martyrologist, adorning his Tomb with their funeral Verses.

The other was Mr. Edward Deering, a Non-Con- Death of formist Divine, of whom mention has been made al- Mr. Deerready; he was born of an ancient and worthy Family ing. in Kent, and bred Fellow of Christ College, Cantab. a pious and painful Preacher (fays Fuller) but difaffected to Bishops and Ceremonies; he was a learned Man and a fine Orator, but in one of his Sermons before the Queen he took the Liberty to fay, That Fuller: when her Majesty was under Persecution her Mottop. 109. was Tanquam Ovis; but now it might be, Tanquam indomita Juvenca, As an untamed Heifer: For which he was forbid preaching at Court for the future, and loft all his Preferments in the Church. .

Abp. GRINDAL had endeavoured to regulate the 1577. Prophesyings, and cover them from the Objections of the Prophesy-Court, by enjoining the Ministers to observe Decency ings reguand Order, by forbidding them to meddle with Politicks and Church Government, and by prohibiting all Non-Conformist Ministers and Laymen from being Speakers. The other Bishops also, in their several Dioceses, publish'd the following Regulations.

1. That the Exercises should be only in such Churches, as the Bishop under his Hand and Seal

should appoint,

2. That the Archdeacon, or some other grave Queen Elizabeth, Divine, appointed and allowed by the Bishop, should be Moderator.

3. That a Lift of the Names of those that are thought fit to be Speakers in Course, be made and allowed of by the Bishop; and the Bishop to appoint fuch Parts of Scripture they shall treat of.

4. That those Ministers that are judged not fit to fpeak publickly, be affign'd fome other Task by the Moderator, for the Encrease of their Learning.

5. Ante omnia, That no Lay-Person be admitted

to speak publickly in the Exercises.

6. That if any Man glance at Affairs of State, the Moderator shall immediately silence him, and give

Notice to the Bishop.

7. If any Man inveighs against the Laws concerning Rites and Ceremonies, and Discipline established, he shall immediately be filenced, and not be admitted to speak any more, till he has given Satisfaction to the Auditory, and obtained a new Admission and Approbation of the Bishop.

Lastly, No suspended or deprived Ministers shall be suffered to be Speakers, except they shall first conform to publick Order and Discipline of the

Church, by Subscription and daily Practice.

But the Queen was refolved to put them down; and having fent for the Archbishop told him, She for putting was informed that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church were not duly observed in these Prophesyings; that Persons not lawfully called to be Ministers exercifed in them; that the Affemblies themselves were illegal, not being allowed by publick Authority; that the Laity neglected their fecular Affairs by repairing to these Meetings, which filled their Heads with Notions, and might occasion Disputes and Seditions in the State; that it was good for the Church to have but few Preachers, 3 or 4 in a County being sufficient. She further declared her dislike of the Number of these Exercises, and therefore commanded him

Queen's Reasons them down.

M. S. p. 203.

him peremptorily to put them down. Letters of this Queen Tenor were fent to all the Bishops in England: The Elizabeth; Copy of her Majesty's Letter to the Bishop of London, with his Lordship's Order thereupon, being before me, I shall impart it to the Reader.

Salutem in Christo,

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"I TAving received from the Queen's Majesty Letters of strait Commandment, touching the Reformation of certain Diforders and Innovations within my Diocese; the Tenor whereof I " have inferted, as followeth:

## ELIZABETH.

Right Reverend Father in God,

" IN/E greet you well. We hear to our great Her Letter Grief, that in fundry Parts of our Realmfor that " there are no small Number of Persons presuming purpose. " to be Preachers and Teachers in the Church, tho " neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet meet " for the same; who contrary to our Laws esta-" blished, for the publick Divine Service of Almigh-" ty God, and the Administration of his Holy Sa-" craments within this Church of England, do daily " devise, imagine, propound, and put in Execu-" tion, fundry new Rites and Forms in the Church, " as well by the inordinate Preaching, Reading, " and Ministring the Sacraments, as by procuring " unlawfully of Assemblies, and great Numbers of " our People, out of their ordinary Parishes, and " from Places far diftant; and that also of some of " our Subjects of good Callings (though therein " not well advised) to be Hearers of their Disputa-"tions, and new devised Opinions upon Points of " Divinity, far unmeet for vulgar People; which " manner of Ministrations they in some Places term "PROPHESYINGS, and in some other Places " EXERCISES; by means of which Affemblies " great

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" great Numbers of our People, especially of the Elizabeth, ... vulgar Sort (meet to be otherwise occupied with " fome honest Labour for their Living) are brought " to Idleness, seduced, and in manners schismatically " divided among themselves into variety of danger-" ous Opinions, not only in Towns and Parishes; " but even fome Families are manifestly thereby en-" couraged to the Violation of our Laws, and to " the Breach of common Orders, and not smally to " the Offence of all our quiet Subjects, that defire " to live and ferve God according to the uniform " Orders established in the Church, whereby these " [Exercises] cannot but be dangerous to be suffered. Wherefore confidering it should be the Duty " of Bishops, being the principal ordinary Officers " in the Church of God (as you are one) to see these " Diforders against the Honour of God, and the " Quietness of the Church reformed, and that by " the Encrease of these through Sufferance, great " Danger may arise, even to the Decrease of Chri-" flian Faith, whereof we are by God appointed " the Defender; besides the other Inconveniences, " to the Disturbance of our peaceable Governse ment.

"We therefore, according to the Authority which we have, do charge and command you, as " Bishop of that Diocese, with all manner of Dili-" gence to take Order throughout your Diocese, as well in all Places exempt, or otherwise, that no " manner of Publick and Divine Service, nor other " Form of Ministration of the Holy Sacraments, or any other Rites and Ceremonies be in any fort " used in the Church, but directly according to the " Order established by our Laws: Neither that any " manner of Person be suffered in your Diocese to teach, preach, read, or exercise any Function in

" the Church, but fuch as shall be lawfully ap-" proved and licenfed, as Persons able by their Knowledge, and conformable to the Ministrati-

ons, in the Rites and Ceremonies of this Church Queen of England. And where there shall not be suffici- Elizabeth, ent able Persons for Learning in any Cure, to or preach and instruct their Cures, as are requisite, " then shall you limit the Curates to read the pub-" lick Homilies, according to the Injunctions here-

" tofore by us given for like Cause.

" And furthermore, considering the great Abu-" fes that have been in fundry Places of our Realm. " by reason of the aforesaid Assemblies called Ex-" ERCISES; and for that these are not, nor have been " appointed or warranted by us or our Laws; we " will and straitly charge you, that you do cause " the same forthwith to cease, and not to be used; but if any shall attempt to continue or renew the " fame, we will you not only to commit them to "Prison, as Maintainers of Disorders, but also to " advertise us or our Council of the Names and Qua-" lities of them, and of their Maintainers and Abetters; that thereupon for better Example their Pu-" nishment may be made more sharp, for their Re; formation. And in these Things we charge you to be s so careful and vigilant, as by your Negligence (if we shall hear of any Person attempting to offend in the Premises without your Correction or Informa-"tion to us) we be not forced to make some Example in reforming of you according to your Deserts. Given " under our Signet at our Manor of Greenwich, the 7th of May, 1577. and in the 19th Year of our " Reign."

"Therefore I will and straitly charge you, in her M. S. " Majesty's Name, that immediately upon the Re-p. 283. " ceipt hereof, you do diligently and carefully put " in Execution in every Point, all fuch Things as " therein be contained, throughout and in every " Place within your whole Archdeaconry; fo that " at my Visitation, which God willing shall be so shortly, sufficient Account may be given of that ee your

Elizabeth, ingly. Fail you not fo to do, as you will answer the contrary at your Peril.

Your loving Brother, John London.

Most of the Bishops complied readily with the Queen's Letter, and put down the *Prophesyings*; but some did it with Reluctance, and purely in Obedience to the Royal Command; as appears by the following Letter of the Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, to his Archdeacon.

Salutem in Christo,

Bp.of Lich. cc and Cov. cc

M. S. p. 284. Whereas the Queen has been informed of some Matters handled and abused in the

" Exercise at Coventry, and thereupon hath written to me a strait Charge to inhibit the said Exercise;

" these are therefore to will and require you, and

" nevertheless in her Majesty's Name to charge you, to forbear and stay your selves from that Exercise.

to forbear and itay your lelves from that Exercise, till it shall please God we may either by earnest

" Prayer, or humble Petition, obtain the full Use

" thereof with her good Pleasure and full Authori-

" ty; and in the mean Time fo to use the heavenly

and most comfortable Gift of Preaching, that you

" may feek and fet forth Jesus Christ and his King-

" dom without Contempt and Controulment of the

State and Laws under which we ought to live in

"Unity and Peace; which I befeech God grant unto you and me, and all that look for the Coming of

our Saviour Christ, to whose Direction I commit

" you, this 18th of June, 1577."

Your loving Friend and Brother in Christ,

THOMAS COV. and LICHF.

To my very loving Friend and Brother in Christ, Thomas Lever, Archdeacon of Cov.or in his Absence to the Censors of the Exercise there. But our Archbishop could not go this length; he Queen that had complied with all the Queen's Injunctions, Elizabeth, and with the Severities of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners against the Puritans hitherto, is now distressed Grindal in Conscience, and forced to disobey the Commands resuses to of his Royal Mistress in an Affair of much less Concomply. sequence than others that he had complied with. Instead therefore of giving Directions to his Archdeacons to execute the Queen's Commands, he writes a long and earnest Letter to her Majesty, dated Dec. 10. 1576. to inform her of the Necessity and Usefulness of Preaching, and of the Subserviency of the Exercises to this purpose.

"With regard to Preaching nothing is more evident from Scripture (fays his Grace) than that it was a great Bleffing to have the Gospel preached, and to have plenty of Labourers sent into the Lord's Harvest. That this was the

" ordinary Means of Salvation, and that hereby " Men were taught their Duty to God and their Ci-

" vil Governors. That though reading the Homi- m. s.

" lies was good, yet it was not comparable to p. 245.

" preaching, which might be fuited to the Diversity
of Times, Places, and Hearers; and be delivered

" with more Efficacy and Affection. That Homilies were devifed only to supply the Want of Preach-

" ers, and were by the Statute of King Edward VI.

" to give Place to Sermons whenfoever they might

" be had: He hoped therefore her Majesty would

" not discountenance an Ordinance so useful, and of

" Divine Appointment.

"For the second Point, concerning the EXERCISES, he apprehended them profitable to the Church; and

" it was not his Judgment only but that of most of the Bishops, as London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Lichfield,

"Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, and St. David's,

who had fignified to him by Letter, that by means

of these Exercises the Clergy were now better werfed in the Scripture than heretosore; that they had

A a 3

" made

" made them studious and diligent; and that no-Elizabeth, " thing had beat down Popery like them. He af-" firms that they are legal, for as much as by the " Canons and Constitutions of the Church now in " force, every Bishop has Authority to appoint " fuch Exercises for inferior Ministers to encrease " their Knowledge in the Scriptures, as to him shall " feem most expedient." Towards the Close of this Letter his Grace declares himself willing to resign his Bishoprick, if it should be her Majesty's Pleasure, and then makes these two Requests, " (1.) That your Majesty would refer Ecclesiastical Matters to the Bishops and Divines of the Realm, ac-" cording to the Practice of the first Christian Emor perors. And, (2.) That when your Majesty deals in Matters of Faith and Religion, you would " not pronounce so peremptorily as you may do in " Civil Matters; but remember that in God's " Cause, bis Will, and not the Will of any earthly "Creature, is to take place. 'Tis the Antichristian " Voice of the Pope, Sic volo sic jubeo, stet pro ra-"tione voluntas." He then puts her in mind, that though she was appreat and mighty Princess, she was nevertheless a mortal Creature, and accountable to God; and concludes with a Declaration, That whereas before there were not 3 able Preachers, now there were 30 fit to preach at Paul's Cross, and 40 or 50 besides able to instruct their own Cures. That therefore he could not without Offence of the Majesty of God fend out Injunctions for suppressing the Exercises.

He is fequestered and confined.

The Queen was fo inflamed with this Letter, that she determined to make an Example of the honest Archbishop, as a Terror to the whole Bench: She would not fuffer her Commands to be disputed by the Primate of all England, but by an Order from the Star Chamber confined him immediately to his House, and fequester'd him from his Archiepiscopal Function for 6 Months. This was a high Display of the Supremacy, when the Head of the Church, being

a Woman, without consulting the Bishops, or any of Queen the Clergy in Convocation assembled, shall pro-Elizabeth, nounce so peremptorily in a Matter purely respecting Religion; and for Non-compliance tie up the Hands of her Archbishop, who is the first Mover under the Prince in all Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Before the Expiration of the 6 Months, which was in December, Grindal was advised to make his Submission, which he did so far as to acknowledge the Queen's Mildness and Gentleness in his Restraint, and to promife Obedience for the future; but he could not be persuaded to retract his Opinion, and confess his Sorrow for what was past; there was therefore some talk of depriving him, but that being thought too fevere, his Sequestration was continued till about a Year before his Death; but his Grace never recovered the Queen's Favour. Thus ended the Prophesyings, or religious Exercises of the Clergy, an useful Institution for promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety, at a Time when both were at a very low Ebb in the Nation. The Queen put them down for no other Reason, but because they enlighten'd the Peoples Minds in the Scripture, and encourag'd their Enquiries after Truth; her Majefly being always of Opinion, that Knowledge and Learning in the Laity would only endanger their peaceable Submission to her absolute Will and Pleafure.

This Year put an End to the Life of that eminent Death of Divine Mr. Thomas Lever, a great Favourite of Mr. Lever, Queen Elizabeth till he refused the Habits. He was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the Reign of King Edward VI. and was reckon'd one of the most eloquent Preachers in those Times. He had a true Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and was an Exile for it all the Reign of Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession, he might have had the highest Preferment in the Church, but could not accept it upon the Terms of Subscription and wearing the A a 4 Habits;

Queen Habits; he was therefore suspended by the Eccle-Elizabeth, fiastical Commissioners; but his great Name and fingular Merits, reflecting an Odium upon those who had deprived the Church of his Labours, and exposed him a fecond Time to Poverty and Want after his Exile, he was at length dispensed with, and made Archdeacon of Coe, and Master of Sherburne Hospital near Durbam, where he spent the Remainder of his Days in great Reputation and Usefulness: He was a resolute Non-Conformist, and writ Letters to encourage the deprived Ministers to stand by their Principles, and wait patiently for a further Reformation. He was buried in the Chapel of his own Hofpital, having this plain Inscription on a flat Marble Stone over his Grave, Thomas Lever, Preacher to King Edward VI. Had he lived a little longer he had been persecuted by the new Bishop as his Brother Whittingham was; but God took him away from the Evil to come. He died in July, 1577, and was fucceeded in the Hospital by his Brother, Ralph Lever.

Puritans

Mr. Cartwright, upon his return from the Isle of ordained at Guernsey, was chosen Preacher to one of the English Antwerp. Factories at Antwerp: These Factories submitted to the Discipline of the Dutch Churches among whom they lived, and their Ministers became Members of their Confistories. While Cartwright was here many of the English, who were not fatisfied with the Terms of Conformity, or the English manner of giving Orders, went over thither, and were ordained by the Presbyters of those Churches; nay, some that had received Deacons Orders in the Church of England, chose to be made full Ministers by the foreign Confistories; among these were Mr. Cartwright, Fenner, Ashton and Travers. Travers was Batchelor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge before he left England, and was ordained at Antwerp, May 14th, 1578. The Copy of his Testimonials is to this Effect:

Strype's Ann.

P. 513.

Orasmuch as it is just and reasonable, that such Elizabeth, as are received into the Number of the Mini-" fters of God's Word, should have a Testimonial Travers's of their Vocation; we declare, That having cal- Testimoni-" led together a Synod of 12 Ministers of God's als. "Word, and almost the same Number of Elders at Fuller, Antwerp on May 8th, 1578. our very learned, B. IX. " pious, and excellent Brother, the Reverend Doctor P. 214. "Gualter Travers, was by the unanimous Votes and " ardent Defires of all present, received and institu-" ted into the Ministry of God's Holy Word, and " confirmed according to our accustomed Manner, " with Prayer and Imposition of Hands; and the " next Day after the Sabbath, having preached be-" fore a full Congregation of English, at the Request. of the Ministers, he was acknowledged and re-" ceived most affectionately by the whole Church. " That Almighty God would prosper the Ministry of this our Reverend Brother among the English, and attend it with great Success, is our most eara nest Prayer, through Jesus Christ. Amen. Given at Antwerp, May 14, 1578. and fign'd,

> Joannes Taffinus, V.D.M. Logelerius Vilerius, V.D.M. Joannes Hocheleus, V.D.M.

Pilkington late Bishop of Durbam was succeeded by Dean Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle, a Prelate of severer Whitting-Principles than his Predecessor; who having in vain troubles attempted to reduce the Clergy of his Diocese to an absolute Conformity, complained to his Metropolitan of the lax Government of his Predecessor, and of the Numbers of Non-Conformists whom he could not reduce to the established Orders of the Church. Upon this Sandys, the new Archbishop of York, resolved to visit his whole Province, and to begin with Durbam, where Dean Whittingham was the principal Man

Elizabeth, Learning, and of long standing in the Church, but 1578. not ordained according to the Form of the English Strype's Service Book. The Accusation against him was An. p. 481. branched out into 35 Articles, and 49 Interrogato-

ries, but the chief was his Geneva Ordination. Dean, instead of answering the Charge, stood by the Rights of the Church of Durham, and denied the Archbishop's Power of Visitation, upon which his Grace was pleased to excommunicate him; Whittingham appealed to the Queen, who directed a Commission to the Archbishop, to the Lord President of the Council in the North, and to the Dean of York, to hear and determine the Validity of his Ordination, and to enquire into the other Mildemeanors contained in the Articles. The President of the North was a Favourer of the Puritans, and Dr. Hutton Dean of York, was of Whittingham's Principles, and boldly averr'd, That the Dean was ordained in a better Sort than even the Archbishop himself; so that the Commission came to nothing. But Sandys vexed at the Disappointment, and at the calling in Queftion his Right of Visitation, obtained another Commission directed to himself, the Bishop of Durbam, the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Diocese, and some others whom he could depend upon, to visit

The Vali- the Church of Durbam. The chief Design was to dity of his deprive Whittingham for a Layman; when the Dean Ordination appeared before the Commissioners, he produced a disputed. Certificate under the Hands of eight Persons, for Strype's the Manner of his Ordination, in these Words; "It

" pleased God, by the Suffrages of the whole Congregation [at Geneva] orderly to choose Mr. W.

"Whittingham, unto the Office of Preaching the Word of God and ministring the Sacraments; and

" he was admitted Minister, and so published, with

"fuch other Ceremonies as here are used and accuflomed." It was objected, that here was no mention of a Bishop or Superintendent, nor of any external

Solem-

Solemnities, nor so much as of Imposition of Hands; the Dean replied, There was mention in general of Elizabeth, the Ceremonies of that Church, and that he was able to prove his Vocation to be the same that all the Minifters of Geneva had; upon which the Lord Prefident rose up and said, that he could not in Conscience agree to deprive him for that Cause only, for (fays he) it will be ill taken by all the Godly and Learned both at home and abread, that we should allow of the popish Massing Priests in our Ministry, and difallow of Ministers made in a reformed Church; whereupon the Commission was adjourn'd fine die. These Proceedings of the Archbishop against the Dean were invidious, and lost him his Esteem both in City and Country. The calling his Ordination in question was expresly contrary to the Statute 13 Eliz. by which (fays Mr. Strype) The Ordinations of foreign p. 24. reformed Churches were declared valid; and those that bad no other Orders were made of like Capacity with others, to enjoy any Place of Ministry within England.

But the Death of Mr. Whittingham, which happened His Death. about 6 Months after, put an end to this and all his other Troubles: He was born in the City of Chester, 1524. and educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon; he was afterwards translated to Christ Church, when it was founded by King Henry VIII. being reckon'd one of the best Scholars in the University; in the Year 1550. he travell'd into France, Germany, and Italy, and returned about the latter end of King Edward VI. In the Reign of Queen Mary he was with the Exiles at Franckfort and upon the Division there went with part of the Congregation to Geneva, and became their Minister. He had a great Share in translating the Geneva Bible, and the Pfalms in Metre, as appears by the first Letter of his Name [W] over many of them. Upon his return home he was preferr'd to the Deanry of Durbam, 1563. by the Interest of the Earl of Leicester, where he spent the Remainder of his Life. He did good Service, fays the Oxford Hi- Ath. Ox

ftorian, p. 195.

Queen storian, against the popish Rebels in the North, and Elizabeth, in repelling the Archbishop of York from visiting the 1578. Church of Durham; but he was at best but a luke-

warm Conformist, an Enemy to the Habits, and a Promoter of the Geneva Doctrine and Discipline. However, he was a truly pious and religious Man, an excellent Preacher, and an Ornament to Religion. He died while the Cause of his Deprivation, for not being ordained according to the Rites of the English Church, was depending, June 10, 1579. in

the 56th Year of his Age.

Strype's Ann. p. 284.

p. 286. M. S.

We have mentioned the Bishop of Norwich's Severity in his primary Visitation; his Lordship went on still in the same Method, not without some Marks of unfair Defigns; for the Incumbent of Sprowton being fuspected to be of the Family of Love, his Lordship deprived him, and immediately begg'd the Living for his Son-in-law Mr. Maplesdon, who was already Archdeacon of Suffolk. He shewed no Mercy to his fuspended Clergy, though they offered to subscribe as far as the Laws of the Realm required. At length they petition'd their Metropolitan Grindal, who tho in Difgrace, licenfed them to preach throughout the whole Diocese of Norwich, durante beneplacito, provided they did not preach against the established Orders of the Church, nor move Contentions about Ceremonies; but still they were deprived of their Livings.

Mr. Lawrence deprived, Strype's Ann.

p. 585.

The Reverend Mr. Lawrence, an admired Preacher, and Incumbent of a Parish in Suffolk, was suspended by the same Bishop, for nor complying with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Carch. Mr. Caltborp a Gentleman of Quality in the County, applied to the Lord Treasurer in his behalf; and the Treasurer writ to the Bishop, requesting him to take off his Sequestration; but his Lordship replied, that what he had done was by virtue of the Queen's Letter to him, requiring him to allow of no Ministers, but such as were perfectly conformable.

Mr. Calthorp writ again, and urged the great Want Queen the Church had of fuch good Men as Mr. Law-Elizabeth, rence, for whose fitness for his Work he would undertake the chief Gentlemen of Credit in the County should certify; but his Sequestration was still con-The like Severities were used in most other Diocesses.

The Bishop of London came not behind the chief of his Brethren the Bishops, in his persecuting Zeal against the Puritans; he gave out Orders for Apparitors and other Officers to go from Church to Church in Time of Divine Service, to observe the Conformity of the Minister, and to make Report to her Majesty's Commissioners. As this Prelate had no Compassion in his Nature, he had little or no regard to the Laws of his Country, or the Cries of the People

after the Word of God.

Great was the Scarcity of Preachers about Eng-scarcity of land at this Time; in the large and populous Town Preachers of Northampton there was not one, nor had been for in divers a considerable Time, though the People applied England. to the Bishop of the Diocese, by most humble Supplication for the Bread of Life. In the County of Cornwall there were 140 Clergymen, not one of which was capable of preaching a Sermon, and most of them were Pluralists and Non-Residents. Even In Lonthe City of London was in a lamentable Case, as ap-don. pears by their Petition to the Parliament which met this Winter, in which are these Words. " - May it please you therefore, for the tender "Mercies of God, to understand the woful Estate " of many Thousands of Souls dwelling in deep "Darkness, and in the Shadow of Death in this fa-" mous and populous City of London; a Place, in " respect of others, accounted as the Morning Star, " or rather as the Sun in its Brightness, because of " the Gospel, supposed to shine gloriously and abun-" dantly in the fame; but being near looked into, " will be found forely eclipfed and darken'd through

" the dim Clouds of unlearned Ministers, whereof Queen Elizabeth, ce there be no small Number. There are in this 1578. " City a great Number of Churches, but the one " half of them at the least are utterly unfurnished of preaching Ministers, and are pester'd with " Candlesticks not of Gold but of Clay, unworthy to " have the Lord's Lights fet in them, with Watch-

es men that have no Eyes, and Clouds that have no Water; - In the other half, partly by means of " Non-Residents, which are very many; partly

through the Poverty of many meanly qualified, there is scarce the tenth Man that makes Consci-

" ence to wait upon his Charge, whereby the Lord's

" Sabbath is oft-times wholly neglected, and for the " most part miserably mangled; Ignorance increa-

feth, and Wickedness comes upon us like an armed " Man. - As Sheep therefore going aftray, we

" humbly on our Knees, befeech this honourable " Affembly, in the Bowels and Blood of Jesus

" Christ, to become humble Suitors to her Majesty,

that we may have Guides; as hungry Men bound " to abide by our empty Rack-Staves, we do beg

of you to be Means, that the Bread of Life may

be brought home to us; that the Sower may come into the Fallow Ground; that the Pipes of Wa-

"ter may be brought into our Affemblies; that

"there may be Food and Refreshing for us, our " poor Wives and forlorn Children: So shall the

"Lord have his due Honour; you shall discharge

" good Duty to her Majesty; many languishing " Souls shall be comforted; Atheism and Heresy ba-

" nished; her Majesty have more faithful Subjects;

and you more hearty Prayers for your Prosperity

" in this Life, and full Happiness in the Life to

" come, through Jesus Christ our alone Saviour.

& Amen."

In Cornwal. M. S. P. 300,

M. S.

p. 302.

In the Supplication of the People of Cornwal it is faid, "We are above the Number of Fourscore and " ten Thousand Souls, which for want of the Word

es of

1578.

of God are in extreme Mifery and ready to perish, and this neither for want of Maintenance nor Elizabeth, Place; for besides the Impropriations in our Shire, we allow yearly above nine Thousand two Hunof dred Pounds, and have about 160 Churches, the greatest part of which are supplied by Men who " are guilty of the groffest Sins; some Fornicators. " fome Adulterers, fome Felons, bearing the Marks " in their Hands for the faid Offence; some Drunkards, Gamesters on the Sabbath Day, &c. " have many Non-Residents, who preach but once " a Quarter; fo that between Meal and Meal the " filly Sheep may starve. We have some Ministers " who labour painfully and faithfully in the Lord's " Husbandry; but these Men are not suffered to at-" tend their Callings, because the Mouths of Papists, "Infidels, and filthy Livers, are open against them. and the Ears of those who are called Lords over " them, are fooner open to their Accufations, tho' it " be but for Ceremonies, than to the others Answers. Nor is it fafe for us to go and hear them; for tho' " our own Fountains are dried up, yet if we feek for " the Waters of Life elsewhere, we are cited into the " Spiritual Courts, reviled, and threaten'd with Ex-" communication. Therefore from far we come, " befeeching this honourable House to dispossess " thefe dumb Dogs and ravenous Wolves, and appoint " us faithful Ministers, who may peaceably preach " the Word of God, and not be disquieted by every "Apparitor, Register, Official, Commissioner, Chancellor, &c. upon every light Occasion ---"

The Ground of this Scarcity was no other but the Reasons Severity of the High Commission, and the narrow of it. Terms of Conformity. Most of the old Incumbents, L. of Aylm, fays Dr. Keltridge, are disguised Papists, fitter to P. 32. fport with the Timbrel and Pipe, than to take into their Hands the Book of the Lord; and yet there was a rifing Generation of valuable Preachers ready for the Ministry, if they might have been encou-

Queen 1579.

raged; for in a Supplication of some of the Students Blizabeth, of Cambridge to the Parliament about this Time, they acknowledge, that there were Plenty of able and well furnished Men among them, but that they could not get into Places upon equal Conditions; but unlearned Men, nay the Scum of the People were preferr'd before them; fo that in this great Want of Labourers, we (fay they) stand idle in the Market-Place all the Day, being urged with Subscriptions before the Bishops, to approve the Romish Hierarchy, and all the Effects of that Government to be agreeable to the Word of God, which with no Safety of Conscience we can accord unto. They then offer a Conference or Disputation, as the Queen and Parliament shall agree, to put an amicable End to these Differences, that the Church may recover some Discipline, that Simony and Perjury may be banished, and that all that are willing to promote the Salvation of Souls may be employed; but the Queen and Bishops were against it.

All the publick Conversation at this Time ran upon the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of Anjou, a French Papist, which was thought to be as good as concluded; the Protestant part of the Nation were displeased with it, and some warm Divines expressed their dark Apprehensions in the Pulpit. The Puritans in general made a loud Protest against the Match, as dreading the Confequences of a Protestant Body

Mr. Stubb's being under a Popish Head. Mr. John Stubbs, a Sturight Hand dent of Lincolns Inn, whose Sifter Mr. Cartwright had cut off. married, a Gentleman of excellent Parts, published

a Treatise this Summer entitled, the GAPING GULPH wherein England will be swallowed up with the French Marriage; with which the Queen was fo incensed, that she immediately issued out a Proclamation to suppress the Book, and to apprehend the Author and Printer. At the fame Time the Lords of the Council writ circular Letters to the Clergy, to remove all Surmises about the Danger of the Reformation,

formation, in case the Match should take place, asfuring them the Queen would fuffer no Alterations in Elizabeth, Religion by any Treaty with the Duke, and forbidding them in their Sermons or Discourses to meddle with fuch high Matters. Mr. Stubbs the Author, Singleton the Printer, and Page the Disperser of the above-mentioned Book, were apprehended, and fentenced to have their right Hands cut off, by virtue of a Law made in Queen Mary's Reign, against the Authors and Dispersers of seditious Writings: The Printer was pardoned, but Mr. Stubbs and Page were brought to a Scaffold, erected in the Market Place at Westminster, where with a terrible Formality their right Hands were cut off, by driving a Cleaver through the Wrist with a Mallet; but I remember (fays Cambden) being prefent, that as foon as Stubbs's right Hand was cut off, he pulled off his Hat with his left, and faid with a loud Voice, God fave the Queen; to the Amazement of the Spectators, who flood filent, either out of Horror of the Punishment, or Pity to the Man, or Hatred of the Match. Mr. Stubbs proved afterwards a faithful Subject to her Majesty, and a valiant Commander in the Wars of Ireland.

At the beginning of the next Sessions of Parliament, 1580; which was Jan. 10. the Commons voted, That as Heylin, many of their Members as conveniently could, should on the P. 287. Sunday fortnight, affemble and meet together in the Tem-commons ple Church, there to have Preaching, and to join toge- vote a Faft. ther in Prayer, with Humiliation and Fasting, for the Assistance of God's Spirit in all their Consultations, during this Parliament; and for the Preservation of the Queen's Majesty and ber Realms. The House was so cautious as not to name their Preachers, for fear they might be thought Puritanical, but referr'd it to fuch of her Majesty's Privy Council as were Members of There was nothing in this Vote contrary to Law or Equity, but the Queen was no fooner acquainted with it, but she sent Word by Sir Christopher Hat-

Hatton, her Vice-Chamberlain, that She did much ad-Queen Lizabeth, mire at so great a Rashness in that House, as to put in 1580. Execution such an Innovation without her Privity and Queen for-Pleasure first made known to them. Upon which it was moved by the Courtiers, that the House should acknowledge their Offence and Contempt, and humbly crave Forgiveness, with a full Purpose to forbear committing the like for the future; which they did accordingly. A mean and abject Spirit in the representative Body of the Nation!

Private The Cerey put down.

Her Majesty having forbid her Parliament to ap-Faj rgs of point Times for Fasting and Prayer, took hold of the Opportunity, and gave the like Injunctions to her Clergy; fome of whom, after the putting down of the PROPHESYINGS, had ventur'd to agree upon Days of private Fasting and Prayer for the Queen and Church; and for exhorting the People to Repentance and Reformation of Life, at fuch Times and Places where they could get a Pulpit. All the Puritans, and the more devout part of the conforming Clergy, fell in with these Appointments; sometimes there was one at Leicester; sometimes at Coventry and at Stamford, and in other Places; where fix or feven neighbouring Ministers join'd together in these Exercifes; but as foon as the Queen was acquainted with them, she sent a warm Message to the Archbishop to suppress them, as being fet up by private Persons, without Authority, in defiance of the Laws, and of her Prerogative.

Heylin's Aerius Redivivus p. 286.

> Mr. Prowd the Puritan Minister of Burton upon Dunmore, complains in a melancholy Letter to Lord Burleigh, of the fad State of Religion by putting down the Exercises; and by forbidding the Meeting of a few Ministers and Christians to pray for the Prefervation of the Protestant Religion in this dangerous Crisis of the Queen's marrying with a Papist. doubted whether his Lordship dealt so plainly with her Majesty as his Knowledge of these Things required, and begs him to interpose. But the Queen

was

1580.

was determined against all Prayers but what herself Queen Elizabeth,

should appoint.

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We have already taken Notice of the Petitions, and Supplications to Parliament from London, Cornwal, and some other Places, for Redress of Grievances; but the House was so intimidated by the Queen's harsh Behaviour, that they durst not interpose, any further than in Conjunction with some of the Bishops, to petition her Majesty as Head of the Church to redress them. The Queen promised to take Order about it with all convenient speed; putting them in mind at the same Time, that all Motions for Reformation in Religion ought to arise from none but her self.

But her Majesty's Sentiments differed from the Queen re-Parliament's; her greatest Grief was the Increase quires full of Puritans and Non-Conformists, and therefore instead Conformity. of eafing them, she girt the Laws closer about them, in order to bring them to an exact Conformity. Information being given, that some that had Livings in the Church, and preached weekly, did not administer the Sacrament to their Parishioners in their own Persons, her Majesty commanded her Bishops in their Visitations, to enquire after such HALF CONFORMISTS, as disjoined one part of their Function from the other, and to compel them by Ecclefiaftical Censures to perform the whole, at least twice a Year. The Puritan Ministers being diffatisfied with the promiscuous Access of all Persons to the Communion, and with feveral Passages in the Office for the Lord's Supper, some of them used to provide qualified Clergymen to administer the Ordinance in their room; but this was now made a handle for their Ejectment: Inquisition was made, and those that after Admonition would not conform to the Queen's Pleasure were fent for before the Commissioners and deprived.

Though the Springs of Discipline moved but slowly in the Diocese of Canterbury, because the Metropolitan, who is the first Mover in Ecclesiastical Caufes under the Queen was suspended and in disgrace;

Bb2

vet the Sufferings of the Puritans were not leffen'd; Elizabeth, because the other Bishops that were in the High Commis-1580. fion, doubled their Diligence; the Reverend Mr. Nash

was in the Marshalsea; Mr. Drewet in Newgate, and several others were shut up in the Prisons in and about London. Those that were at liberty had nothing to do, for they might not preach in publick without full Conformity; nor affemble in private to mourn over their own and the Nation's Sins, without the

Danger of a Prison.

This exasperated their Spirits, and put them upon writing fatyrical Pamphlets against their Adversaries; in some of which there are severe Expressions against the unpreaching Clergy, calling them in the Language of Scripture Dumb Dogs, because they took no pains for the Instruction of their Parishioners; the Authors glanced at the Severity of the Laws; at the Pride and Ambition of the Bishops; at the illegal Proceedings of the High Commission, and at the unjustifiable Rigors of the Queen's Government; which her Majesty being informed of, procured a Statute this very Parliament, by which it is enacted, that " If any Person or Per-

Seditions Suffer Death.

23 Eliz. cap. 2.

Libellers to " fons, forty Days after the End of this Seffion, " fhall devise, or write, or print, or set forth any " manner of Book, Rhime, Ballad, Letter, or Wri-" ting, containing any false, seditious, or slanderous Matter, to the Defamation of the Queen's " Majesty, or to the encouraging, stirring, or moving of any Infurrection or Rebellion within this " Realm, or any of the Dominions to the same be-" longing: Or if any Person or Persons shall " procure such Books, Rhimes or Ballads, to be written, printed, or published (the said Offence not being within the Compass of Treason, by virtue " of any former Statute) that then the faid Offenders, upon sufficient Proof by two Witnesses, shall

fuffer Death and Loss of Goods, as in case of Felony."

The Statute was made with Limitation to the Life of

the

the present Queen; but within that Compass of Time Queen fundry of the Puritans were put to Death by virtue of it. Elizabeth, In the same Session of Parliament another severe Law was made, which like a two-edged Sword cut statute adown both Papists and Puritans; it was entitled, Angainst se-Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in their due Obedience: ducing the "By which it is made Treason for any Priest or Je-Subjects to " fuit to feduce any of the Queen's Subjects from the Popery. " Established to the Romish Religion. If any shall 23 Eliz. " reconcile themselves to that Religion they shall cap. 1. " be guilty of Treason: And to harbour such above " 20 Days is Misprission of Treason. If any one shall say " Mass, he shall forfeit 200 Marks and suffer a Year's " Imprisonment; and they that are present at hear-" ing Mass shall forfeit 100 Marks and a Year's Im-" prisonment." But that the Act might be more extensive, and comprehend Protestant Non-Conformists, as well as Papists, it is further enacted, "That And to o-" all Persons that do not come to Church or Chapel, blige all " or other Place where Common Prayer is faid, ac-Persons to " cording to the Act of Uniformity, shall forfeit 20 l. Church. " Wonth to the Queen, being thereof lawfully " convict, and fuffer Imprisonment till paid. Those " that are absent for 12 Months shall, upon Certi-" ficate made thereof into the King's Bench, besides " their former Fine, be bound with two sufficient " Sureties in a Bond of 200 %. for their good Behaviour. Every School-Master that does not come to " Common Prayer shall forfeit 10 l. a Month, be dif-" abled from teaching School, and fuffer a Year's "Imprisonment." This was making Merchandize Fuller, of the Souls of Men (fays a Reverend Author) for B. IX. 'tis a fad Case, to fell Men a Licence to do that which p. 13t. the Receivers of their Money conceive to be unlawful. Besides, the Fine was unmerciful; by the Act of Uniformity it was 12 d. a Sunday for not coming to Church, but now 20 l. a Month; fo that the meaner People had nothing to expect but to rot in Pri-

fon; which made the Officers unwilling to apprehend B b 3

them.

Ducen them. Thus the Queen and her Parliament tacked Elizabeth, the Puritans to the Papists, and subjected them to the same Penal Laws, as if they had been equal Enemies to her Person and Government, and to the Protestant Religion. A Practice followed by several Parliaments in the succeeding Reigns.

The Convocation did nothing but present an humble Petition to the Queen, to take off the Archbishop's Sequestration, which her Majesty was not

pleased to grant.

visitation in London.

This Summer Aylmer Bishop of London held a Vifitation of his Clergy at the Convocation House of St. Paul's, and obliged them to subscribe the following Articles; 1. Exactly to keep to the Book of Common Prayer and Sacraments. 2. To wear the Surplice in all their Ministrations. 3. Not to add or diminish any Thing in reading Divine Service. He then made the following Enquiries, 1. Whether all that had Cure of Souls administer'd the Sacraments in Perfon? 2. Whether they observed the Ceremonies to be used in Baptism and Marriage? 3. Whether the Youth were catechifed? 4. Whether their Ministers read the Homilies? 5. Whether any of them called others that did not preach by ill Names, as Dumb Dogs? Those that did not subscribe and answer the Interrogatories to his Lordship's Satisfaction, were immediately suspended and silenced.

Brownists the Puritans to the Church, drove them further from it. Men that act upon Principles will not easily be beaten from them with the Artillery of Canons, In-

junctions, Subscriptions, Fines, Imprisonments, &c. much less will they be in love with a Church that fights with such Weapons. Multitudes were by these Methods carried off to a total Separation, and so far prejudic'd as not to allow the Church of England to be a true Church, nor her Ministers true Ministers; they renounced all Communion with her, not only in the Ceremonies, but in hearing the Word

and

and the Sacraments. These were the People called Queen BROWNISTS, from one Robert Brown, a Preacher Elizabech, in the Diocese of Norwich, descended of an ancient 1581. and honourable Family in Rutlandshire, and nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Cecil; he was educated in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and preached fometimes in Bennet Church, where the Vehemence of his Delivery gained him Reputation with the People. He was first a School-Master, then a Le- History of cturer at Islington; but being a fiery, hot-headed Robert young Man, he could not fettle, but went about the Brown. Countries inveighing against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, and exhorting the People by no means to comply with them. He was first taken Notice of by the Bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the Custody of the Sheriff of the County in the Year 1580. but upon acknowledgment of his Offence he was released. In the Year 1582, he published a Book called the Life and Manners of true Christians; to which is prefix'd, A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any; and of the Wickedness of those Preachers who will not reform themselves and their Charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them. For this he was fent for again into Custody, and upon Examination confessed himself the Author, but denied that he was acquainted with the Publication of the Book; whereupon he was difmiffed a fecond Time at the Intercession of the Lord Treasurer, and sent home to his Father with whom he continued 4 Years; after this he travell'd up and down the Countries in Company with his Affistant Richard Harrison, preaching against Bishops, Ceremonies, Ecclesiastical Courts, ordaining of Ministers, &c. for which, as he afterwards boasted, he had been committed to 32 Prisons, in fome of which he could not fee his Hand at Noon-At length he gathered a separate Congr gition of his own Principles; but the Queen and her Bishops watched them so narrowly, that they were B b 4 quickly

Queen

B. X.

p. 168.

quickly forced to leave the Kingdom. Several of his Elizabeth, Friends shipt off themselves and their Effects for Holland; and having obtained leave of the Magistrates to worship God in their own Way, settled at Middleburgh in Zealand. Here Mr. Brown formed a Church according to his own Model; but when this handful of People were deliver'd from the Bishops, their Oppressors, they crumbled into Parties among themfelves, infomuch that Brown being weary of his Office, return'd into England in the Year 1589. and having renounced his Principles of Separation, became Rector of A-Church in Northamptonshire: Here he lived an idle and diffolute Life (according to Fuller) far from that Sabbatarian strictness that his Followers aspired after. He had a Wife, with whom he did not live for many Years, and a Church in which he never preached; at length being poor and proud, and very paffionate, he struck the Constable of his Parish, for demanding a Rate of him; and being beloved by no body, the Officer fummon'd him before Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring Justice of Peace, who committed him to Northampton Gaol; the decripid old Man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a Feather-Bed in a Cart, where he fell fick and died, in the Year 1630. and 81st Year of his Age.

> The Revolt of Mr. Brown broke up his Congregation at Middleburgh, but was far from destroying the Seeds of Separation that he had fown in feveral Parts of England; his Followers encreased, and made a considerable Figure towards the latter End of this Reign; and because some of his Principles were adopted and improved by a confiderable Body of Puritans in the next Age, I shall here give an Ac-

count of them.

The BROWNISTS did not differ from the Principles of the Church of England in any Articles of Faith; but Brownists, were very rigid and narrow in Points of Discipline. They denied the Church of England to be a true Church,

Church, and her Ministers to be rightly ordained. Queen They maintained the Discipline of the Church of Elizabeth, England to be Popish and Antichristian, and all her Ordinances and Sacraments invalid. Hence they forbad their People to join with them in Prayer, in Hearing, or in any part of publick Worship; nay they not only renounced Communion with the Church of England, but with all other reformed Churches, except such as should be of their own Model.

They apprehended, according to Scripture, that every Church ought to be confined within the Limits of a fingle Congregation; and that the Government should be DEMOCRATICAL. When a Church was to be gathered, fuch as defired to be Members made a Contession of their Faith in the Presence of each other, and figned a COVENANT, obliging themselves to walk together in the Order of the Gospel, according to certain Rules and Agreements therein contained. The whole Power of admitting and excluding Members, with the deciding of all Controversies, was in the Brotherhood. Their Church Officers for preaching the Word, and taking Care of the Poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their feveral Offices by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of the Hands of some of the Brethren. They did not allow the Priestbood to be a distinct Order, or to give a Man an indelible Character; but as the Vote of the Brotherhood made him an Officer. and gave him Authority to preach and administer the Sacraments among them; fo the fame Power could discharge him from his Office, and reduce him to the State of a private Brother.

When the Number of Communicants was larger than could meet in one Place, the Church divided and chose new Officers from among themselves as before, living together as Sifter Churches, and giving each other the right Hand of Fellowship. One Church might not exercise Jurisdiction or Authority over another.

1581.

another, but each might give the other Counsel, Ad-Elizabeth, vice, or Admonition, if they walked diforderly, or abandoned the capital Truths of Religion; and if the offending Church did not receive the Admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publickly difown them as a Church of Christ. The Powers of their Church Officers were confined within the narrow Limits of their own Society; the Pastor of one Church might not administer the Sacrament of Baptism or the Lord's Supper, to any but those of his own Communion and their immediate Children. They declared against all prescribed Forms of Prayer. Any Lay-Brother had the liberty of Prophefying, or giving a Word of Exhortation in their Church Affemblies; and it was usual after Sermon, for some of the Brotherhood to ask Questions, and confer with each other upon the Doctrines that had been delivered; but as for Church Cenfures, they were for an entire Separation of the Ecclefiastical and Civil Sword. In short, every Church or Society of Christians meeting in one Place, was, according to the BROWNISTS, a Body corporate, having full Power within it felf to admit and exclude Members, to choose and ordain Officers; and when the Good of the Society required it, to depose them, without being accountable to Classes, Convocations, Synods, Councils, or any Jurisdiction whatsoever.

Some of their Reasons for withdrawing from the Reasons of their Sepa- Church are not easily answered: They alledg'd, That ration. the Laws of the Realm, and the Queen's Injunctions, had made feveral unwarrantable Additions to the Inflitutions of Christ. That there were several gross Errors in the Church Service. That these Additions and Errors were imposed and made necessary to Communion. That if Perfecution for Conscience fake was the Mark of a false Church, they could not believe the Church of England to be a true one. They apprehended further, that the Constitution of the Hierarchy was too bad to be mended; that the very

Pillars

Pillars of it were rotten, and that the Structure must be begun anew. Since therefore all Christians are Elizabeth, obliged to preferve the Ordinances of Christ pure and undefiled, they refolved to lay a new Foundation, and keep as near as they could to the primitive Pattern, though it were with the Hazard of all that was dear to them in the World.

Queen

This Scheme of the Brownists feems to be formed Remarks. upon the Practice of the Apostolical Churches before the Gifts of Inspiration and Prophecy were ceased, and is therefore hardly practicable in these latter Ages, wherein the Infirmities and Passions of private Church

Members too often take place of their Gifts and Gra-This exposed them to frequent Quarrels and Divisions; but their chief Crime was their Uncharitableness, in Unchurching the whole Christian World, and breaking off all manner of Communion in hearing the Word, in publick Prayer, and in the Adminiftration of the Sacraments, not only with the Church of England, but with all foreign Reformed Churches, which though less pure ought certainly to be owned as

Churches of Christ.

The Heads of the Brownists were Mr. Brown him-severities felf and his Companion Mr. Harrison, together with against Mr. Tyler, Copping, Thacker, and others, who were them. now in Prison for spreading his Books; the two last being afterwards put to Death for it. The Bishop of Norwich used them cruelly, and was highly displeafed with those that shewed them any Countenance. When the Prisoners above-mentioned, with Mr. Handson and some others, complained to the Justices at their Quarter Seffions, of their long and illegal Imprisonment, their Worships were pleased to move the Bishop in their Favour; with which his Lord-Strype's ship was so diffatisfied, that he drew up 12 Articles of An. p.21. Impeachment against the Justices themselves, and caufed them to be fummoned before the Queen and Council to answer for their Misdemeanors. In the Articles they are charged with countenancing Copping, Tyler,

Queen

Tyler, and other disorderly Clergymen. They are Elizabeth, accused of Contempt of his Lordship's Jurisdiction, in refusing to admit divers Ministers which he had ordained, because they were ignorant, and could only read; and for removing one Wood from his Living on the same Account. Sir Robert Jermin and Sir John Higham, Knights, and Robert Ashfield and Thomas Badley, Esquires, Gentlemen of Suffolk and Norfolk, and of the Number of the aforesaid Justices, gave in their Answer to the Bishop's Articles in the Name of the rest; in which, after afferting their own Conformity to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, they very justly tax his Lordship with Cruelty, in keeping Men fo many Years in Prison without bringing them to a Trial, according to Law; and are ashamed that a Bishop of the Church of England should be a Patron of Ignorance, and an Enemy to the Preaching the Word of God. Upon this the Justices were dismis-But though the Lord Treasurer, Lord North, Sir Robert Jermin and others, writ to the Bishop, that Mr. Handson who was a learned and useful Preacher, might have a Licence, the angry Prelate declared peremptorily, that he never should have one, unless he would acknowledge his fault, and enter into Bonds for his good Behaviour for the future.

Puritans received into Gentlemen's Families.

While the Bishops were driving the Puritans out of the Pulpits, the Nobility and Gentry received them into their Houses as Chaplains and Tutors to their Children; not meerly out of Compassion, but from a Sense of their real Worth and Usefulness; for they were Men of undiffembled Piety and Devotion; mighty in the Scriptures; zealous for the Protestant Religion; of exemplary Lives; far remote from the Liberties and fashionable Vices of the Times; and indefatigably diligent in instructing those committed to their Care. Here they were covered from their Oppressors; they preached in the Family and catechifed the Children; which without all question had a confiderable Influence upon the next Generation.

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The Papists were now very active all over the Queen Country; swarms of Jesuits came over from the Se-Elizabeth, minaries abroad, in defiance of the Laws, and spread, 1582. their Books of Devotion and Controversy among the Execution common People; they had their private Conventi- of Campicles almost in every Market Town in England; in on the gethe Northern Counties they were more numerous fuit and than the Protestants. This put the Government upon enquiring after their Priefts; many of whom were apprehended, and 3 were put to Death (viz.) Edmund Campion, a learned and fubtle Jesuit educated in Cambridge, where he continued till the Year 1569. when he travel'd to Rome, and enter'd himself into the Society of Jesus, 1573. Some Years after he came into England, and travel'd the Countries to propagate the Catholick Faith. Being apprehended he was put on the Rack to discover the Gentlemen that harboured him, and afterwards was hanged, drawn, and quarter'd, when he was but 41 Years of Age. other 2 that suffered with him were Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Bryant. These were executed for an Example, but the rest were spared because the Queen's Match with the Duke of Anjou was still depending. However, the Protestants in the Nether-Queen aflands being in Distress, the Queen affisted them with fifts fo-Men and Money, for which they delivered into her reign Pro-Majesty's Hands the most important Fortresses of their Country, which she garrison'd with English. She alfo fent Relief to the French Protestants, who were at war with their natural Prince; and ordered a Collection all over England for the Relief of the City of Geneva, befieged by the Duke of Savoy: All which was hardly confistent with her own Principles of Go-Vol. VIII. vernment; but as Rapin observes, Queen Elizabeth's P. 475. Zeal for the Protestant Religion was always subordinate to her private Interest.

About this Time the Queen granted a Commission of 1582. Concealments to some of her hungry Courtiers, by Commission which they were empowered to enquire into the of Conceal-

Titles

Queen 1582.

Titles of Church Lands and Livings; all Forfei-Elizabeth, tures, Concealments, or Lands for which the Parish could not produce a legal Title were given to them: The Articles of Enquiry feem to be levell'd against the Puritans, but through their Sides they must have made sad Havock with the Patrimony of

Strype's

the Church. They were fuch as thefe, What Right An. p. 114 have you to your Parsonage? How came you into it? Who ordained you? And at what Age were you ordained? Have you a Licence? Were you married under the Hands of two Justices of the Peace? Do you read the whole Service? Do you use all the Rites, Ceremonies and Ornaments appointed by the Queen's Injunctions? Have you publickly read the Articles and subscribed them? The Church Wardens of every Parish had also 24 Interrogatories minifter'd to them upon Oath, concerning their Parfon and their Church Lands; all with a Defign to fequester them into the Hands of the Queen's Gentlemen Penfioners. This awaken'd the Bishops, who fell upon their Knees before the Queen, and begg'd her Majesty, if she had any regard for the Church, to superfede the Commission; which she did, though it is well enough known, the Queen had no fcruple of Conscience about plundring the Church of its Revenues.

Ibid. p. 123. Mr. Wright's Sufferings.

To return to the Puritans; the Reverend Mr. Robert Wright, domestick Chaplain to the late Lord Rich, of Rochford in Essex, fell into the Hands of the Bishop of London last Year; he was a learned Man, and had lived 14 Years in the University of Cambridge; but being diffatisfied with Episcopal Ordination, went over to Antwerp, and was ordained by the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery of that Place. Upon his return home Lord Rich took him into his Family at Rochford in the Hundreds of Effex, where he preached constantly in his Lordship's Chapel, and no where else, because he could obtain no Licence from the Bishop. He was an admired Preacher, and univerfally beloved by the Clergy of the County for his

great

great Seriousness and Piety. While his Lordship Queen was alive he protected him from Danger, but his no- Elizabeth, ble Patron was no fooner dead but the Bishop of 1582. London laid Hands on him, and confined in the Gate-House, for faying, that to keep the Queen's Birth Day as an HOLIDAY was to make ber an Idol. the good Man had been shut up from his Family and Friends feveral Months, he petition'd the Bishop to be brought to his Trial, or admitted to Bail. But all the Answer his Lordship gave was, that be deferved to lie in Prison 7 Years. This Usage, together with Mr. Wright's open and undifguifed Honesty and Piety, mov'd the Compassion of his Keeper, in so much that his poor Wife being in Childbed and Diffress, he gave him leave with the private Allowance of the Secretary of State, to make her a Visit at Rochford upon his Parole; but it happen'd that Dr. Ford the Civilian meeting him upon the Road, acquainted the Bishop with his Escape, who thereupon fell into a violent Passion, and sending immediately for the Keeper, demanded his Prisoner. The Keeper pleaded the great Compassion of the Case; but the Bishop threaten'd to complain of him to the Queen, and have him turn'd out. Mr. Wright being informed of his Keeper's Danger, return'd immediately to his Prison, and writ to the Lord Treaferer on his behalf. "Oh! my Lord (fays he) I " most humbly crave your Lordship's Favour, that "I may be delivered from fuch unpitiful Minds; " and especially that your Lordship will stand a " good Lord to my Keeper, that he may not be dif-" couraged from favouring those that profess true " Religion." Upon this the Keeper was pardoned. But the Bishop resolved to take full Satisfaction of the Prisoner; accordingly he sent for him before the Commissioners, and examined him upon Articles concerning the Book of Common Prayer; concerning Rites and Ceremonies; concerning praying for the Queen

and the Church; and concerning the established Form

1582.

Queen of ordaining Ministers. He was charged with Elizabeth, preaching without a Licence; and with being no better than a mere Layman. To which he made the following Answers; That he thought the Book of Common Prayer, in the main, good and godly, but could not answer for every Particular. That as to Rites and Ceremonies, he thought his reforting to Churches where they were used, was a fufficient Proof that he allowed them. That he prayed for the Queen, and for all Ministers of God's Word, and confequently for Archbishops and Bishops, &c. That he was but a private Chaplain, and knew no Law that required a Licence for fuch a Place. But he could not yield himself to be a mere Layman, having preached 7 Years in the University with Licence; and fince that Time having been regularly ordained by the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbyters at Antwerp. The Bishop having charged him with faying, That the Election of Ministers ought to be by their Flocks, he own'd it, and supposed it not to be an Error; and added further, That in his Opinion, every Minister was a Bishop, though not a Lord Bishop; and that his Lordship of London must be of the same Opinion, because when he rebuked Mr. White for striking one of his Parishioners, he alleged that Text, That a Bishop must be no Striker: Which had been impertinent, if Mr. White, being only a Minister, had not been a Bishop. When his Lordship charged him with saying, There were no lawful Ministers in the Church of England, he replied, " I will be content to be con-" demned, if I bring not 200 Witnesses for my Dis-

Strype's Ann. Appendix,

" charge of this Accusation. I do as certainly believe, No 23,24. .. That there are lawful Ministers in England, as that there is a Sun in the Sky. In Effen I can bring 20 66 godly Ministers, all Preachers, who will testify

"that they love me, and have Caufe to think that I " love and reverence them. I preached 7 Years in

" the University of Cambridge with Approbation,

es and

" and have a Testimonial to produce under the Queen Hands and Seals of the Master and Fellows of Elizabeth,

" Christ College, being all Ministers at that Time, 1582.
" of my good Behaviour." But all he could fay His Ordi-

was to no purpose, the Bishop would not allow his nation de-Orders, and therefore pronounced him a Layman, nied.

and uncapable of holding any Living in the Church.

The Lord Rich and other honourable Knights and Gentlemen in Essex, had petition'd the Bishop of London for a Licence, that Mr. Wright might preach publickly in any Place within his Diocese; but his Lordship always refused it, because be was no Minifter, that is, had only been ordained among the foreign Churches. But this was certainly contrary to Law; for the Statute of 13 Eliz. cap. 12. admits the Ministrations of those who had only been ordained according to the manner of the Scots, or other foreign Churches: There were fome Scores, if not Hundreds of them now in the Church; and the Archbishop of Canterbury at this very Time commanded Dr. Aubrey, his Vicar General, to license Mr. John Morrison, a Scots Divine, who had had no other Ordination than what he received from a Scots Presbytery, to preach over his whole Province.

The Words of the Licence are as follow; "Since Presbyte-" you the foresaid John Morrison, about 5 Years rial Ordi-

past in the Town of Garret, in the County of Lo-nation adthian, of the Kingdom of Scotland, were admitted Abp. Grin-

" and ordained to facred Orders and the holy Mi-dal.

" nistry, by the Imposition of Hands, according to the L. of Grinlaudable Form and Rite of the reformed Church of dal, p.271.

" Scotland: And fince the Congregation of that

"County of Lothian is conformable to the Orthodox

"Faith, and fincere Religion now received in this Realm of England, and established by publick Au-

" thority: We therefore as much as lies in us,

" and as by Right we may, APPROVING AND RA-

" TIFYING THE FORM OF YOUR ORDINATION AND

66 PREFERMENT DONE IN SUCH MANNER AFORE-

said, grant unto you a Licence and Faculty, Queen Elizabeth, " with the Confent and express Command of the 1582. " most Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord ED-" MUND by the Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, to us fignified, That in such Orders by you taken, you may, and have Power in any convenient Places in and throughout the whole Province of " Canterbury, to celebrate Divine Offices, to minister " the Sacraments, &c. as much as in us lies; and we or may de jure, and as far as the Laws of the King-" dom do allow." This was dated April 6. 1582. and is as full a Testimonial to the Validity of Presbyterial Ordination as can be defired. But the other Notion was growing into Fashion; all Orders of Men are for affuming some peculiar Characters and Powers above their Neighbours; the Bishops will

Complaints mer's Severities.

be a distinct and superior Order from Priests, and no Man must be a Minister of Christ but on whom they lay their Hands. The Behaviour of the Bishop of London towards of Bp. Ayl- the Puritans moved the Compassion of some of the conforming Clergy; the Reverend Mr. Wilkin Rector of Danbury in Essex, in a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, writes thus, -- " As some might be "thought over earnest about Trifles, so on the " other hand, there had been too fevere and sharp " Punishment for the same. Though I my self 66 think reverently of the Book of Common Prayer, " yet furely it is a Reverence due only to the facred " Writings of Holy Scripture, to fay The Authors of them erred in nothing, and to none other Books of Men, " of what Learning foever. I have feen the Letters of the Bishops to Bullinger and Gualter, when I was at " Zurich in the Year 1567. in which they declare, "That they had no hand in passing the Book, and

had no other Choice, but to leave their Places to Papists, or accept them as they were; but

" they professed and promised never to urge their " Brethren to those Things; and also, when Op-" portunity " portunity should serve, to seek Reformation." But how different was the Practice of these Prelates Elizabeth from their former Professions!

But not only the Clergy, but the whole Coun-guffices of try exclaimed against the Bishop for his high Pro- the Peace ceedings; the Justices of Peace of the County Supplicawere fo moved, that notwithstanding his Lordship's tion. late Citation of them before the Council, they writ again to their Honours, praying them to interpose in behalf of the Injuries that were offered to divers godly Ministers. The Words of their Supplication are worth remembring, because they discover the Cruelty of the Commissioners, who made no Distinction between the vileft of Criminals and confcientions Mi-"The painful Ministers of the Word (fay Strype's "they) are marshall'd with the worst Malefactors, Ann. " presented, indicted, arraigned, and condemned, p. 184.

" for Matters, as we prefume, of very flender Moment: Some for leaving the Holidays unbidden;

" fome for finging the Pfalm Nunc Dimittis in the " Morning; some for turning the Questions in Bap-

" tism concerning Faith, from the Infants to the "God-fathers, which is but You for Thou; fome

" for leaving out the Cross in Baptism; some for lea-

" ving out the Ring in Marriage. A most pitiful "Thing it is, to see the Back of the Law turned to

" the Adversary [the Papists] and the Edge with

" all the Sharpness laid upon the found and true " hearted Subject -

" We grant Order to be the Rule of the Spirit of "God, and defire Uniformity in all the Duties of " the Church, according to the Proportion of Faith; " but if these weak Ceremonies are so indifferent, as

" to be left to the Discretion of Ministers, we think

" it (under Correction) very hard to have them go " under so hard handling, to the utter Discredit

of their whole Ministry, and the Profession of

" Truth."

Queen

We ferve her Majesty and the Country [as Ma-Elizabeth, " gistrates and Justices of Peace] according to Law; " we reverence the Law and Law-maker; when the

" Law speaks we keep silence; when it commandeth we obey. By Law we proceed against all Offen-

" ders; we touch none that the Law spareth, and

" fpare none that the Law toucheth; we allow not of Papists; of the Family of Love; of Anabaptists

" or Brownists. No, we punish all these.

" And yet we are christen'd with the odious Name of Puritans; a Term compounded of the Herefies

" above-mentioned, which we disclaim. The Pa-

" pifts pretend to be pure and immaculate; the Fa-" mily of Love cannot fin, they being deified (as they

" fay) in God. But we groan under the Burden of " our Sins, and confess them to God; and at the

" fame Time we labour to keep our felves and our " Profession unblameable; this is our Puritanism;

" a Name given to fuch Magistrates and Ministers,

" and others that have a strict Eye upon their

" jugling.

"We think our felves bound in Duty to unfold " these Matters to your Lordships, and if you shall

of please to call us to the Proof of them it is the Thing

" we most defire."

Effects of it.

This Supplication produced a Letter from the Council to the Judges of the Assizes. commanding them not to give Ear to malicious Informers against peaceful and faithful Ministers, nor to match them at the Bar with Rogues, Felons, or Papists, but to put a Difference in the Face of the World, between those of another Faith, and they who differ only about Ceremonies, and yet diligently and foundly preach true Religion. The Judges were struck with this Letter; and the Bishop of London with his Attendants returned from his Visitation full of Discontent. Indeed his Lordship had made himself so many Enemies, that he grew weary of his Bishoprick, and petition'd the Queen to exchange it for that of Ely, that that he might kindle a new Flame in those Parts; Elizabeth,

but her Majesty refused his Request.

Notwithstanding these little Appearances in fa-Mr. Copyour of the Puritans, two Ministers of the Brownist ping and Persuasion were condemned, and put to Death this Thacker, Summer for Non-Conformity, (viz.) Mr. Elias Thacker Ministers, executed. hanged at St. Edmundsbury, June 4th. and Mr. John Copping two Days after, June 6th. Their Indictment was for spreading certain Books feditiously penned by Robert Brown against the Book of Common Prayer, established by the Laws of this Realm. The Sedi-Strype's tion charged upon Brown's Book was, that it sub-An. p. 186. verted the Constitution of the Church, and acknowledged her Majesty's Supremacy Civilly, but not otherwise, as appears by the Report which the Judges fent to Court (viz.) That the Prisoners instead of acknowledging her Majesty's Supremacy in all Causes, would allow it only in Civil. This the Judges took hold of to aggravate their Offence to the Queen, after they had past Sentence upon them upon the late Statute of the 23d Eliz. against spreading feditious Libels, and for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. Mr. Copping had fuffered a long and illegal Imprisonment from the Bishop of his Diocese; his Wife being brought to Bed while he was under Confinement, he was charged with not fuffering his Child to be baptifed; to which he answered, that his Conscience could not admit it to be done with God-fathers and God-mothers, and he could get no Preacher to do it without. He was accused further with saying, The Queen was perjured, because she had sworn to fet forth God's Glory directly, as by the Scriptures are appointed, and did not; but these were only Circumstances to support the grand Charge of Sedition in spreading Brown's Book. However, it seemed a little hard to hang Men for spreading a seditious Book, at a Time when the Author of that very Book [Brown] was pardoned and fet at Liberty. Both Cc3

Queen the Prisoners died by their Principles; for though Elizabeth, Dr. Still the Archbishop's Chaplain, and others, tra1583. vail'd and conferr'd with them, yet at the very Hour Strype's of their Death they remained unmoveable: They An. p. 533. were both sound in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and of unblemish'd Lives. One Wilsford a Layman should have suffer'd with them, but upon Conference with Secretary Wilson, who told him the Queen's Supremacy might be understood only of her Majesty's Civil Power over Ecclesiastical Persons, he took the Oath and was discharged.

Low State
of Pradical Religion.

While the Bishops were thus harrassing honest and conscientious Ministers for scrupling the Ceremonies of the Church, practical Religion was at a very low Ebb; the fashionable Vices of the Time were, prophane Swearing, Drunkenness, Revelling, Gaming, and Prophanation of the Lord's Day; but there was no Discipline for these Offenders, nor do I find any such cited into the Spiritual Courts, or shut up in Prisons. If Men came to their Parish Churches, and approved of the Habits and Ceremonies, other Offences were overlook'd, and the Court was eafy. At Paris Gardens in Southwark there were publick Sports on the Lord's Day for the Entertainment of great Numbers of People that reforted thither; but on the 13th of January being Sunday, it happened that one of the Scaffolds being crouded with People fell down, by which Accident some were killed and a great many wounded. This was thought to be a Judgment from Heaven; for the Lord Mayor in the Account he gives of it to the Treasurer says, "That it gives great Occasion " to acknowledge the Hand of God for fuch Abuse " of his Sabbath Day, and moveth me in Conscience

Strype's
Ann.
p. 140.

"to give Order for Redress of such Contempt of God's Service; adding, that for this Purpose he had treated with some Justices of Peace in Surrey, who expressed a very good Zeal, but alledged

"want of Commission, which he referr'd to the Consideration of his Lordship," But the Court

paid

paid no regard to such Remonstrances; and the Queen Queen had her Ends in encouraging the Sports, Pa-Elizabeth, stimes and Revellings of the People on Sundays and 1583.

Holidays.

This Year died the famous Northern Apostle Mr. Death and Bernard Gilpin, Minister of Houghton in the Bishop-Character rick of Durham. He was born at Kentmire in West-of the Remorland, 1517. of an ancient and honourable Fa-Mr. Gilpin. mily, and was enter'd into Queen's College, Oxford, Biftop in the Year 1533. He continued a Papist all the Carleton's Reign of King Henry VIII. but was converted by the Life of Lectures of Peter Martyr, in the beginning of the Gilpin. Reign of Edward VI. He was remarkably honest, and open to Conviction, but did not separate from the Romish Communion till he was perswaded the Pope was Antichrist. Cuthbert Tonstal Bishop of Durbam, was his Uncle by the Mother's fide, by whose Encouragement he travell'd to Paris, Lovain, and others Parts, being still for the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, though not for Transubstantiation. Returning home in the Days of Queen Mary, his Uncle placed him first in the Rectory of Essingdon, and afterwards at Houghton, a large Parish containing 14 Villages; here he laboured in the Work of the Ministry, and was often exposed to Danger, but constantly preserved by his Uncle Bishop Tonstal, who was averse to burning Men for Religion. Miserable and heathenish was the Condition of these Northern Counties at this Time with respect to Religion! Mr. Gilpin beheld it with Tears of Compassion, and resolved at his own Expence to visit the desolate Churches of Northumberland, and the Parts adjoining, called Riddesdale and Tindale, once every Year to preach the Gospel, and distribute to the Necessities of the Poor, which he continued to his Death; this gained him the Veneration of all Ranks of People in those Parts; but though he had fuch a powerful Skreen as Bishop Tonstal, yet the Fame of his Doctrine, which was Lutheran, reaching Cc4

Queen the Ears of Bonner, he fent for him to London; the Elizabeth, Reverend Man ordered his Servant to prepare him a long Shirt, expecting to be burnt, but before he came to London Queen Mary died. Upon the Accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Gilpin having a fair Estate of his own, erected a Grammar School, and allowed Maintenance for a Master and Usher; himfelf choosing out of the School such as he liked best for his own private Instruction. Many learned Men who afterwards adorned the Church by their Labours and Uprightness of Life, were educated by him in his domestick Academy. Many Gentlemens Sons reforted to him, some of whom were boarded in the Town, and others in his own House; besides, he took many poor Mens Sons under his Care, giving

them Meat, Drink, Cloths and Education.

In the Year 1560, he was offered the Bishoprick of Carlifle, and was urged to accept it by the Earl of Bedford, Bishop Sandys, and others, with the most powerful Motives; but he defired to be excused, and in that Resolution remained unmoveable: His Reasons were taken from the Largeness of the Dioceses, which were too great for the Inspection of one Person; for he was so strongly possessed of the Duty of Bishops, and of the Charge of Souls that was committed to them, that he could never be perswaded to keep two Livings, over both of which he could not have a personal Inspection, and persorm all the Offices of a Pastor; he added farther, that he had so many Friends and Relations in those Parts to gratify or connive at, that he could not continue an honest Man and be their Bishop. But though Mr. Gilpin would not be a Bishop, he supplied the Place of one, by Preaching, by Hospitality, by erecting Schools, by taking Care of the Poor, and providing for deftitute Churches; in all which he was countenanced and encouraged by the Learned and Reverend James Pilkington, then Bishop of Durbam, by whom he was excused from Subscriptions, Habits, and a strict Observance

vance of Ceremonies, it being his fixed Opinion, that no Human Invention should take Place in the Church, in- Elizabeth, stead of a Divine Institution. After Bishop Pilkington's Death Dr. Barnes was chosen his Successor, who was disgusted at Mr. Gilpin's Popularity, and gave him Trouble: Once when he was fetting out upon his annual Visitation to Riddesdale and Tindale, the Bishop fummoned him to preach before him, which he excufed in the handsomest manner he could, and went his Progress; but upon his return he found himself suspended for Contempt, from all Ecclesiastical Employments. The Bishop afterwards sent for him again on a fudden, and commanded him to preach, but then he pleaded his Sufpension, and his not being provided; the Bishop immediately took off his Suspension, and would not excuse his Preaching, upon which he went into the Pulpit, and discoursed upon the high Charge of a Christian Bishop; and having exposed the Corruptions of the Clergy, he boldly addressed himself to his Lordship in these Words; "Let not your Lord-" ship fay, these Crimes have been committed without my Knowledge, for whatfoever you your felf " do in Person, or suffer through your Connivance " to be done by others, is wholly your own; there-" fore in the Presence of God, Angels and Men, I " pronounce your Fatherhood to be the Author of " all these Evils; and I and this whole Congrega-"tion will be a Witness in the Day of Judgment, " that these Things have come to your Ears." All Men thought the Bishop would have deprived Mr. Gilpin for this Freedom, as foon as he came out of the Pulpit, but by the good Providence of God it had a quite different Effect, the Bishop thanked him for his faithful Reproof; and after this fuffered him to go on with his annual Progress, giving him no further Disturbance. At length his lean Body being quite worn out with Labour and Travail, and feeling the Approaches of Death, he commanded the Poor to be called together, and took a folemn Leave of them;

Dueen

them; afterwards he did the like by his Relations Blizabeth, and Friends; then giving himself up to God, he took his Bed about the End of February, and died March 4. 1582. in the 66th Year of his Age. He was a heavenly Man, endued with a large and generous Soul, of a tall Stature of Body with a Roman Nofe; his Clothes were neat and plain; for he was always frugal in his own Dress though very bountiful to others. His Doors were always open for the Entertainment of Strangers. He boarded in his own House 24 Scholars, most of whom were upon Charity. He kept a Table for the Poor every Lord's Day, from Michaelmas to Easter, and expended 500 Pounds for a Free School for their Children. Upon the whole, he was a pious, devout, and open hearted Divine; a conscientious Non-Conformist, but against Separation. He was accounted a Saint by his very Enemies, if he had any fuch, being full of Faith and good Works; and was at last put into his Grave as a Shock of Corn fully ripe.

Death of

The same Year died EDMUND GRINDAL, Abp. Grin-Archbishop of Canterbury, born at Copland in the County of Cumberland in the Year 1519. and educated in Cambridge. He was a famous Preacher in King Edward's Days, and was nominated by him to a Bishoprick, when he was but 33 Years of Age; but that King dying foon after he went into Exile, and imbibed the Principles of a further Reformation than had as yet obtained in England, Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession he returned to England, and was advanced first to the See of London, and then to York and Canterbury, though he could hardly perfuade himself for some Time to wear the Habits and Grindal's comply with the Ceremonies of the Church; nor did he ever heartily approve them, but thought it better to support the Reformation on that foot, than hazard it back into the Hands of the Papists. He was of a mild and moderate Temper, easy of Access, and affable even in his highest Exaltation. He is

Life, p. 235.

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blamed by some for his gentle Usage of the Puritans, though he used them worse than he would have done Elizabeth, if he had been left to himself. About a Year or two. after his Exaltation to the See of Canterbury he lost the Queen's Favour on the Account of the Prophelyings, and was suspended for some Years, during which Time many Puritan Ministers took shelter in the Counties. of Kent and Surrey, &c. which made more work for The good old Archbishop being blind his Successor. and broken-hearted, the Queen took off his Sequestration about a Year before his Death, and fent to acquaint him, That if he would refign he should have her Favour and an honourable Pension; which he promised to accept within 6 Months; but Whitgift who was defigned for his Succeffor, refufing to enter upon the See while Grindal lived, he made a shift to hold it till his Death, which happen'd July 6th, 1583. in the 63d Year of his Age. Camden calls him a religious and grave Divine. Holling shead fays he was fo studious, that his Book was his Bride, and his Study his Bride-Chamber, in which he spent his Eye-sight, his Strength and his Health. He was certainly a learned and venerable Prelate, and had a high Esteem for the Name and Doctrines of Calvin, with whom, and with the German Divines, he held a constant Corre-His high Stations did not make him spondence. proud; but if we may believe his Successor in the Strype's See of York, Archbishop Sandys, he must be tainted Ann. with Avarice (as most of the Queen's Bishops were) be-Vol. ult. cause within 2 Months after he was translated to Can-Suppl.p.24 terbury, he gave to his Kinfmen and Servants, and fold for round Sums of Money to himself, fix score Leases and Patents, even then when they were thought not to be good in Law. But upon the whole, he was one of the best of Queen Elizabeth's Bishops. He lies buried in the Chancel of Croydon Church, where his Effigies is to be seen at length in his Doctor's Robes, and in a praying Posture.

## CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Archbishop GRINDAL, to the Spanish Invasion in 1588.

Elizabeth, UPON the Death of GRINDAL, Dr. JOHN WHITGIFT Bishop of Worcester, was tran-1583. flated to the See of Canterbury, and confirmed Sept. Whitgift 23d. 1583. He had diftinguished himself in the Archbishop. Controversy against the Puritans, and was therefore thought the most proper Person to reduce their Numbers. Upon his Advancement the Queen charged him "To restore the Discipline of the Church, " and the Uniformity established by Law, which " (fays her Majesty) through the Connivance of " fome Prelates, the Obstinacy of the Puritans, " and the Power of some Noblemen, is run out " of fquare." Accordingly the very first Week his Grace published the following Articles, and fent them to the Bishops of his Province, for their Direction in the Government of their feveral Diocefes.

His Arti- Art. 1. "That all preaching, catechifing, and cles. "praying in any private Family, where any are Lof Whit-" present besides the Family, be utterly extingift, p. 118. "guished.

2. " That none do preach or catechize except al-" fo he will read the whole Service, and administer

" the Sacraments four Times a Year.

3. " That all Preachers, and others in Ecclefiasti-

" cal Orders, do at all Times wear the Habits pre-

" fcribed.

4. "That none be admitted to preach unless he be ordained according to the Manner of the Church

4 of England.

5. "That none be admitted to preach, or execute Queen any part of the Ecclefiastical Function, unless he Elizabeth, fubscribe the three following Articles.

First, "To the Queen's SUPREMACY over all Perfons, and in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil within

" ber Majesty's Dominions.

Secondly, "To the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that they will use it in all their publick Ministrations and no other.

Thirdly, "To the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church" of England, agreed upon in the Synod of 1562. and afterwards confirmed by Parliament." And with what Severity his Grace enforced these Articles will

be feen prefently.

'Tis easy to observe, that they were all levell'd at Examinathe Puritans; but the most disinterested Civil Law-tion into yers of these Times were of Opinion, that his Grace his Power had no legal Authority to impose those, or any other them. Articles upon the Clergy without the Broad Seal; and that all his Proceedings upon them were an Abuse of the Royal Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and consequently so many Acts of Oppression upon the Subjects. Their Reasons were;

1. Because the Statute of the 25th Henry VIIIth, M. S. Chap. 20. expresly prohibits "the whole Body of the p. 429.

"Clergy, or any one of them, to put in Use any

" Constitutions, or Canons already made, or here-

" after to be made, except they be made in Convo-

" cation affembled by the King's Writ, his Royal

"Affent being also had thereunto, on pain of Fine

" and Imprisonment.

2. Because by the Statute of first Eliz. cap. 3. "All

" fuch Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, Pre-

" eminencies, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power and "Authority, which hath heretofore been, or may

" lawfully be executed or used for the Visitation of

" the

Queen "the Ecclefiastical State and Persons, and for Re-Elizabeth," formation of the same, and of all Manner of Er-

- " rors, Herefies, Schisms, Abuses, Contempts, and Enormities, are for ever united to the Imperial "Crown of these Realms." From whence it follows, that all Power is taken from the Bishops, except that of governing their Dioceses according to the Laws of the Land, or according to any further Injunctions they may receive from the Crown under the Broad Seal.
  - 3. Because some of the Archbishop's Articles were directly contrary to the Statute Laws of the Realm, which the Queen her felf has not Power to alter or dispense with. By the 13 Eliz. Chap. 12. the Subscription of the Clergy is limited to those Articles of the Church which relate to the Doctrines of Faith, and Administration of the Sacraments ONLY; whereas the Bishop enjoined them to subscribe the whole Thirty nine. And by the Preamble of the same Statute, all Ordinations in the Times of Popery, or after the Manner of foreign Reformed Churches, are admitted to be valid, fo that fuch may enjoy any Ecclefiaftical Preferment in the Church: But the Archbishop says [Artic. 4th.] That none shall be admitted to preach, unless be be ordained according to the Manner of the Church of England. Upon these Accounts, if the Queen had fallen out with him, he might have been found guilty of a Præmunire.

To these Arguments it was reply'd by his Grace's

Lawyers.

1. That by the Canon Law the Archbishop has Power to make Laws for the well Government of the Church, so far as they do not encounter the Peace of the Church, and Quietness of the Realm. To which it was answered, this might be true in Times of Popery, but the Case was very much alter'd by the Reformation, because now the Archbishops and Bishops Authority is derived from the Person of the Queen only; for the late Queen Mary having surrender'd back all Ecclesiasti-

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cal Jurisdiction into the Hands of the Pope, the pre-Queen fent Queen upon her Accession, had no Jurisdiction Elizabeth, refident in her Person till the Statute of Recognition, primo Eliz. by which the Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm, being exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Pope are made subject to the Queen, to govern her People in Ecclesiastical Causes, as her other Subjects govern the same (according to their Places) in M. S. Civil Causes; so that the Clergy are no more to be p. 661. called the Archbishops or Bishops Children, but the Queen's liege People, and are to be governed by them according to the Laws, which Laws are such Canons, Constitutions, and Synodals Provincial, as were in force before 25 Hen. VIII. and are not contrary, nor repugnant to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, nor derogatory to her Majesty's Prerogative Royal; and therefore all Canons made before 25 Hen. VIII. giving to the Archbishops or Bishops an unlimited Power over the Clergy, as derived from the See of Rome, are utterly void, because such Canons are directly against the Laws and Customs of the Realm, which do not admit of any Subject executing a Law but by Authority from the Prince; and they are derogatory to her Majesty's Prerogative Royal, because hereby fome of her Subjects might claim an unlimited Power over her other Subjects, independent from the Crown, and by their private Authority command or forbid what they please. Since then the Archbishop's Articles were framed by his own private Authority, they cannot be justified by any of the Canons now in force. And as for the Peace of the Church and Quiet of the Realm, they were so far from promoting them, that they were like to throw both into Confusion.

2. It was faid that the Queen as Head of the Church had Power to publish Articles and Injunctions for reducing the Clergy to Uniformity; and that the Archbishop had the Queen's Licence and Consent for what he did. But the Queen her self had no Authority to publish Ar-

ticles

ticles and Injunctions in defiance of the Laws; and Elizabeth, as for her Majesty's Permission and Consent, it could be no Warrant to the Archbishop, except it had been under the Great Seal. And if the Archbishop had no legal Authority to command, the Clergy were not obliged to obey; the Oath of Canonical Obedience does not bind in this Case, because 'tis limited to Licitis & Honestis, Things lawful and honest; whereas the present Articles were against Law, they were enforced by no legal Authority, and were fuch as the Ministers could not bonestly consent to.

Abp's pritation.

But notwithstanding these Objections, the Archmary Vist- bishop in his primary metropolitical Visitation insisted peremptorily, that all who enjoyed any Office or Benefice in the Church, should subscribe the three Articles above-mentioned; the fecond of which he knew the Puritans would refuse: Accordingly there were suspended for not subscribing;

Minist. In the County of Norfolk --- 64 Numbers Suspended. In all 233

All whose Names are now before me; besides great M. S. Numbers in the Diocese of Peterborough, in the City p. 436. of London, and proportionable in other Counties; fome of whom were Dignitaries in the Church, and most of them Graduates in the University; of these fome were allowed Time, but 49 were absolutely deprived at once.

Among the suspended Ministers his Grace shewed some particular Favour to those of Suffex, at the

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Intercession of some great Persons; for after a long Queen Dispute and many Arguments before himself at Elizabeth, Lambeth, he accepted of the Subscription of six or seven, with their own Explication of the Rubricks, and with a Declaration that their Subscription was not to be understood in any other Sense, than as far M. S. as the Books were agreeable to the Word of God, and to P. 323; the Substance of Religion established in the Church of England, and to the Analogy of Faith; and that it did not extend to any Thing not expressed in the said Books. Of all which the Archbishop allowed them an authentick Copy in writing, dated December 6th. 1583. and ordered his Chancellor to send Letters to Chichester, that the rest of the suspended Ministers in that County might be indulged the same Favour.

Many good and pious Men strained their Conscientibles of this Occasion; some subscribed the Articles Hardsips, with this Protestation in open Court, As far as they are agreeable to the Word of God; and others dempto secundo, that is, taking away the second. Many upon better Consideration repented their subscribing in this Manner, and would have rased out their Names, but it was not permitted. Some that were allured to Fenner's subscribe, with the Promises of Favour and better Answer to Preferment, were neglected and forgotten, and trouges, p. 119, bled in the Commissaries Court as much as before. 120. The Court took no Notice of their Protestations or Reserves; they wanted nothing but their Hands, and when they had got them they were all listed under the same Colours, and published to the World as ab-

The Body of the inferior Clergy wished and pray-Motives for ed for some Amendments in the Service Book to Amendmake their Brethren easy. "I am sure (says a the Service is learned Divine of these Times) that this Good Book,

" would come of it, (1.) It would please Almighty
God. (2.) The learned Ministers would be more
firmly united against the Papists. (3.) The good

"Ministers and good Subjects, whereof many are

" now at Weeping Cross would be cheared; and Elizabeth, " many able Students encouraged to take upon them " the Ministry. And, (4.) Hereby the Papists, and " more careless Sort of Professors, would be more

eafily won to Religion. If any object, that excel-" lent Men were Publishers of the Book of PRAYER.

and that it would be some Disgrace to the Church " to alter it. I answer, (1.) That though worthy

" Men are to be accounted of, yet their Oversights

in Matters of Religion are not to be honoured by " Subscription. (2.) The Reformation of the Service

" Book can be no Difgrace to us nor them, for Mens

" fecond Thoughts are wifer than their first; and the

" Papists in the late Times of Pius V. reformed our " Lady's Pfalter. To conclude, If Amendments to

the Book be inconvenient, it must be either in

" regard of Protestants or Papists; it cannot be in " regard of Protestants, for very great Numbers of

"them pray heartily to God for it. And if it be in re-" gard of the Papifts, we are not to mind them; for

" they whose Captains say, that we have neither

" Church, nor Sacraments, nor Ministers, nor

"Queen in England, are not greatly to be regarded

" of us."

fons for Subscription.

M. S. p. 156.

Abp's Rea- But Whitgift was influenced by none of these Arguments; he was against all Alterations in the Liturgy, for this general Reason, Lest the Church should be thought to have maintained an Error: Which is furprizing to come from the Mouth of a Protestant Bishop, who had so lately feparated from the infallible Church of Rome. His Grace's Arguments for Subfcription to his Articles are no less remarkable. If you do not subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer, you do in effect fay there is no true Service of God, nor Administration of Sacraments in the Land. If you do not subscribe the Book of Ordination of Priests, Whitgift, &c. then our Calling must be unlawful, and we have

Life of P. 125. no true Ministry, nor Church in England. (3.) If

> you do not subscribe the Book of the Thirty nine Articles, ee you

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you deny true Doctrine to be established among us, Could an Elizabeth, which is the main Note of a true Church. honest Man, and a great Scholar be in earnest with this Reasoning? Might not the Puritans dislike some Things in the Service Book without invalidating the whole? Did not bis Grace know, that they offered to fubscribe to the Use of the Service Book, as far as they could apprehend it consonant to Truth, though they could not give it under their Hands, that there was nothing in it contrary to the Word of God, nor promise to use the whole without the least Variation in their publick Ministry? But according to the Archbishop's Logick, the Church must be infallible or no Church at all. The Liturgy must be perfect in every Phrase and Sentence, or 'tis no true Service of God; and every Article of the Church must be agreeable to Scripture, or they contain no true Doctrine at all. He told the Ministers, that all that did not subscribe his Articles were Schifmaticks; that they had separated themselves from the Church; and declared peremptorily, that they should be turned out of it.

This Conduct of the Archbishop was exposed in a Life of Pamphlet, entitled the Practice of Prelates; which Whitgife, fays, That none ever used good Ministers so severely P. 122. fince the Reformation as he; that his fevere Proceedings were against the Judgment of many of his Brethren the Bishops, and that the Devil the common Enemy of Mankind, had certainly a Hand in it. For who of the Ministers (fays he) have been tumultuous or unpeaceable? Have they not striven for Peace in their Ministry, in their Writings, and by their Example; and fought for their Discipline only by lawful and dutiful Means? Why then should the Archbishop tyrannize over his fellow Ministers, and starve many Thousand Souls, by depriving all that refuse Subscription? Why should he lay such Stress upon popish Opinions, and upon an Hierarchy that never obtained till the Approach of Antichrist?

Loud

Loud were the Cries of these poor Sufferers and Queen Elizabeth, their distressed Families to Heaven for Mercy, as well as to their Superiors on Earth! Their Temptacompassions were strong, for as Men they were moved with onate Case Compassion for their Wives and little Ones; and as of the Non-faithful Ministers of Chrift they were defirous to be Subferiuseful, and to preferve the Testimony of a good Conscibers. ence. Some through Frailty were overcome and fubmitted, but most of them cast themselves and Families upon the Providence of God; having writ to the Queen, to the Archbishop, and to the Lords of the Council; and after fome Time to the Parliament, for a friendly Conference, or a publick Disputation, when and where, and before whom they pleased; but without Success.

1584: plications to the Council.

M. S. p. 328,

The Supplication of the Norfolk Ministers to the Their sup-Lords of the Council, fign'd with 20 Hands; the Supplication of the Lincolnshire Ministers with 21 Hands; the Supplication of the Essex Ministers with 27 Hands; the Supplication of the Oxfordshire Minifters with - Hands; the Supplication of the Mi-330, &c. nisters of Kent with 17 Hands, are now before me; besides the Supplication of the London Ministers, and of those of the Diocese of Ely and Cambridgeshire; representing in most moving Language their unhappy Circumstances, "We commend, fay they, to your " Honours Compassion our poor Families, but much more do we commend our doubtful, fearful, and difreffed Consciences, together with the Cries of our poor People, who are hungring after the Word, and are now as Sheep having no Shepherd. We " have applied to the Archbishop but can get no « Relief, we therefore humbly beg it at your Ho-They declare their Readi-" nours Hands — " ness to subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church, according to the Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 12. and to the other Articles, as far as they are not repugnant to the Word of God. And they promise further, If they may be dispensed with as to Subscription, that they

they will make no Disturbance in the Church, nor Queen

separate from it.

Elizabeth,

The Kentish Ministers in their Supplication to the, Lords of the Council, professed their Reverence for the Established Church, and their Esteem for the Book of Common Prayer, so far as that they saw no Necessity of separating from the Unity of the Church on that Account: That they believed the Word preached, and the Sacraments administer'd according to Authority, touching the Substance, to be lawful. They promifed to shew themselves obedient to the Queen in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil; but then they added, that there were many Things that M. S. needed Reformation, which therefore they could not bo-P- 326. nestly set their Hands to. They conclude with praying for Indulgence, and subscribe themselves Their Honours daily and faithful Orators, the Ministers of Kent suspended from the Execution of their Ministry.

The London Ministers applied to the Convocation, Petition of and 15 of them offered to subscribe to the Queen's London Supremacy, to the Use of the Common Prayer Book, Ministers and to the Doctrinal Articles of the Church if they tion. might be restor'd; but then add, "We dare not say

" there is nothing in the three Books repugnant to the Word

" of God till we are otherwise enlightened; and there" fore humbly pray our Brethren in Convocation,
" to be a Magne to the Ousen and Parliament, that

" to be a Means to the Queen and Parliament, that we may not be pressed to an absolute Subscription,

" but be suffered to go on in the quiet Discharge of the Duties of our Calling, as we have done here-

" tofore, to the Honour of Almighty God, and the " Edification of his Church. We protest before

"God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, that if by any

"Means, by doing that which is not wicked, we might continue still our Labours in the Gospel, we

"would gladly and willingly do any Thing that

" might procure that Bleffing, esteeming it more

" than all the Riches in the World; but if we cannot be suffered to continue in our Places and Cal-

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" lings,

" lings, we befeech the Lord to shew greater Mer-Queen Elizabeth, " cy to those by whom this Affliction shall be 1584. " brought upon us, and upon the People committed " to our Charge, for whom we will not cease to M. S. or pray, that the good Work which the Lord has bep. 595, 623. " gun by our Labours may still be advanced, to " that Day when the Lord shall give them and us "Comfort one in another, and in his Presence ever-" lafting Happiness and eternal Glory." This Petition was presented to the Convocation in the first Seffions of the next Parliament, in the Name of the Ministers of London that had refused to subscribe the Articles lately enforced upon them; with an humble Request to have their Doubts satisfied by Conference, or any other way.

Mr. Bar-Spended. M. S. p. 460, \$68, &c.

Among the fuspended Ministers of London was the ber, Field learned and virtuous Mr. Barber, who preach'd 4 and Eger-Times a Week at Bow Church: His Parishioners to the Number of 120, figned a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen for his Release, but that Court could not obtain it. March 4th the learned Mr. Field and Mr. Egerton were suspended. Mr. Field had been often in Bonds for Non-Conformity; he was Minister of Aldermary, and had admitted an Asfembly of Ministers at his House, among whom were fome Scots Divines, who being disaffected to the Hierarchy, the Affembly was declared an unlawful Conventicle, and Mr. Field was suspended from his Miniftry for entertaining them; but the rest were deprived for not fubscribing.

Petitions of Gentlemen and Pari-Bioners for their M nifters.

Many Gentlemen of Reputation both in City and Country appeared for the suspended Ministers, as well out of Regard to their poor Families, as for the fake of Religion, it being impossible to fill up so many Vacancies as were made in the Church upon this Occasion. The Gentlemen of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Kent, interceded with the Archbishop, alleging that it was very hard to deal with Men fo feverely for a few Rites and Ceremonies, when they were neither

Here-

Hereticks nor Schismaticks, and when the Country wanted their useful Preaching. The Parishioners of Elizabeth, the several Places from whence the Ministers were ejected, figned Petitions to the Lord Treasurer, and others of the Queen's Council, befeeching them in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that their Ministers being of an upright and holy Conversation, and diligent M. S. Preachers of the Word of God might be restored, P. 457. or otherwise (their Livings being but of small Value) their Souls would be in danger of perishing for lack of Knowledge.

The Inhabitants of Malden in Effex fent up a Com-Effex

plaint to the Council, "That fince their Ministers Petition. had been taken from them for not subscribing to cer-" tain Articles neither confirmed by the Law of God, " nor of the Land; they had none left but fuch as " they could prove unfit for that Office, being al-" together ignorant, having been either popish Priests or shiftless Men, thrust in upon the Ministry when " they knew not else how to live; Men of Occupa-" tion, ferving Men, and the basest of all Sorts; " and which is most lamentable, as they are Men of " no Gifts, fo they are of no common Honesty, but " Rioters, Dicers, Drunkards, &c. and of offensive Lives. "These are the Men (say they) that are support-" ed, whose Reports and Suggestions against others " are readily received and admitted; by reason of " which Multitudes of Papists, Hereticks, and other " Enemies to God and the Queen are encreased, and " we our felves in danger of being infulted. We " therefore humbly befeech your Honours in the " Bowels of Jesus Christ, to be a Means of restoring " our godly and faithful Ministers; so shall we and " many Thousands of her Majesty's Subjects, continue our daily Supplications to Almighty God, ₩ E3c.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of Norwich, figned Norwich with 176 Hands, and many Letters and Supplica-Petition. tions from the most populous Towns in England, to D d 4 the

the same purpose are now before me. But these Queen Elizabeth, Appeals of the Puritans and their Friends did them 1584 no Service; for the watchful Archbishop, whose Eyes were about him, writ to the Council to put them in mind, " That the Cause of the Puritans did " not lie before them: That he wonder'd at the " Presumption of the Ministers, to bring his Doings " in question before their Lordships; and at their " proud Spirit, to dare to offer to dispute before so " great a Body against the Religion established by "Law, and against a Book so painfully penned, and

" confirmed by the highest Authority." He then adds, "That it was not for him to fit in his Place, Abp's Reagainst them.

Life of Whitgift, p. 128.

monstrance ce if every Curate in his Diocese must dispute with " him; nor could he do his Duty to the Queen, if " he might not proceed without Interruption; but " if they would help him he should soon bring them " to comply." As to the Gentlemen that petitioned for their Ministers, he told them to their Faces, That he would not suffer their factious Ministers, unless they would subscribe: That no Church ought to fuffer its laudable Rites to be neglected: That tho' the Ministers were not Hereticks, they were Schismaticks, because they raised a Contention in the Church about Things not necessary to Salvation. And as for lack of Preaching, if the Gentlemen or Parishioners would let him dispose of their Livings, he would take care to provide them with able Men. Thus this great Prelate, who had complied with the popish Religion, and kept his Place in the University throughout all the Reign of Queen Mary, was resolved to bear down all Opposition, and to display his fovereign Power against all whose Consciences were not as flexible as his own.

But not content with his Episcopal Jurisdiction, his He petitions the Grace solicited the Queen for a new Ecclesiasti-Queen for anewEccl, CAL COMMISSION, and gave her Majesty these Commission weighty Reasons for it, among others., (1.) Because the Puritans contemn the Ecclefiastical Censures.

(2.) Be-

(2.) Because the Commission may order a Search for great seditious Books, and examine the Writers or Publish-Elizabeth, ers upon Oath, which a Bishop cannot. (3.) Because the Ecclesiastical Commission can punish by Fines, which L. of Whitare very commodious to the Government; or by gist, p. 134. Imprisonment, which will strike more Terror into the Puritans. (4.) Because a notorious Fault cannot be notoriously punished but by the Commission. (5.) Because the whole Ecclesiastical Law is but a Carcase without a Soul, unless it be quicken'd by the Commission.

The Queen, who was already disposed to Methods of Queen Severity, easily gave way to the Archbishop's Argu-grants it. ments, and ordered a new High Commission to be drawn up, which she put the Great Seal to, in the Month of December, 1583. and the 26th Year of her Reign. There had been five High Commissions before this, in most of which the Powers of the Commissioners had been enlarged; but forasmuch as the Court was now almost at its height, I will give the Reader an Abstract of their Commission from an attested Copy, under the Hand and Seal of Abrahamus Hartwell, Notarius Publicus, at the special Request and Command of the Archbishop himself, dated Ja-

nuary 7th, 1581.

The Preamble recites the Act of the first of the Queen, commonly called the Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction of the State Ecclesiastical and Civil, and the abolishing all foreign Power repugnant to the same: And another of the same Year, For Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service of the Church and Administration of the Sacraments: And a third of the 5th of the Queen, entitled An Act of Assurance of the Queen's Powers over all States, &c. And a fourth of the 13 Eliz. entitled An Act for reforming certain Disorders touching Ministers of the Church: As the Foundation of her Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Power. Her Majesty then names 44 Commissioners, whereof 12 were Bishops; some were Privy Counsellors, Lawyers, and

Officers of State, as Sir Francis Knollys Treasurer of the Elizabeth, Houshold, Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary of State, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Ralph Sadleir Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, Sir Gilbert Gerard Master of the Rolls, Sir Robert Manhood Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Owen Hopton Lieutenant of the Tower of London, John Popham, Esq; Attorney General, Thomas Egerton, Esq; Solicitor General; the rest were Deans, Archdeacons and Civilians. Her Majesty then pro-

ceeds; WE earnestly minding to have the above-Copy of the cc Commi fion cc mentioned Laws put in Execution, and or putting special Trust and Confidence in your Wisdoms and Discretions, have authorized and appoint-" ed you to be our Commissioners; and do give full " Power and Authority to you, or three of you, " whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury, or one of the "Bishops mentioned in the Commission, or Sir " Francis Walfingham, Sir Gilbert Gerard, or some of the Civilians to be one, to enquire from Time to "Time during our Pleasure, as well by the Oaths of 12 good and lawful Men, as also by Witnesses, " and all other Means and Ways you can devise; of all " Offences, Contempts, Misdemeanors, &c. done and committed contrary to the Tenor of the faid " feveral Acts and Statutes; and also to enquire of all beretical Opinions, seditious Books, Contempts, Con-" spiracies, false Rumours or Talks, slanderous Words " and Sayings, &c. contrary to the aforesaid Laws, " or any others ordained for the Maintenance of Re-" ligion in this Realm, together with their Abettors,

"And further, we do give full Power to you, or any three of you, whereof the Archbishop of Canter-

" Counfellors, or Coadjutors.

" bury, or one of the Bishops mentioned in the Com" mission to be one, to hear and determine concern" ing the Premises, and to order covered reform

" ing the Premises, and to order, correct, reform,

"and punish all Persons dwelling in Places exempt or not exempt, that wilfully and obstinately absent Elizabeth, from Church, or Divine Service established by Law, by the Censures of the Church, or any other lawful Ways and Means, by the Act of Uniformity, or any Laws Ecclesiastical of this. Realm limited and appointed; and to take Order, of your Discretions, that the Penalties and Forseitures limited by the said Act of Uniformity against the Offenders in that behalf may be duly levied, according to the Forms prescribed in the said Act, to the Use of us and the Poor, upon the Goods Lands and Tenements of such Offenders, by way of Distress, according to the true Meaning and Limitation of the Statute.

"And we do further empower you, or any three of you, during our Pleasure, to visit and reform all Errors, Herefies, Schisms, &c. which may lawfully be reformed or restrained by Censures Eccelesiastical, Deprivation or otherwise, according to the Power and Authority limited and appointed by the Laws, Ordinances and Statutes of this Realm.

"And we do hereby further empower you, or any three of you, to call before you fuch Persons as have Ecclesiastical Livings, and to deprive such of them as wilfully and advisedly maintain any Doctrine contrary to such Articles of Religion of the Synod of 1562. which only concern the Confession of the true Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, and will not revoke the same.

"And we do further empower you, or any three of you, to punish all Incests, Adulteries, Fornications, Outrages, Mishebaviours and Disorders in Marriage; and all grievous Offences punishable by the Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the Tenor of the Laws in that behalf, and according to your Wisdoms, Consciences, and Discretions, commanding you, or any three of you, to devise all such lawful Ways and Means for the searching out the Premises, as by you had

Queen " shall be thought necessary: And upon due Proof Elizabeth, " thereof had, by Confession of the Party, or lawful " Witnesses, or by any other due Means; to order

and award fuch Punishment by Fine, Imprison-" ment, Censures of the Church, or by all or any of

" the faid Ways, as to your Wisdom and Discretions " shall appear most meet and convenient. " And further we do empower you, or any three of you, to call before you all Persons suspected of any of the Premises, and to proceed against them, as the Quality of the Offence and Suspicion shall rece quire, to examine them on their corporal Oaths, for " the better Trial and opening of the Truth; and if any "Persons are obstinate and disobedient, either in not " appearing at your Command, or not obeying your "Orders and Decrees, then to punish them by Ex-" communication, or other Censures Ecclesiastical, " or by Fine according to your Discretions; or to commit " the faid Offenders to ward, there to remain, till " he or they shall be by you, or three of you, en-" larged or delivered; and shall pay such Costs and " Expences of Suit as the Cause shall require, and

" you in Justice shall think reasonable.

" And further we give full Power and Authority " to you, or three of you as aforefaid, to command " all our Sheriffs, Justices, and other Officers, by " your Letters, to apprehend, or cause to be appre-" hended, fuch Persons as you shall think meet to be " convened before you; and to take fuch Bond as you " shall think fit, for their personal Appearance, and in case of refusal to commit them to safe Custody, " till you shall give Order for their Enlargement: " And further, to take fuch Securities for their " Performance of your Decrees as you shall think " reasonable. And further, you shall keep a Regi-

" fter of your Decrees, and of your Fines, and ap-" point Receivers, Meffengers, and other Officers, " with fuch Salaries as you shall think fit; the Re-" ceiver to certify into the Exchequer, every Easter

cc and

" and Michaelmas Term, an Account of the Fines Queen.

" taxed and received, under the Hands of three of Elizabeth,

" the Commissioners.

"And we do further empower you, or any fix of you, whereof some to be Bishops, to examine, alter,

" review and amend the Statutes of Colleges, Cathedrals, Grammar Schools, and other publick Founda-

" tions, and to prefent them to us to be confirmed.

"And we do further empower you, to tender the "Oath of Supremacy to all Ministers, and others compellable by Act of Parliament, and to certify the Names of such as resuse it into the King's

" Bench.

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"And lastly, we do appoint a Seal for your Office, M. S. having a Crown and a Rose over it, and the Letter P. 524.

" E before, and R after the fame; and round about

" the Seal these Words, Sigill. Commiss. Regiæ Maj.

" ad Causas Ecclesiasticas."

The Court of HIGH COMMISSION was fo cal-Remarks. led, because it claimed a larger Jurisdiction, and higher Powers than the ordinary Courts of the Bishops; its Jurisdiction reached over the whole Kingdom, and was the fame in a manner with that which was lodged in the fingle Person of Lord Cromwel, Vicar General to King Henry VIII. but now put into The Court was erected upon the Au-Commission. thority of the Acts mentioned in the Preamble, and therefore its Powers must be limited by those Statutes; though the Council for Mr. Cawdrey, whosep. 318. Case was argued before all the Judges in Trinity Term, 1591. question'd whether the Court had any Foundation at all in Law; because it was doubtful whether the Queen could delegate her Ecclefiastical Authority, or the Commissioners act by virtue of such Delegation.

But admitting the Court to be legal, it will appear that both the Queen and her Commissioners exceeded the Powers granted them by Law; for it was

Queen

not the Intendment of the Act of Supremacy, to veft Elizabeth, any new Powers in the Crown, but only to restore it to what was supposed to be its ancient and natural Right. Nor do the Acts above recited authorize the Oucen to dispense with the Laws of the Realm, or act contrary to them; or to fet aside the ordinary legal Methods of Proceeding in other Courts of Ju-dicature by Indictments, by Witnesses, and Jury of 12 Men; nor do they empower her to levy Fines, and inflict what corporal Punishments she pleases upon Offenders; but in all criminal Cases, where the precise Punishment is not determined by the Statute, her Commissioners were to be directed and governed by the Laws of the Land.

Power of the Commission debated.

But contrary to the Proceedings in other Courts, the Queen empowered her Commissioners to enquire into all Misdemeanors, not only by the Oaths of 12 Men, and Witneffes, but by ALL OTHER MEANS AND WAYS THEY COULD DEVISE; that is, by Inquisition, by the Rack, by Torture, or by any Ways and Means that 44 fovereign Judges shall invent. Surely this should have been limited to LAW-FUL Ways and Means.

Of the Oath ex Officio.

Further, her Majesty empowers her Commissioners to examine such Persons as they suspected upon their COR-PORAL OATHS, for the better Trial and Opening of the Truth, and to punish those that refused the Oath by Fine or Imprisonment, ACCORDING TO THEIR DISCRE-TION. This refers to the Oath ex Officio mero, and was not in the five first Commissions.

It was faid in behalf of this Oath by Dr. Aubrey the Civilian, that though it was not warrantable by the Letter of the Statute of 1st of Elizabeth, yet the Ca-L.of Whit-non Law being in force before the making of that gift,p.340. Statute, and the Commission warranting the Commissioners to proceed according to the Law Ecclesiastical, they might lawfully administer it according to ancient Custom. To which it was answered, That such an Oath was never allowed by any Canon of the Church II.

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Church or General Council, for a Thousand Years after Christ; that when it was used against the Pri-Elizabeth, mitive Christians, the Pagan Emperors countermanded. it; that it was against the Pope's Law in the Decretals, which admits of fuch an Inquisition ONLY in Cases of Herefy; nor was it ever used in England till the Reign of King Henry IV. and then it was enforced as Law only by a haughty Archbishop without confent of the Commons of England, till the 25th of Henry VIII. when it was utterly abrogated. This Life of pretended Law was again revived by Queen Mary, Whitgift, but repealed again by 1st of Queen Elizabeth, and P. 393, fo remains. Besides, as this purging Men by Oath has no Foundation in the Law of the Land, 'tis undoubtedly contrary to the Laws of Nature and of Nations, where this is a received Maxim, Nemo tenetur seipsum acculare. No Man is bound to accuse himself. The Queen therefore had no Power to authorize her Commissioners to set up an Inquisition, and administer an Oath for the suspected Person, to answer all Questions the Court should put to him, and to convict him upon those Answers; or if they could confront his Evidence to punish him as perjured.

If any Persons disobeyed the Orders and Decrees of the Their Powe-Court, by not appearing at their Summons, &c. the Come of Immissioners were empowered to punish them by Fine or prisonment Imprisonment at their Discretions.

This also was contrary to Law, for the Body of a Subject is to be justiced, secundum Legem terræ, as Magna Charta and the Law saith. The Clerk Felon in the Bishop's Prison is the King's Prisoner, and not the Bishop's, and therefore by the 1st Henry VII. cap. 4.

"The Bishop of the Diocese is empowered to immission fuch Priests, or other religious Persons within his Jurisdiction, as shall by Examination, and other lawful Proofs requisite by the Law of

" and other lawful Proofs requisite by the Law of the Church, be convicted of Fornication, Incest,

or any fleshly Incontinency, and there to detain L. of Ayl. them for such Time, as shall be thought by their P. 145.

" Di-

" Discretions convenient, according to the Quality Elizabeth, " of the Offence; and that none of the faid Arch-" bishops or Bishops shall be chargeable with an " Action of false Imprisonment for so doing." Which plainly implies, that a Bishop cannot by Law commit a Man to Prison, except in the Cases above. mentioned; and that in all others the Law remains in force as before. If then the Queen by her Ecclesiaftical Commission could not dispense with the Laws of the Land, it is evident that the long and arbitrary. Imprisonments of the Puritan Clergy, before they had been legally convicted, and all their Confinements afterwards beyond the Time limited by the Statutes were fo many Acts of Oppression; and every acting Bishop or Commissioner was liable to be fued in an Action of false Imprisonment.

Of their Pines.

The Law fays, No Man shall be fined ultra Tenementum, beyond his Estate or Ability. But the Fines raised by this Court in the two next Reigns were so exorbitant, that no Man was secure in his Property or Estate; though according to Lord Clarendon, their Power of levying any Fines at all was very Some for speaking an unmannerly Word, doubtful. or writing what the Court was pleased to call a Libel, were fined from five Hundred to ten Thoufand Pounds, and perpetual Imprisonment; some had their Ears cut off and their Noses sit, after they had been exposed feveral Days in the Pillory; and many Families were driven into Banishment; till in Process of Time the Court became such a general Nuisance, that it was dissolved by Parliament, with a Clause that no such Court should be erected for the future.

Of their Power to

Further, the Commission gives no Authority to the Court to frame Articles, and oblige the Clergy to subscribe frame Ar-them. It empowers them to reform all Errors, Hethe Clergy. refies and Schisms, which may lawfully be reformed, according to the Power and Authority limited and appointed by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm. But there

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never was a Clause in any of the Commissions, empowering them to offer Subscription to Articles of Elizabeth, their own devising. Therefore their doing this without a special Ratification under the Great Seal, was no m. s. doubt an Usurpation of the Supremacy, and brought p. 573-them within the Compass of a Præmunire, according to the Statutes of 25 Henry VIII. chap. 20. and 1 Eliz. chap. 3.

Lastly, Though there is, and ought to lie, an Appeal from all the Spiritual Courts to those of Westminster Hall, and consequently from the High Commission; yet the Commissioners would seldom or never admit it, and at length terrified the Judges from granting it: So that upon the whole, their Proceedings were for the most part contrary to the Act of Submission of the Clergy, contrary to the Statute Laws of the Realm, and no better than a spiritual Inquisition.

If a Clergyman omitted any of the Ceremonies of Manner of the Church in his publick Ministrations; or if a Pa-the Court's rishioner bore an Ill-will to his Minister, he might Proceedinform the Commissioners by Letter, that he was a suspected Person; upon which a Pursuivant or Messenger was sent to his House with a Citation, to the following Effect:

WE will and command you, and every of Form of you, in her Majesty's Name, by virtue of Citation. her bigb Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical, to us and others directed, that you, and every of you, M. S. do make your personal Appearance before us, or p. 412. others her Majesty's Commissioners in that behalf appointed, in the Consistory within the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London, [or at Lambeth] the

"7th Day next after the fight hereof, if we or other our Collegues shall then happen to sit in Commission, or else at our next sitting there, then next immediately following: And that after your Appearance there made, you, and every of you,

" shall attend, and not depart without our special E e "Licence;

Queen "Licence; willing and commanding you, to whom Elizabeth," these our Letters shall first be delivered, to shew the same, and give Intimation and Knowledge

"the lattle, and give intimation and knowledge thereof to the others nominated upon the Indorfe-

"ment hereof, as you, and every of you, will an-

" fwer to the contrary at your Perils. Given at

" London the 16th of May, 1584.

Gabriel Goodman. John London.

Indorsed,
To Ezekias Morley,
Rob. Pamnet, and
Wm. Bigge,

of Ridgwel in Effex.

The Pursuivant that brought them up had 33 s. and 4d. for 41 Miles, being about 9 or 10 d. a Mile. Upon their appearing before the Commissioners they were committed Prisoners to the Clink seven Weeks. before they were called to their Trial. When the Prifoners were brought to the Bar the Court immediately tender'd them the Oath, to answer all Questions to the best of their Knowledge; by which they were obliged not only to accuse themselves, but frequently to bring their Relations and Acquaintance into Trouble. The Party to be examined was not to be acquainted with the Interrogatories before hand, nor to have a Copy of his Answers, which were lodged with the Secretary of the Court against the Day of his Trial. If the Commissioners could not convict him upon his own Confession, then they examined their Witnesses, but never cleared him upon his own Oath. If they could not reach the Prisoner by their ordinary Jurisdiction as Bishops, they would then sit as Ecclesiastical Commissioners. If they could not convict him upon any Statute, then they had recourse to their old obsolete Law Ecclesiastical; so that the Prisoner seldom knew by what Law he was to be tried, nor how to defend himself. Sometimes Men were obliged to a long Attendance, and at other Times condemned in haste haste without any Trial. The Reverend Mr. Brayne, Queen a Cambridge Minister, being sent for to Lambeth, Elizabeth, made his Appearance before the Archbishop and two of the Commissioners on Saturday in the Asternoon, L.of Whitand being commanded to answer the Interrogatories gist, p. 163. of the Court upon Oath, he resused unless he might first see them, and write down his Answers with his own Hand; which his Grace resusing, immediately gave him his Canonical Admonitions once, twice, and thrice; and caused him to be register'd for Contempt, and suspended.

But let the Reader carefully peruse the 24 Articles themselves, which the Archbishop framed for the Service of the Court; and then judge whether it were possible for an honest Man to answer them upon Oath, without exposing himself to the Mercy of

his Adversaries. They were these that follow:

I. IMPRIMIS, "OBjicimus, ponimus, & articu-Whitgist's "lamur, i. e. We object, put, 24 Arti"and article to you, That you are a Deacon or Mi-cles.
"nifter, and Priest admitted: declare by whom Apud Lam-

" nister, and Priest admitted; declare by whom, hith, May, and what Time you were ordered; and likewise, 1584.

" that your Ordering was according to the Book in

" that behalf by the Law of this Land provided. Et

" objicimus conjunctim de omni & divisim de quolibet, i.e.

"And we object to you the whole of this Article conjunctly, and every Branch of it separately.

2. Item, "Objicimus, ponimus, & articulamur,

"That you deem and judge fuch your Ordering, Admission and Calling into your Ministry to

" be lawful, and not repugnant to the Word of

God. Et objicimus ut supra, i. e. And we object as before.

3. Item, "Objicimus, ponimus, &c. That you have

" fworn, as well at the Time of your Ordering as Institution, Duty and Allegiance to the Queen's

" Majesty, and Canonical Obedience to your Ordi-

or nary and his Successors, and to the Metropolitan and

Queen " his Successors, or to some of them. Et objicimus ut Elizabeth, cc fupra.

1584. 4. Item, "Objicimus, &c. That by a Statute or

- " Act of Parliament made in the 1st Year of " the Queen's Majesty that now is, one virtuous
- " and godly Book, entitled, The Book of Com-
- " mon Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, &c.
- " was authorized and established to stand and be
- " from and after the Feast of the Nativity of St.
- " John Baptist then next ensuing, in full Force and
- " Effect, according to the faid Statute, and so yet

" remaineth. Et obj. ut supra.

- 5. Item, "Obj. That by the faid Statute all Mi-
- if nifters within her Majesty's Dominions ever fince
- "the faid Feast have been, and are bound to fay
- " and use, a certain Form of Morning and Evening
- " Prayer, called in the Act Mattins, Even Song, Ge-
- " lebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of e each of the Sacraments; and all other common and
- " open Prayer in such Order and Form as is men-
- " tioned in the fame Book, and none other, nor

" otherwife. Et obj. ut supra.

- 6. Item, "Obj. That in the faid Statute her Ma-
- " jefty, the Lords Temporal, and all the Commons
- " in that Parliament affembled, do in God's Name
- " earnestly charge and require all the Archbishops,
- " Bishops, and other Ordinaries, that they shall en-
- "deavour themselves to the uttermost of their
- ". Knowledge, that the due and true Execution of
- " the faid Act might be had throughout their Dio-
- " cefe and Charge, as they would answer it before

" Almighty God. Et obj. ut supra.

- 7. Item, "Obj. ponimus, &c. That you deem and
- " judge the faid whole Book to be a godly and a vir-
- " tuous Book, agreeable, or at the least not repug-
- " nant to the Word of God; if not, we require and
- command you to declare, wherein, and in what Points.

Et objicimus ut supra.

8. Item, " Obj. That for the Space of these three Queen "Years, two Years, one Year, half a Year; three, Elizabeth,

" two, or one Month last past, you have at the " Time of Communion, and at all, or some other

"Times in your Ministration, used and worn only

" your ordinary Apparel, and not the Surplice, as is " required; declare bow long, bow often, and for what

" Cause, Consideration, or Intent, you have so done, or

" refused so to do, Et obj. ut supra.

9. Item, " Obj. That within the Time aforesaid

" you have baptized divers, or at least one Infant,

" and have not used the Sign of the Cross in the Fore-" head, with the Words prescribed to be used in the

" faid Book of Common Prayer; declare how many you

" have so baptized, and for what Cause, Consideration,

" and Intent. Et obj. ut supra.

10. Item, " Obj. That within the Time aforesaid

" you have been fent unto, and required divers

" Times, or at least once, to baptize Children; or

" fome one Child being weak, and have refused, " neglected, or at least so long deferr'd the same,

" till the Child or Children died without the Sacra-

" ment of Baptisin; declare whose Child, when, and

" for what Consideration. Et obj. ut supra.

11. Item, " Obj. &c. That within the Time

" aforesaid you have celebrated Matrimony other-" wife than the Book prescribes, and without a

" Ring, and have refused at such Times to call for

" the Ring, and to use such Words in that behalf " as the Book appoints, and particularly those

"Words, That by Matrimony is signified the Spiritual

" Marriage and Unity between Christ and bis Church.

" Declare the Circumstances of Time, Person, and Place, " and for what Caufe, Intent, and Confideration. Et

cc obj. ut supra.

12. Item, " Obj. &c. That you have within the

"Time aforefaid neglected, or refused to use the

" Form of Thanksgiving for Women, or some one Woman after Child-birth, according to the faid

" Book. E e 3 :

Queen "Book. Declare the like Circumstances thereof, and Elizabeth, "for what Intent, Cause, or Consideration you have so 1884. "done, or refused so to do. Et obj. ut supra.

13. Item, "Objicimus, &c. That you within the "Time aforesaid baptised divers Infants, or at the

" least one, otherwise and in other Manner than the faid Book prescribeth, and not used the Interroga-

" tories to the Godfathers and Godmothers in the

"Name of the Infant, as the faid Book requireth.

" Declare the like Circumstances thereof, or for what

" Cause, Intent, or Consideration, you have so done, or

" refused so to do. Et objicimus ut supra.

14. Item, " We do object, That you have within

"the Time aforesaid used any other Form of Litany, in divers or some Points, from the said Book; or

" that you have often, or once, wholly refused to

" use the said Litany. Declare the like Circumstances

" thereof, or for what Cause, Intent, or Consideration,

" you have so done, or refused so to do.

15. Item, "We do object, &c. That you have within the Time aforesaid, refused and omitted to

" read, divers Lessons prescribed by the said Book, and have divers Times either not read any Lessons

" at all, or read others in their Places. Declare the

" like Circumstances thereof, and for what Intent, Cause,

or Consideration, you have so done, or refused. Et

cc obj. ut supra.

16. Item, "Objicimus, That within the Time aforesaid you have either not used at all, or else

" used another manner of Common Prayer or Service

at Burial, from that which the faid Book prescri-

beth, and have refused there to use these Words, We commit Earth to Earth in sure and certain Hope of Resur-

commit Earth to Earth in Jure and certain Hope of Rejur-

rection to eternal Life. Declare the like Circumstances thereof, and for what Intent, Cause, or Consideration,

"you have so done, or refused so to do. Et objic. ut supra. 17. Item, "Objicimus, &c. That within the

"Time aforesaid you have advisedly, and of set

"Purpose, not only omitted and resused to use the

" aforesaid Parts, or some of them, of the said Queen
"Book, but also some other Parts of the said Book Elizabeth,
" of Common Prayer, as being persuaded that in such

"Points it is repugnant to the Word of God. Declare what other Parts of the said Book you have refu-

" fed to use, for what Intent, Cause, or Consideration.

" Et objic. ut supra.

18, Item, "Objic. &c. That within the Time aforesaid you have at the Communion, and in other Parts of your Ministration, advisedly added unto, diminished, and taken from, altered and transposed fed manifoldly at your own Pleasure, sundry Parts of the said Book of Common Prayer. Declare the Circumstances of Time and Place, and for what Intent,

" Cause, and Consideration. Et objic. ut supra.

19. Item, "Objic. That within the Time aforeif faid you have advisedly, and of set Purpose preached, taught, declared, set down, or published by
writing, publick or private Speech, Matter
against the said Book of Common Prayer, or of
fome Thing therein contained, as being repugnant
to the Word of God, or not convenient to be
used in the Church; or some Thing have written
or uttered, tending to the depraving, despising,
or defacing, of some Things contained in the said

"Book. Declare what, and the like Circumstances thereof, and for what Cause, or Consideration, you

" bave so done. Et objic. ut supra.

20. Item, "Objicimus, &c. That you at this prefent do continue all, or some of your former Opinions against the said Book, and have a settled Purpose to continue hereaster such Additions, Diminutions, Alterations, and Transpositions, or fome of them, as you heretofore unlawfully have

" used in your publick Ministration: And that you have used private Conferences, and assembled, or

" been present at Conventicles, for the Maintenance of their Doings herein, and for the animating and

" encouraging of others to continue in the like Dispo-E e 4 " sition Queen " sition in this behalf that you are of. Declare the Elizabeth, " like Circumstances, and for what Intent, Cause, and 1584. " Consideration. Et objic. ut supra.

21. Item, " Objicimus, &c. That you have been heretofore noted, defamed, presented, or detect-

" ed publickly, to have been faulty in all and fingu-

" lar the Premises, and of every, or some of them;

" and that you have been divers and fundry Times,

or once at the least, admonished by your Ordinary, or other Ecclesiastical Magistrate, to reform

"the same, and to observe the Form and Order of the Book of Common Prayer, which you have refused,

" or defer to do. Declare the like Circumstances thereof.

es Et objic. ut supra. 22. Item, " That for the Testification hereaster " of your Unity with the Church of England, and " your Conformity to Laws established, you have " been required fimply and absolutely, to subscribe " with your Hand, (1.) That her Majesty under God hath and ought to have, the Sovereignty and Rule over all Manner of Persons born within her Realm, "Dominions, and Countries, of what Estate either " Ecclefiastical or Temporal soever they be; and " that none other foreign Power, Prelate, State or 66 Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdi-" ction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Au-" thority, Ecclefiastical or Spiritual, within her Ma-" jefty's faid Realms, Dominions, or Countries. (2.) "That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering " Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it no-" thing contrary to the Word of God, and that the " fame may be lawfully used; and that you who do " fubscribe will use the Form in the said Book pre-" scribed, in publick Prayer and Administration of the " Sacraments, and none other. (3.) That you allow

and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the Year of our Lord God, 1562.

the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces,

es and

"and fet forth by her Majesty's Authority; and do Queen
believe all the Articles therein contained to be Elizabeth,
agreeable to the Word of God. Declare by whom,
and how often, which bitherto you have advisedly Life of
refused to perform, and so yet do persist. Et objic. Whitgist,
&c.

Rec. N° 4.

23. Item, "That you have taken upon you to Rec. N° 4"preach, read, or expound the Scriptures, as well
"in publick Places as in private Houses, not being
"licensed by your Ordinary, nor any other Magistrate
"having Authority by the Laws of this Land so to
"license you. Declare the like Circumstances bereof.

" Et objic. ut supra.

24. Item, " Quod præmissa omnia & singula, &c. " i. e. That all and singular the Premises, &c."

Could the Wit of Man invent any Thing more like an Inquisition! Here are Interrogatories enough to entangle all the honest Men in the Kingdom, and bring them into Danger. When the Lord Treasurer Burleigh had read them over, and seen the Execution they had done upon the Clergy, he writ bis Grace the following Letter.

It may please your Grace,

I AM forry to trouble you so oft as I do, but I The Treamon am more troubled my self, not only with ma-surer's Remarks of their Ministry, who are greatly troubled by Whitgist, your Grace, and your Collegues in Commission; B. IV. but I am also daily charged by Counsellors and Rec. N° 9. publick Persons, with neglect of my Duty, in not staying your Grace's vehement Proceedings against Ministers, whereby Papists are greatly encouraged, and the Queen's Safety endangered. — I have read over your 24 Articles, found in a Romin Stile, of great Length and Curiosity, to examine all manner of Ministers in this Time, with-

Queen " out distinction of Persons, to be executed ex Officio Elizabeth, co mero. \_\_\_\_ And I find them fo curiously penned, " fo full of Branches and Circumstances, that I think " the Inquisition of Spain used not so many Questions to comprehend and to trap their Priefts. I know your Canonists can defend these with all their er Particles; but furely, under Correction, this judicial and canonical Sifting poor Ministers, is not to e edify or reform. And in Charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice Points, except they were notorious Papists or Hereticks. I write with the Testimony of a good Conscience. I defire the Peace and Unity of the Church. I favour or no fenfual and wilful Recufant; but I conclude, according to my simple Judgment, This kind of e Proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish Inquiec fition; and is a Device rather to feek for Offenders than to reform any. \_\_\_\_ It is not charitable to e fend poor Ministers to your common Register, to " answer upon so many Articles at one instant, without a Copy of the Articles or their Answers. — I or pray your Grace bear with this one (perchance) " Fault, that I have willed the Ministers not to an-

July 15. 1584.

" fuffer them.

W. Cecil.

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But this excellent Letter was so far from softning the Archbishop, that two Days after he writ his Lordship a long Answer, vindicating his Interrogatories, from the Practice of the Star-Chamber, the Court of Marches, and other Places. The Treasurer sound it was to no purpose to contend, and therefore writ him a short but smart Letter, in which he tells him, "That after reading his Grace's long Answer, he was not satisfied in the Point of seeking by Examination to have Ministers accuse themes seeking and then punish them for their own Conservations."

" fwer these Articles except their Consciences may

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" fessions: That he would not call his Proceedings " captious, but they were scarcely charitable; his Elizabeth, " Grace might therefore deal with his Friend Mr. 1584. " Brayne as he thought fit, - but when by exami- L. of Whit-" ning him it was meant only to fift him with 24gift,p. 160.

" Articles, he had cause to pity the poor Man."

The Archbishop being desirous to give Satisfaction The Abp. to the Treasurer, sent him two Papers of Reasons, justifies bis one to justify the Articles, and the other the Manner Articles. of Proceeding ex mero Officio. In the former he fays, That by the Ecclefiaftical [or Canon] Laws, Articles of Enquiry may be administer'd, and have been ever fince the Reformation; and that they ought Lof Whitnot to be compared with the Inquisition, because the gift, p. 162. Inquisition punished with Death, whereas they only punished obstinate Offenders with Deprivation. the latter his Lordship gives the following Reasons among others for proceeding ex Officio mero. (1.) If His Reawe proceed only by Presentment and Witnesses, then for for Papists, Brownists, and Family Men, would expect proceeding by the Oath the like Measure. (2.) 'Tis hard to get Witnessex Officio. against the Puritans, because most of the Parishioners favour them, and therefore will not present them, nor appear against them. (3.) There is great Trouble and Charge in examining Witnesses, and fending for them from distant Parts. (4.) If Archbishops and Bishops should be driven to use Proofs by Witnesses only, the Execution of the Law would be partial, their Charges in procuring and producing Witnesses would be intolerable; and they should not be able to make quick Dispatch enough with the Sectaries. These were the Arguments of a Protestant Archbishop! I don't wonder that they gave no Satisfaction to the wife Treasurer; for surely, all that have any Regard for the Laws of their Country, or the Civil and Religious Rights of Mankind, must be ashamed of them.

The Treasurer having given up the Archbishop, Lords of the Lords of the Council took the Cause in hand, the Council and diffatisfied.

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428 Queen and writ to his Grace and the Bishop of London in fa-Elizabeth, your of the deprived Ministers, Sept. 20th. In their Letter they tell their Lordships, "That they had Lof Whit-" heard of fundry Complaints out of divers Counties, gift,p. 166. " of Proceedings against a great Number of Eccle-66 fiastical Persons, some Parsons, some Vicars, some " Curates, but all Preachers; fome deprived, and " fome fuspended by their Lordships Officers, " Chancellors, &c. but that they had taken no No-" tice of these Things, hoping their Lordships would have staid their hasty Proceedings, especial-" ly against such as did earnestly instruct the People " against Popery. But now of late hearing of " great Numbers of zealous and learned Preachers " fuspended from their Cures in the County of Esfex, 44 and that there is no Preaching, Prayers, or Sacraer ments in most of the vacant Places; that in some few of them, Persons neither of Learning nor good " Name are appointed; and that in other Places of " the Country great Numbers of Persons that occuof py Cures, are notoriously unfit; most for lack of " Learning; many chargeable with great and enor-" mous Faults, as Drunkenness, Filtbiness of Life, "Gaming at Cards, Haunting of Ale-bouses, &c. " against whom they [the Council] heard of no Pro-" ceedings, but that they were quietly fuffered." To fix this Charge home on the Bishops, they fent with their Letter a Catalogue of Names; one Column of learned Ministers deprived; a second of unlearned and vicious Persons continued; " a Matter very " lamentable (fay they) for this Time!" And a third of Pluralists and Non-Residents; "against these latter we " [the Council] have heard of no Inquisition; but of " great Diligence, and extreme Usage against those " that were known to be diligent Preachers; we " therefore pray your Lordships, to have some cha-" ritable Consideration of their Causes, that People " may not be deprived of their diligent, learned and

« zealous Pastors, for a few Points ceremonial

"which entangled their Consciences." This Letter Queen was dated from Oatlands, Sept. 20th. 1584. and sign. Elizabeth, ed by Lord Burleigh, the Earls of Warwick, Shrewfbury and Leicester; the Lord Charles Howard, Sir James Crosts, Sir Christopher Hatton; and Sir Francis

Walfingham Secretary of State.

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But this excellent Remonstrance had no manner of Mr. Beale Influence upon our Archbishop. After this Mr. Beale, writes a-Clerk of the Queen's Council, a Man of great Learn-Abp. ing and Piety, writ a Treatife shewing the Injustice Life of and Unlawfulness of the Bishop's Proceedings; and Whitgiff, delivered it in Manuscript into the Archbishop's own p. 137. Hands, which together with some Freedom of Speech, inflamed his Grace to that Degree, that he complained of him to the Queen and Council, and used all his Interest to have him tried in the Star-Chamber, and turned out of his Place. Among his thid. Misdemeanors, drawn up by the Archbishop's own p. 212. Hand were these, I. That he had printed a Book The Abp's against Ecclesiastical Oaths. 2. That in the House Complaint of Commons he had spoke of Ecclesiastical Matters, of him in contrary to the Queen's Command. 3. That he had Chamber. defended his Book against the Practice of the Ecclefiaftical Courts. 4. That he had disputed against the Queen's having Authority by virtue of the Statute 1 Eliz. to grant Power to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to imprison whom they please; to impole Fines upon Offenders; and to administer the Oath ex Officio, faying they are within the Statute of Præmunire. 5. That he had condemned Racking for grievous Offenders, as contrary to Law and the Liberty of the Subject; and advised those in the Marches of Wales, that execute Torture by virtue of Instructions under her Majesty's Hands, to look to it, that their Doings are well warranted; but the Court would not profecute upon this Charge.

All that the Puritans could obtain was a kind of Con-conference ference between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bi- at Lam-shop of Winchester on the one part, and Dr. Sparke and Mr. beth.

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Travers on the other, in Presence of the Right Ho. Elizabeth, nourable the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walfingham. The Conference was at Lam. beth, concerning Things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Archbishop open'd it with declaring, " That my Lord of Leicester having requested for his Satisfaction, to hear what the Ministers could reprove. and how their Objections were to be answered, he had granted my Lord to procure fuch to come for that purpose, as might feem best to his good Lordship; and now I perceive (said he) you are the Men, of whom one I never faw nor knew be-" fore [Dr. Sparke]; the other I know well. Let us hear what Things in the Book of Common Prayer wou think ought to be mended: You appear not now judicially before me, nor as called in question 46 by Authority for these Things, but by way of " Conference; for which Cause it shall be free for " you (speaking in Duty) to charge the Book with " fuch Matters as you suppose to be blame-worthy ec in it.

Dr. Sparke replied; "We give most humble and hearty Thanks to Almighty God, and to this Ho-" nourable Presence, that after so many Years, wherein our Cause could never be admitted to an indifferent hearing, it hath pleased God of his gracious "Goodness so to dispose Things, that we have now " that Equity and Favour shewed us, that before " fuch honourable Personages, as may be a worthy Means to her most excellent Majesty for Reformaet tion of fuch Things as are to be redreffed, it is on now lawful for us to declare with Freedom, what Points ought to be reviewed and reformed, which our Endeavours, because it concerns the Service of God, and the Satisfaction of fuch as are in Au-"thority; and for that the good Issue depends on " the Favour of God, I defire, that before we enter any further, we may first seek for the gracious Di-« rection

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er j. which Words, framing himself to begin to pray, the Elizabeth, Archbishop interrupted him, saying, He should make no Prayers there, nor turn that Place into a Conventicle.

Mr. Travers joined with Dr. Sparke, and defired that it might be lawful for them to pray before they proceeded any further; but the Archbishop not yielding thereunto, terming it a Conventicle if any such Prayer should be offered to be made, my Lord of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham willed Dr. Sparke to content himself, seeing they doubted not but that he had prayed already before his coming thither. Dr. Sparke therefore omitting to use such Prayer as he had proposed, made a short Address to God in very sew Words, though the Archbishop continued to interrupt him all the while.

The Heads that the Ministers insisted upon were, Heads of 1. Putting the Apocryphal Writings (in which were the Confe-

feveral Errors and false Doctrines) upon a Level with rence. the Holy Scripture, by reading them publickly in the Church, when feveral Parts of the Canon were utterly omitted. This they faid had been forbidden by Councils, and particularly Laodicea 3. The Archbishop denied any Errors to be found in the Apocrypha; which led the Ministers into a long detail of Particulars, to the Satisfaction (fays my Author) of the Noblemen. 2. The fecond Head was upon Baptism; and here they objected, (1.) Against its being done in private. (2.) Against its being done by Laymen or Women. And, 3. Against the Doctrine from whence this Practice arises (viz.) That Children not baptized are in danger of Damnation; and that the outward Baptism of Water saveth the Child that is baptized. 4. Against the Interrogatories in the Name of the Child, which Mr. Travers charged with arising from a false Principle (viz.) that Faith was necessary in all Persons to be baptized. He added, that the Interrogatories crept into the Church but lately,

Queen lately, and took their Rife from the Baptism of those Blizabeth, that were of Age; from whence very ignorantly they were transferred to Infants. 5. Against the Cross, as a mystical Rite and Ceremony, and an Addition to the Sacrament, of human Invention. Here they argued. that though the foreign Divines did not condemn the Use of the Cross, yet all agreed it ought to be abolish'd, and Beza gives Counsel to the Ministers, rather to forego their Ministry than subscribe to the Allowance of After many Words upon this Head, my Lord. of Leicester said it was a pitiful Thing, that so many of the best Ministers, and painful in their Preaching, should be deprived for these Things. 6. They objected to private Communion. 7. To the Apparel. And here they produced the Judgment of Bishop Ridley at his Degradation, as reported by Mr. Fox, who faid, It was too bad to be put upon a Fool in a Play. M. S.

p. 502,8. They objected to the Books allowing of an insufficient Minister New Performance Plansier.

cient Ministry, Non-Residence and Pluralities.

The Conference continued two Days, at the Close of it.

of which neither Party being satisfied, the Noblemen Lof Whit-requested some Favour for the Ministers. Mr. Strype sift, p. 170. says the Ministers were convinced and confirmed; but 'tis evident he knew not the Disputants, nor had seen the Debate; a Copy of which is before me. Travers was a Non-Conformist to his Death, and Sparke appeared at their Head at the Hampton Court Conference the beginning of the next Reign. Nor was the Archbishop softned, but rather confirmed in his former Resolution.

Bp. Aylmer's Severities against the Puritans.

Aylmer Bishop of London came not behind his Metropolitan in Acts of Severity. Mr. Strype says, he was the chief Mover in the Ecclesiastical Commission, and had as high a Spirit as the greatest Lord in the Land. During Grindal's Disgrace he harrassed the London Clergy with new Interrogatories and Articles 3 or 4 Times a Year. He advised the Heads of the University of Cambridge (with which he had not hing to do) to call in all their Licences, and expel every Man

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Man that would not wear the Apparel, faying, That Queen the Folly that is bound up in the Heart of a Child is to be Elizabeth, expell'd with the Rod of Discipline. In his Visitation 1584. this Summer he suspended the following Clergymen in L. of Ayl. Esfex, &c. Mr. Whiteing of Panfield, Mr. Wyresdale and p. 84, 94. Gifford of Malden, Mr. Hawkdon Vicar of Fryan, Ministers Mr. Carre of Rain, Mr. Tonstal of Much Tottam, Mr. Suspended Huckle of Atrop Rooding, Mr. Pigot of Tilly, Mr. Corn-by the Bp. wal of Markstay, Mr. Negus of Leigh, Mr. Carew of London Hatfield, Mr. Ward of Writtle, Mr. Dyke afterwards of St. Albans, Mr. Rogers of Weathersfield, Mr. Northy of Colchester, Mr. Newman of Coxall, Mr. Taye of Peldon, Mr. Parker of Dedbam, Mr. Morly of Ridfwel, Mr. Nix [or Knight] of Hampstead, Mr. Winkfield of Wicks, Mr. Wilton of Aldbam, Mr. Dent of South Souberry, Mr. Pain of Tolbury, Mr. Larking of Little Waltham, Mr. Camillus Rusticus Pastor of Tange, Mr. Seredge of East Having field, Mr. Howel of Pagelsams Mr. Chadwick of Danbury, Mr. Farrar of Langham, Mr. Serls of Lexdon, Mr. Lewis of St. Peter's Colchefter, Mr. Cock of St. Gyles's Colchefter, Mr. Beaumont of East Thorp, Mr. Redridge of Hutton, Mr. Chaplain of Hempstead, Mr. Culverwel of Felstead, Mr. D. Chapman Preacher of Dedbam, and Mr. Knevit of Mile End Colchester, in all about 38. These (says my Author) M. S. are the painful Ministers of Esfex, whom the Bishop P. 584. threatens to deprive for the Surplice, faying, We shall 741. be White with him, or he will be Black with us.

Mr. Carew of Hatfield Peveril was a zealous Pro-Mr. Camoter of the Welfare of Souls, and mourned over rew's sufthe Want of a learned and preaching Ministry: He ferings. was ordained by the Bishop of Worcester, and licensed by Archbishop Grindal and the Bishop of London himself, who commended his Preaching; but being too forward in acquainting his Diocesan by Letter, that in Essex, within the Compass of 16 Miles, there were 22 Non-Residents, 30 insufficient Ministers; and at the same Time 19 Preachers silenced for not Subscribing his Lordship instead of being pleased

with

Queen with the Information, fent for Carew before the Elizabeth, Commissioners, and charged him falfly without the

least Evidence, with fetting up a Presbytery, and with contemning Ecclefiaftical Cenfures. It was alleged against him further, that he was chosen by the People; that he had defaced the Book of Common Prayer, and had put feveral from the Communion, when there was more need to allure them to it, &c. But to make fhort Work, the Bishop tender'd him the Oath ex Officio, which Carew refusing, he was committed to the Fleet, and another Clergyman fent down to fill up his Place. Mr. Allen the Patron, in whom the Right of Prefentation was by Inheritance, refusing to admit the Bishop's Reader, was summoned before his Lordship and committed to Prison; because (as the Warrant expresses it) he behaved seditiously in withstanding the Authority of the Court: Nay, the very Sexton was reprimanded, and ordered not to meddle with the Church any more; and because he asked his Lordship simply, whether his meaning was, that he should not come to Church any more, he committed him for ridiculous Behavi-

L. of Ayl. our. Both Allen and Carew offered Bail, which p. 122. was refused, unless they would admit his Lord-M. s. ship's Clergyman. After eight Weeks Imprisonment they appealed to the Privy Council and were released; with which his Lordship was so displeased, that he writ to the Council a very angry Letter, calling the Prisoners Knaves, Rebels, Rascals, Fools,

Petty Gentlemen, Precisians, &c. And told their Honours, that if such Men were countenanced, he must yield up his Authority: But the Bishop never lest him till he had hunted him out of the Diocese.

Mr. Knight Mr. Knight suffered six Months Imprisonment for and Mr. not wearing the Apparel, and was fined 100 Marks. Negus's Mr. Negus was sufpended on the same Account: 28 of his Parishioners, who subscribed themselves his hungry Sheep that had no Shepherd, sign'd a Letter, befeeching him to conform; but he protested he could

not

not do it with a good Conscience, and so was deprived. Queen The Reverend Mr. Gifford of Malden was a mo-Elizabeth, dest Man, and irreprovable in his Life, a great and diligent Preacher (fays Mr. Strype) and efteem- Mr. Gifed by many of good Rank. He had writ learned-ford's sufly against the Brownists, and by his Diligence hadferings. wrought a wonderful Reformation in the Town; M. S. but being informed against for preaching up a limi- p. 410, ted Obedience to the Magistrate, he was suspended and imprisoned. After some Time he was brought upon his Trial, and his Accuser failing in his Evidence he was released. But the Bishop of London set- L. of Avl. ting his Spies upon him, he was imprifon'd again for p. 111. Non-Conformity. Upon this he applied to the Lord Treasurer, who writ to the Archbishop in his Fayour; but his Grace having confulted his Brother of London, told his Lordship that he was a Ring-leader of the Non-Conformists; that he himself had received Complaints against him, and was determined to bring him before the High Commission. The Parishioners of Malden presented a Petition in behalf of their Minister sign'd with 52 Hands, whereof two were Bailiffs of the Town, two Justices of the Peace, four Aldermen, fifteen Head Burgesses, and the Vicar: But to put an end to all further Application, the Archbishop writ to the Treasurer, "that Fuller, " he had rather die, or live in Prison all Days of B. 14. " his Life, than relax the Rigor of his Proceedings, p. 258. " by shewing Favour to one, which might give Oc-" casion to others to expect the same, and undo all " that he had been doing; he therefore befeeches his " Lordship not to animate this froward People by " writing in their Favour." Sir Francis Knollys the Queen's Kinsman, and Treasurer of her Chamber, feconded the Treasurer, beseeching his Grace to open the Mouths of zealous Preachers that were found in Doctrine, though they refused to subscribe to any Traditions of Men, not compellible by Law: But all was to no Purpose, for (as Fuller observes) " This

"This was the constant Custom of Whitgift; If any Elizabeth, ce Lord or Lady fued for Favour to any Non-Con-1584. " formists, he would profess how glad he was to " ferve them, and gratify their Defires, affuring B. IX. "them for his Part, that all possible Kindness p. 218.

" should be indulged to them, but at the same " Time he would remit nothing of his Rigor. he never denied any Man's Defire, and yet never " granted it, pleafing them for the present with ge-" neral Promises, but still kept to his own Resolu-"tion; whereupon the Nobility in a little Time " ceas'd making any further Application to him, as " knowing them to be ineffectual." Some of the Ministers were indicted at the Assizes, as Mr. Beaumont of East Thorp, Mr. Wilton of Aldbam, Mr. Hawk-

den of Frian, Mr. Seredge of East Having field, for omitting the Cross in Baptism, and for not wearing the Surplice once every Month, and at every Communion. Most of them were deprived, or to avoid it forced to quit their Livings and depart the Country.

Mr. Dyke

Among these was the excellent Mr. Dyke, Preacher Suspended. first at Coxal in Essex, and afterwards at St. Albans in Hertfordsbire, whose Character was without Blemish, and whose practical Writings discover him to be a Divine of confiderable Learning and Piety; he was fuspended, and at last deprived, because he continued but a Deacon, and did not enter into Priests Orders, which (as the Bishop supposed) he accounted Popish. He also refused to wear the Surplice, and troubled his Auditory with Notions that thwarted the established Religion. The Parishioners being concerned for the Loss of their Minister, petitioned the Lord Burleigh to intercede for them, fetting forth, "That they had " lived without any ordinary Preaching till within " these 4 or 5 Years, by the Want of which they

His Paripioners petition for bim.

L. of Ayl. P. 303.

" were unacquainted with their Duty to God, their " Sovereign, and their Neighbours; but that of

" late it had pleafed the Lord to vifit them with the

" Means of Salvation, the ordinary Ministry of the 66 Word,

"Word, in the Person of Mr. Dyke, an authorized Queen Minister, who according to his Function had been Elizabeth, painful and profitable, and both in Life and Do- ctrine had carried himself peaceably and dutifully among them, so as no Man could justly find Fault with him, except of Malice. There were some indeed that could not abide to hear their Faults reproved, but through his Preaching many had been brought from their Ignorance and evil Ways to a better Life, to be frequent Hearers of God's Word, and their Servants were in better Order than heretosore.

"They then give his Lordship to understand, that their Minister was suspended, and that they were as Sheep without a Shepherd, exposed to manifold Dangers, even to return to their former Ignorance and cursed Vanities: That the Lord had spoken it, and therefore it must be true, that where there is no Vision the People perish. They therefore pray his Lordship, in the Bowels of his Compassion, to pity them in their present Misery, and become a Means that they may enjoy their Preacher

" again."

Upon this Letter Lord Burleigh writ to the Bishop And the to restore him, promising that if he troubled the Lord Trea-Congregation with Innovations any more, he would furer, but join with the Bishop against him; but his Lordship excused himself, infinuating that he was charged with Incontinency; this occasioned a further Enquiry into Dyke's Character, which was cleared up by the Woman her felf that accused him, who confessed her wicked Contrivance, and asked him openly Forgive-His Lordship therefore insisted upon his being restored, forasmuch as the best Clergyman in the World might be thus flandered; besides, the People at St. Albans had no Teaching, having no Curate but an infufficient doting old Man. For this Favour (fays the Treasurer) I shall thank your Lordship, and will not folicit you any more, if hereafter he fhould

Queen should give just Cause of publick Offence against the Elizabeth, Orders of the Church established. But all that the Treasurer could say was inessectual; the Bishop of London was as inexorable as his Brother of Canter-

bury.

The Inhabitants of Effex had a vast Esteem for their Ministers; they could not part with them without Tears: When they could do nothing with the Bishop they applied to the Parliament, and to the Lords of the Privy Council. I have before me two or three Petitions from the Hundreds of Effex, and one from the County, fign'd by Francis Barrington, Efg; at the Head of above 200 Gentlemen and Tradefmen, House-Keepers; complaining in the strongest Terms, that the greatest Number of their present Ministers were unlearned, idle, or otherwise of scandalous Lives; and that those few from whom they reaped Knowledge and Comfort were molefted, threaten'd, and put to filence for small Matters in the Common Prayer, though they are Men of godly Lives and Conversations.

Mr. Beni- The Bishop was equally severe in other Parts of son's suf- his Diocese. The Reverend Mr. Barnaby Benison, ferings. a London Divine of good Learning, had been suspended and kept in Prison several Years, on pretence of penes me. some Irregularity in his Marriage: The Bishop charged him with being married in an Asternoon, and in the Presence of 2 or 200 People by Mr. Field

fome Irregularity in his Marriage: The Bishop charged him with being married in an Asternoon, and in the Presence of 2 or 300 People by Mr. Field a Nonconformist; for this he was committed to the Gate-House, where he had lain ever since the Year 1579. At length he applied to the Queen and Council, and in the State of his Case he declares, that he had invited but 40 Persons to the Solemnity, and that of them there were but 20 present; that he was married in a Morning, and according to Law; that when the Bishop sent for him and charged him with Sedition, he cleared himself to his Satisfaction; but that after he was gone home he gave private Orders under his own Hand for his being apprehended and

and fent to the Gate-House; that he was shut up there in a Dungeon eight Days, without knowing the Elizabeth, Cause of his Imprisonment, though good Dr. Hammond, and his faithful Father Fox who were both at the Wedding, and faw the whole Proceeding, went to the Bishop and affured him, that he was without Wickedness or Fault in that Way he went about to charge him; but his Lordship would not release him without fuch Bonds for his good Behaviour and Appearance as the Prisoner could not procure. "Thus "I continue, fays Mr. Benison, separated from my " Wife before I had been married to her two Weeks, " to the great Trouble of her Friends and Relations, " and to the staggering of the patient Obedience of " my Wife; for fince my Imprisonment his Lord-" ship has been endeavouring to separate us whom " God has joined together in the open Presence of " his People. Wherefore I most humbly befeech " your godly Honours, for the everlasting Love of God, and for the Pity you take upon God's true " Protestants and his poor People, to be a Means " that my pitiful Cry may be heard, and my just " Cause with some Credit be cleared, to God's Ho-" nour and her Majesty's, whose Favour I esteem " more than all the Bishop's Blessings or bitter Cur-" fings; and that I now being half Dead may reco-" ver again to get a poor Living with the little " Learning that God has fent me, to his Glory, to " the discharging some Part of my Duty, and to the " Profit of the Land.

The Council were so moved with Benison's Case, that they sent his Lordship the following Letter.

"Whereas Barnaby Benison Minister, has given the Counus to understand, the great Hindrance heeil's Letter
has received by your hard Dealing with him, and in his fahis long Imprisonment, for which if he should
bring his Action of false Imprisonment he should
recover Damages, which would touch your LordF f 4

"ship's

Queen 1584.

" ship's Credit; we therefore have thought fit to Elizabeth," require your Lordship to use some Consideration towards him, in giving him some Sum of Money to " repay the Wrong you have done him, and in re-" fpect of the Hindrance he hath incurred by your " hard Dealing towards him - Therefore pray-" ing your Lordship to deal with the poor Man, " that he may have Occasion to turn his Complaint " into giving to us a good Report of your charitable " Dealing, we bid you heartily farewel. Hampton

" Court, Nov. 14th. 1584. Sign'd,

Ambrose Warwick. Fr. Knollys, Walter Mildmay, Fr. Walfingbam, Wm. Burgbley, Bromley, Chan,

Fr. Bedford, Rob. Leicester, Charles Howard James Crofts, Chr. Hatton.

## After some Time the Bishop returned this Answer;

The B!-Pop's Anfulr.

Beseech your Lordships to consider, that 'tis a rare Example thus to press a Bishop for his " zealous Service to the Queen and the Peace of the " Church, especially the Man being found worthy " to be committed for Non-Conformity, to fay no-" thing of his contemptuous Using of me; never-" theless, fince it pleaseth your Lordships to require of fome reasonable Sum of Money, I pray you to con-" fider my poor Estate and great Charges otherwise, " together with the great Vaunt the Man will make of his Conquest over a Bishop. I hope therefore so your Lordships will be favourable to me, and " refer it to my felf, either to bestow upon him some " small Benefice, or otherwise to help him as Opor portunity offers. Or if this shall not satisfy the Man, or content your Lordships, leave him to the Trial of the Law, which I hope will not be 66 fo plain for him as he taketh it. Surely, my " Lords,

" Lords, this and the like must greatly discourage Queen " me in this poor Service of mine in the Commif-Elizabeth, " fion \_\_\_"

What Recompence the poor Man had for his long Imprisonment I can't find. But he was too wife to go to Law with a Bishop of the Court of High Commission, who had but little Conscience or Honour, and who notwithstanding his poor Estate and great Charges left behind him above 16000 l. in Money.

an Immense Sum for those Times.

His Lordship complained that he was hated like a L. of Ayl. Dog, and commonly stiled the Oppressor of the Chil-p. 96. dren of God; that he was in danger of being mob'd in his Progress at Malden, and other Places; which is not strange, considering his mean Appearance, being a very little Man, and his high and infulting Behaviour towards those that were brought before him. attended with ill Language and a cruel Spirit. This appears in numberless Instances: When Mr. Merbury, one of the Ministers of Northampton, was brought before him, he spake thus; -

B. Thou speakest of making Ministers; the Bi-Mr. Mershop of Peterborough was never more over-seen in his bury's Ex-Life, than when he admitted thee to be a Preacher amination

in Northampton.

MERBURY. Like enough fo, (in some Sense) I prisonment.

pray God these Scales may fall from his Eyes.

B. Thou art a very Ass; thou art Mad; thou Couragious! Nay, thou art Impudent; by my Troth I think he is Mad; he careth for no body.

M. Sir, I take exception at swearing Judges; I praise God I am not Mad, but forry to see you so

out of Temper.

B. Did you ever hear one more Impudent?

M. 'Tis not, I trust, Impudence to answer for my felf.

B. Nay, I know thou art Couragious; thou art Fool-hardy.

M. Tho

Queen Elizabeth, 1584. M. Tho' I fear not you, I fear the Lord.

Recorder of London. Is he learned?

B. He hath an arrogant Spirit; he can scarce construe Cato, I think.

M. Sir, You do not punish me because I am unlearned; howbeit I understand both the Greek and Latin Tongues; assay me to prove your Disgrace.

B. Thou takest upon thee to be a Preacher, but there is nothing in thee; thou art a very Ass, an

Ideot, and a Fool.

M. I humbly befeech you, Sir, have Patience; give this People better Example; I am that I am through the Lord; I submit the Trial of my Sufficiency to the Judgment of the Learned; but this

wandring Speech is not logical.

Part of a Register, p. 382. Peirce's Vindic. p. 97. There is a great deal more of the same Language in this Examination; one Thing is remarkable, that he insults poor Merbury, because he was for having a Minister in every Parish. At parting he gave him the Salutation of an Overthwart, proud, Puritan Knave; and sent him to the Marshalsea, though he had been twice in Prison before.

Remarks.

How different was this from the Apostolical Character of a Bishop! A Bishop (saith St. Paul) should be blameless, of good Behaviour, no Brawler, nor Striker, nor greedy of filthy Lucre. —— The Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all Men, patient, in Meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, that they may recover them out of the Snare of the Devil. Nay, how different was this Bishop from himself before he put on Lawn Sleeves! For in his Book, entitled the Harbour for faithful Subjects, published soon after the Queen's Accession, are these Words. "Come off ye Bishops, away with your Super-

"fluities, yield up your Thousands; be content with Hundreds, as they be in other reformed

"Churches where be as great learned Men as you are. Let your Portion be Priest-like and not

" Prince-like; let the Queen have the rest of your

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" Temporalities and other Lands, to maintain these "Wars which you procured, and your Mistress left Elizabeth, 1584. " her; and with the rest to build and found Schools " throughout the Realm; That every Parish may have " bis Preacher, every City bis Superintendent, to live " honeftly and not pompoufly, which will never be, " unless your Lands be dispersed and bestowed upon " many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one; " remember that Abimelech, when David in his Ba-" nishment would have dined with him, kept such " Hospitality that he had no Bread in his House to " give him but the Shew-Bread. Where was all-his "Superfluity to keep your pretended Hospitality? " For that is the Cause you pretend why you must " have Thousands, as though you were commanded " to keep Hospitality rather with a Thousand than " with a Hundred. I would our Countryman Wick- L. of Ayl. " liff's Book de Ecclesia were in print, there should p. 269. " you fee that your Wrinches and Cavillations be " nothing worth." When the Bishop was put in mind of this Passage, he made no other Reply

than that of St. Paul, When I was a Child I spake as a Child, I thought as a Child.

The Case of those Clergymen who were sent for up Hardspips to Lambeth from the remotest Parts of the Kingdom of the was yet harder. Mr. Elliston Vicar of Preston, made Country seven Journies to Peterborough, which was 36 Miles from his House, and ten to London, within the Compass of two Years, besides several to Leicester and Northampton at his own Cost and Charge; and after all, was deprived for not subscribing. To whom might be added, Mr. Stephen Turner, Mr. William Fleming of Beccles, Mr. Holden of Biddlessone, and others.

Among these, the Case of the Reverend Mr. Mr. Paget's Eusebius Paget, Minister of the Parish Church of Sufferings. Kilkbampton in the Diocese of Exon, was very moving; M. S. this Divine, at the Time of his Presentation, acquain-P. 582. ted his Patron and Ordinary, that he could not with Quietness of Conscience use some Rites, Ceremo-

nies,

nies, and Orders appointed in the Service Book; who Elizabeth, promised, that if he would take the Charge of the faid Cure, he should not be urged to the precise Obfervation of them; upon which Condition he accepted the Charge, and was admitted and regularly inducted. Mr. Paget was a lame Man, but in the Opinion of Mr. Strype a learned, peaceable, and quiet Divine, who had complied with the Customs and Devotions of the Church, and was indefatigable in his Work, travelling up and down the neighbouring Country to preach the plain Principles of Religion; but Mr. Farmer, Curate of Barnstable, envying his Popularity, complain'd of him to the High Commission, (1.) Because he did not mention in his Prayers the Queen's Supremacy over both Estates, (2.) Because he had said that the Sacraments were but dumb Elements, and did not avail without the Word preached. (3.) Because he had preached that Christ did not descend into Hell both Body and Soul. (4.) That the Pope might fet up the Feast of Jubilee as well as the Feafts of Easter and Pentecost. (5.) That Holy Days and Fasting Days were but the Traditions of Men, which we were not obliged to follow. (6.) That he disallowed the Use of Organs in Divine Service. (7.) That he called Ministers that don't preach dumb Dogs; and those that have two Benefices Knaves. (8.) That he preached that the late Queen Mary was a detestable Woman and a wicked fezebel.

Articles against kim.

But when Mr. Paget appeared before the Commiffioners, Jan. 11th. 1584. he was only articled according to the common Form, for not observing the Book of Common Prayer, and the Rites and Geremonies of the Church. To which he made the following Anfwer:

And bis An wer. M. S. p. 570.

T Do acknowledge, that by the Statute of the Ist of Eliz. I am bound to use the said Com-" mon Prayer Book in fuch Manner and Form as is

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" prescribed, or else to abide such Pains as by the Queen Law is imposed upon me.

Elizabeth,

2. " I have not refused to use the said Common, " Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments in such Or-" der as the Book appoints, though I have not used " all the Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders fet forth " in the faid Book, (1.) Partly because to my Know-" ledge there is no Common Prayer Book in the " Church. (2.) Because I am informed that You " before whom I stand, and mine Ordinary, and the " most part of the other Bishops and Ministers, do " use greater Liberty in omitting and altering the " faid Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders. (3.) And " especially for that I am not fully resolved in Con-" science, I may use diverse of them. (4.) Because " when I took the Charge of that Church I was pro-" mised by my Ordinary, that I should not be urged to " fuch Ceremonies; which I am informed he might " do by Law.

3. "In these Things which I have omitted I have done nothing obstinately; neither have I used any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or Manner of Administration of the Sacraments, or open Prayers, than is mentioned in the said Book; although there be some Things which I doubt

" whether I may use or practise.

"Wherefore I humbly pray, that I may have the Liberty allowed by the faid Book, to have in fome convenient Time a favourable Conference either with mine Ordinary, or with fome other by you to be affigned; which I feek not for any defire I have to keep the faid Living, but only for the better Resolution and Satisfaction of my own Conscience, as God knoweth." Subscribed thus — By me

Lame Eusebius Paget, Minister.

This Answer not proving satisfactory he was immediately suspended; and venturing to preach after his

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from

M. S.

p. 572.

Queen his Suspension he was deprived; the principal Causes Elizabeth, of his Deprivation were these two;

1. Omission of part of the publick Prayers; the Cross

Causes of in Baptism, and the Surplice.

bis Depri- 2. Irregularities incurr'd by dealing in the Ministry

vation ar- after Suspension.

But in the Opinion of the Civilians neither of these Things could warrant the Proceedings of the Court, (1.) Because Mr. Paget had not Time, nor a Conference, as he craved and as the Statute in doubtful Matters warranteth. (2.) Because he had not three feveral Admonitions, nor fo much as one to do that in Time, which the Law requires. If this had been done, and upon fuch Respite and Admonition he had not conformed, then the Law would have took him for a Recusant, but not otherwise. (3.) If this Course had been taken, yet Mr. Paget's Omissions had so many favourable Circumstances (as the Parish's not having provided a Book, and his Ordinary's promifing not to urge him with the precise Observance of all the Ceremonies) that it was hardly confiftent with the advised Consideration and Charity of a Judge to deprive him at once.

As to his Irregularity, by dealing in the Ministry after Suspension, the Suspension was thought to be void, because it is founded upon a Method not within the Cognisance of those that gave Sentence; for the Ground is refusing to subscribe to Articles tender'd by the Ecclefiaftical Commissioners, who had no Warrant to offer any such Articles at all; for their Authority reaches no further than to reform and correct Facts done contrary to certain Statutes expressed in their Commission, and contrary to other Ecclefiastical Laws; but there was never yet any Clause in their Commission to offer Subscription to Articles of their own Devising. fuppose the Suspension was good, the Irregularity was taken away by the Queen's Pardon long before his Deprivation. Besides, Mr. Paget did not deal in the Ministry after his Suspension, till he had obtained 11.

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from the Archbishop of Canterbury a Release from that Suspension, which if it was not sufficient, it was Elizabeth, apprehended by him to be fo, the Archbishop being chief in the Commission; and all the Canonists allow, that Simplicity, and ignorant mistaking of Things, being void of wilful Contempt, is a lawful Excuse to discharge Irregularity. But the Commissioners avowed their own Act, and the Patron disposed of the Living to another.

Mr. Paget having a numerous Family fet up a little His further School, but the Arms of the Commissioners reached Sufferings. him there; for being required to take out a Licence, they tender'd him the Articles to Subscribe, which he refusing, they shut up his School and sent him a begging. Let us hear his own Relation of his Case in a Letter that he fent to that great Sea Captain Sir John Hawkins, who had a great Esteem for this good Man.

" I was never present at any separate Assembly from L. of Whit-" the Church (fays he) but abhorred them. I al-gift, p. 377;

" ways reforted to my Parish Church, and was pre-" fent at Service and Preaching; and received the

" Sacrament according to the Book. I thought it my

"Duty not to forfake a Church because of some Ble-" mishes in it; but while I have endeavoured to live

" in Peace others have prepared themselves for War.

"I am turn'd out of my Living by Commandment.

" I afterwards preached without Living or a Penny " Stipend; and when I was forbid I ceased. I then

" taught a few Children, to get a little Bread for my

" felf and mine to eat; fome disliked this, and wished " me to forbear, which I have done, and am now to

" go as an idle Rogue and Vagabond from Door to

"Door to beg my Bread, though I am able in a " lawful Calling to get it." Thus this learned and useful Divine was laid aside till the Death of Whitgift, after which he was instituted to the Living of St. Anne,

alias Agnes, within Aldersgate.

The Reverend Mr. Walter Travers, B. D. fome-Mr. Tratime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, already vers's men-Cafe.

mentioned, came into Trouble this Year. He had Elizabeth, been ordained at Antwerp, and being an admired Preacher, a fine Gentleman, and of great Learning, he became domestick Chaplain to Secretary Cecil, and Lecturer at the Temple. Dr. Alvey the Master dying about this Time, Travers was recommended to fucceed him by the Doctor on his Death-Bed, and by the Benchers of the House, in a Petition to the Treasurer on his behalf; but the Archbishop inter. posed, and declared peremptorily, that unless he would be re-ordained according to the Usage of the Church of England, and would subscribe to bis Articles, he would not admit him. Upon which he was fet aside, and Mr. Hooker was preferr'd. Travers continued Lecturer about two Years longer, and was then deprived of his Lectureship and deposed from the Ministry. The Treasurer and other of Fravers's Friends, advised him for Peace fake to be re-ordained; but he replied in a Letter to his Lordship, that this would be to invalidate his former Orders; and not only fo, but as far as in him lies, to invalidate the Ordinations of all the foreign Churches. " As for my felf (fays he) "I had a sufficient Title to the Ministerial Office, ha-" ving been ordained according to God's holy Word, " with Prayers and Imposition of Hands, and accord-" ing to the Order of a Church of the same Faith and " Profession with the Church of England, as appears " by my Testimonials." He prayed his Lordship to consider further, whether his subscribing the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Profession of the true Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, as agreed upon in the Convocation of 1562. which most willingly, and with all his Heart he affented to according to the Statute, did not qualify him for a Minister in the Church, as much as if he had been ordained according to the English Form. But the Archbishop was determined to have a strict Eye upon the Inns of Court, and to bring them to the publick Standard; and the rather, because some of them pretended to be II.

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be exempt from his Jurisdiction; for though in all Queen other Places the Sacrament was received in the Po-Elizabeth; sture of Kneeling, the Templers received it to this very Time sitting. Travers would have introduced Strype's the Posture of Standing at the Side of the Table, but An. p.244, the Benchers insisted upon their Privilege, and would receive it in no other Posture but Sitting. The Archbishop, in order to put an End to this Practice, would admit none but an High Conformist, that they might be obliged to receive it Kneeling, or not at all.

The harder the Church pressed upon the Puritans, Book of the more were they disaffected to the National Esta-Discipline. blishment, and the more resolute in their Attempts for a Reformation of Discipline. There was a Book in high Esteem among them at this Time, entitled Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra ex Dei verbo descripta; that is The Holy Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God. It was drawn up in Latin by Mr. Travers, and printed at Geneva, about the Year 1574, but fince that Time had been diligently reviewed, corrected, and perfected by Mr. Cartwright, and other learned Ministers at their Synods. It was translated into English this Year, with a Preface by Mr. Cartwright, and defign'd to be published for more general Use; but as it was printing at Cambridge it was feized at the Press: The Archbishop advised that all the Copies should be burnt as factious and seditious, but one was found in Mr. Cartwright's Study after his Death, and reprinted in the Year 1644. under this new Title, A Directory of Government anciently contended for, and as far as the Time would suffer, practised by the first Non-Conformists in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the Study of the most accomplished Divine, Mr. Tho. Cartwright, after his Decease, and reserved to be published for such a Time as this. Published by Authority. It contains the Substance of those Alterations in Discipline, that the Puritans of these Times contended for, and was subscribed by the Brethren hereafter named, as

Queen agreeable to the Word of God, and to be promoted by Elizabeth, all ldwful Means, that it may be established by the Authority of the Magistrate and of the Church; and in the mean Time to be observed, as far as lawfully they may, consistently with the Laws of the Land and Peace of the Church. I have therefore given it Appendix, a Place in the Appendix, and desire the Reader to No II. turn to it.

The Ab-

Strype's

Ann. p. 233,

283.

Another Treatife, writ and difperfed privately about this Time, against the Discipline of the Church, was entitled an Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament. and of certain of ber Majesty's Injunctions and Canons. &c. printed by H. Denham, 1584. The Author's Design was to shew, That the Bishops in their Ecclefiaftical Courts had exceeded their Power, and broke through the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; which was fo notorious, that the Answerer, instead of confuting the Abstracter, blames him for exposing their Father's Nakedness, to the thrusting through of Religion by the Sides of the Bishops. was in fault? Shall the Liberties and Properties of Mankind be under an arbitrary Direction, and the poor Sufferers not be allowed to hold up the Laws and Statutes of the Land to their Oppressors, because of their great Names or religious Characters?

Puritans The Affairs of the Church were in this Ferment apply to the when the Parliament met Nov. 23. in which the PuriParliations, despairing of all other Relief, resolved to make their utmost Efforts for a surther Resormation of

p. 173. Church Discipline. Fuller says, their Agents were foliciting at the Door of the House of Commons all Day, and making Interest in the Evening at the Chambers of Parliament Men; and if the Queen would have taken the Advice of her two Houses they

Lof Whit-had been made easy. December 14th three Petitions gift,p.167; were offered to the House; one touching Liberty for godly Preachers; a second to exercise and continue their Ministry; and a third for a speedy Supply of able Men for destitute Places. The first was brought in

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by Sir Thomas Lucy; the second by Sir Edward Dymock; and the third by Mr. Gates. Soon after this Elizabeth, Dr. Turner stood up, and put the House in Remembrance of a Bill and Book which he had heretofore offered to the House; the Bill was entitled, An Bill Act concerning the Subscription of Ministers, and pro-brought in. poles, " That no other Subscription but what is en- M. S. is joined by the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, be required p. 466. " of any Minister or Preacher in the Church of Eng-" land; and that the refusing to subscribe any other " Articles, shall not be any Cause for the Arch-" bishops or Bishops, or any other Persons having " Ecclefiaftical Jurisdiction, to refuse any of the " faid Ministers to any Ecclesiastical Office, Fun-" ction or Dignity; but that the faid Archbishops; " Bishops, &c. shall institute, induct, admit and " invest, or cause to be instituted, &c. such Per-" fons as shall be presented by the lawful Patrons, " notwithstanding their refusal to subscribe any other " Articles not fet down in the Statute 12 Eliz. And that no Minister for the future shall be suspended, " deprived, or otherwise molested in Body or Goods; " by virtue of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, but " only in the Cases of obstinately and wilfully de-" fending any Herefies, condemned by the express "Word of God, or for their diffolute Lives, which " shall be proved by two credible Witnesses, or by "their own voluntary Confession." The Book confisted of 34 Articles of Complaint, but by Advice of the House it was reduced by the Ministers into a Petition confifting of 16 Articles, which he defired might be imparted to the House of Lords, and they be requested to join with the Commons in exhibiting them by way of humble Suit to the The five first were against insufficient Minifters; then followed, 6. That all Pastors to be admitted to Cures might Their Pets

posals for

Reforma

be tried and allowed by the Parishes,

p. 466.

Fuller, B. IX.

p. 190.

Queen 7. That no Oath or Subscription might be tender-Elizabeth, ed to any at their Entrance into the Ministry, but 1584. Such as is expressly prescrib'd by the Statutes of this Realm, except the Oath against corrupt entring.

8. That Ministers may not be troubled for Omiffion of some Rites or Portions prescrib'd in the Book of Common Prayer.

9. That they may not be called and urged to answer before the Officials and Commissaries, but before the Bishops themselves.

10. That fuch as had been suspended or deprived for no other Offence, but only for not subscribing,

might be restored.

munication ex Officio mero of godly and learned Preachers, not detected for open Offence of Life, or apparent Error in Doctrine; and that they might not be called before the High Commission, or out of the Diocese where they lived, except for some notable Offence.

12. That it might be permitted to them in every Archdeaconry, to have some common Exercises and Conferences among themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the Ordinaries.

13. That the high Censure of Excommunication may not be denounced or executed for small Mat-

ters.

14. Nor by Lay-Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials, but by the Bishops themselves, with the

Affistance of grave Persons.

be quite removed out of the Church, or at least that according to the Queen's Injunctions (Article 44.) no Non-Resident having already a Licence or Faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able Curate, that may weekly preach and catechize, as is required in her Majesty's Injunctions.

This Bill and Petition was attended with a moving Supplication to the Queen and Parliament, in

Attended with a supplica-

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the

the Name of Thousands of the poor untaught People Queen of England, drawn up by Mr. Sampson, in which they Elizabeth, complain, that in many of their Congregations they, had none to break the Bread of Life, nor the comfortable Preaching of God's holy Word: That the Strype's Bishops in their Ordinations had no regard to such as Ann. were qualified to preach, provided they could but read, and did but conform to the Ceremonies: That they deprived fuch as were capable of Preaching on the account of Ceremonies that do not edify, but are rather unprofitable Burdens to the Church; and that they molest the People that go from their own Parish Churches to feek the Bread of Life, when they have no Preaching at home. They complain, that there are Thousands of Parishes destitute of the neceffary Means of Salvation, and therefore pray the Queen and Parliament to provide a Remedy.

In answer to the Petition last mentioned the Bishop A sewer of of Winchester, in the Name of his Brethren, drew up the Bishops.

the following Reply:

The five first Petitions tend to one Thing, that is the Reformation of an unlearned and insufficient Ministry; to which we answer, that though there are many such in the Church, yet that there was never less Reason to complain of them than at present, and that Things were mending every Day.

To the 6th Article they answered, That it savour'd of popular Elections long since abrogated; that it would breed Divisions in Parishes, and preju-

dice the Patron's Right.

To the 7th Article and the four following they Lof Whitreply, That if they are granted the whole Hierarchy gift, p 188, will be unbraced; for the 7th Article shakes the Ground of all Ecclesiastical Government, as subverting the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Bishop in ominibus licitis & honestis. The 8th Article requires a Dispensation from the civil Magistrate, to the subverting the Ast for Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. and Consirmation of the Rites and Ceremo-

Queen nies of the Church. The 9th desires a Dispensation Elizabeth, from the Jurisdiction of our Ecclesiastical Courts, as Chancellors, Officials, &c. which will in the end

Chancellors, Officials, &c. which will in the end fubvert all Episcopal Authority. To the 10th they say, That the Ministers that have been suspended are heady, rash and contentious; and 'tis a perilous Example, to have Sentences revoked that have been given according to Law, except they would yield. The 11th Petition cutteth off another considerable Branch of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, viz. the Oath ex Officio, which is very necessary in some Cases, where the Parishioners are so perverse, that though the Minister varies the Service of the Church as by Law appointed, they will not complain, much less be Witnesses against him.

The Exercises mentioned in the 12th Article are

by the Queen's Majesty suppressed.

To the 13th and 14th they answer, That they are willing to petition the Queen, that the Sentence of Excommunication may be pronounced by the Bishop, with such Assistance as he shall call in, or by some Ecclesiastical Person commissioned by him.

Whitgift, the small Value of many Ecclesiastical Livings, p. 193. made Pluralities and Non-Residencies in a manner ne-

ceffary.

The Debates upon this last Head running very gainst Plushigh, a Bill was ordered to be brought in immediateralities. ly against Pluralities and Non-Residencies, and for Los Whit-Appeals out of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It was said in gist. p. 194 savour of the Bill, that Non-Residencies and Pluralities were malum in se, Evil in their own Nature; that they answered no valuable Purpose, but hindered the Industry of the Clergy, and were a Means to keep the Country in Ignorance, at a Time when there was but 3000 Preachers to supply 9000 PaThe Conver rishes. The Archbishop drew up his Reasons against

The Archbishop drew up his Reasons against easien flies the Bill, and prevailed with the Convocation to present them in an Address to the Queen, wherein they queen.

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now in danger from the Bill depending in the House Elizabeth, of Commons against Pluralities and Non-Residencies; which (say they) impeacheth your Majesty's Prerogative; lesseneth the Revenues of the Crown;
overthrows the Study of Divinity in both Universities; will deprive Men of the Livings they lawfully posses; will beggar the Clergy; will bring
in a base and unlearned Ministry; lessen the Hofpitality of Cathedrals; be an Encouragement to
Students to go over to foreign Seminaries, where
they may be better provided for; and in a
Word, will make way for Anarchy and Confusion.

And to give some Satisfaction to the Publick they Bisops presented fix Articles to the Queen, as the Sum of Proposals. all that needed Amendment. The first was, that Life of none should be admitted into Holy Orders under 24 Whitgift, Years of Age; that they should have Presentation to p. 209. a Cure; that they should bring Testimonials of their good Life; and that the Bishop might refuse whom he thought fit, without the Danger of a Quare impedit. The second was, to restrain the Commutation of Penance, except upon great Confideration, of which the Bishop to be Judge. The third was to restrain Licences to marry without Banes. The fourth to moderate some Excesses about Excommunication. The fifth for restraining Pluralities of Benefices. The fixth concerning Fees to Ecclefiastical Officers and their Servants. But even these Articles lay by till the Year 1597. when they were confirmed in Convocation, and afterwards incorporated among the Canons.

In the mean Time, the Bill against Pluralities pass- The Bill sed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the rejected by Lords, where the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Lords, and Bishop of Winchester made long Speeches, shewing That neither the Cathedrals, nor Professors in the Universities could subsist without them. To prove this,

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Queen they produced a Lift of the small Value of many Ec-Elizabeth, clefiaftical Livings, according to the Queen's Books. To which it was replied, That there were many fuspended Preachers would be glad of the smallest of those Livings, if they might have them without Moleflation; however, that it were more proper to go upon Ways and Means for the Augmentation of smaller Livings, than to fuffer the poor People to perish for lack of Knowledge, while the Incumbents were indulged in Idleness and Sloth; but the Weight of the Bench of Bishops, with the Court Interest, threw out the Bill.

Other Bills mation brought in.

This exasperated the Commons to that Degree, for Refor that after the Holidays they refumed the Debate of the Bill of Petitions, and ordered several other Bills to be brought in to clip the Wings of the Bishops, and lessen the Power of the Spiritual Courts. One was for fwearing Bishops in the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench, that they should act nothing against the Common Law of the Land. Another to reduce their A third for Liberty to marry at all Times of the Year. A fourth for the Qualification of Minifters. And a fifth for Restoring of Discipline. The Act for qualifying Ministers annuls all popish Ordipations; and disqualifies such as were not capable of Preaching, as well as those that were convicted of Prophaneness, or any kind of Immorality; but obliges the Successor to allow the deprived Minister a sufficient Maintenance at the Discretion of the Justices of the Quarter Sessions; and if the Living be not fufficient 'tis to be done by a Parish Rate, It insists upon a careful Examination and Trial of the Qualifications of Candidates for the Ministry by the Bithop, affisted by 12 of the Laity; and makes the Election, or Consent of the People, necessary to his Induction to the Pastoral Charge. The Bill for Dicipline is for abolishing the Canon Law and all the Spiritual Courts; and for bringing the Probats of Testaments, and all Civil Business into the Courts of

M. S. 213.

of Westminster Hall; it appoints a Presbytery or El- Queen dership in each Parish, which together with the Elizabeth, Minister, shall determine the Spiritual Business of the Parish, with an Appeal to higher Judicatories in cases of Complaint.

Mr. Strype fays, the Bill for the Qualification of Ministers past the Commons, which put the Archbishop into such a Fright, that the very next Day

he writ the following Letter to the Queen.

May it please your Majesty to be advertised,

"HAT notwithstanding the Charge of late The Abp's given by your Highness to the lower House Letter to of Parliament, for dealing in Causes of the the Queen. Church; albeit also, according to your Majesty's L. of Whitegood liking, we have sent down Order for the gift, p. 198. admitting of meet Men in the Ministry hereafter;

" yet have they pass'd a Bill in that House yester-"day touching that Matter; which beside other "Inconveniencies (as namely the Trial of the Mini-

" sters Sufficiency by 12 Laymen, and such like)

"hath this also, that if it pass by Parliament it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be altered, what

" Necessity soever shall urge thereunto: Which I " am persuaded in a short Time will appear, consi-

" dering the Multitudes of Livings, not fit for Men fo qualified, by reason of the Smallness thereof;

"whereas if it is but as a Canon from us by your

" Majesty's Authority, it may be observ'd or alter'd

" at Pleasure.

"They have also pass'd a Bill, giving Liberty to marry at all Times of the Year without restraint, contrary to the old Canons continually observed among us; and containing Matter which tendeth to the Slander of this Church, As HAVING HI-

"THERTO MAINTAIN'D AN ERROR.
"There is likewise now in hand in the same
"House, a Bill concerning Ecclesiastical Courts,

and Visitation by Bishops; which may reach to

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" the Overthrow of Ecclefiastical Jurisdiction, and Blizabeth, " Study of the Civil Laws. The Pretence of the "Bill is against excessive Fees and Exactions in Ec-

clefiaftical Courts; which Fees are none other "than have been of long Time accustom'd to be ta-

ken; the Law already establish'd providing a " sharp and severe Punishment for such as shall ex-

act the fame; besides an Order also which we " have at this Time for the better Performance

" thereof.

" I therefore most humbly befeech your Majesty, et to continue your gracious Goodness towards us,

who with all Humility submit our selves to your

" Highness, and cease not daily to pray for your " happy State, and long and prosperous Reign over

From Lambeth, the 24th of March, 1584.

Your Majesty's Chaplain, and daily Orator most bound, Jo. CANTUAR.

The Queen was pleafed with the Archbishop's Her Majesty puts a Advice of making Alterations by Canon and not by Stop to Statute, that she might reserve the Power in her own them. Hands; and immediately fent a Message to the Commons by the Lord Treasurer, to reprimand them " for encroaching upon her Supremacy, and for at-" tempting what she had forbidden, with which she " was highly offended; and to command the Speaker

> " in her Majesty's Name, to see that no Bills touch-" ing Reformation in Caufes Ecclefiaftical should be

> " exhibited; and if any fuch were exhibited, she " commands him upon his Allegiance not to read

Remarks. " them." The Commons now faw their Mistake, in vesting the whole Power of reforming the Policy of the Church in the fingle Person of the Queen, who knew how to act the Sovereign, and display her Prerogative as well as her Father. If it had been referved

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served to the whole Legislature, Queen, Lords and Commons, with Advice of the representative Body of Blizabeth, the Clergy, it had been more equitable; but now if the whole Nation were diffatisfied, not an infignicant Rite or Ceremony must be changed, nor a Bill be brought into either House of Parliament for that purpose: No Lay - Person in the Kingdom must meddle with Religion but the Queen; the Hands of Lords and Commons are tied up, her Majesty is absolute, and no Motion for Reformation must arise from

any but her felf.

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The Archbishop's Reasons against the Bill for Whitgist's Marrying at any time of the Year are very extraor- Arguments dinary; 'tis contrary (fays his Grace) to the old Ca-against nons. But many of these are contrary to the Canon of at all Scripture; and this in particular feems a little to Times of resemble the Character which the Apostle gives of an the Tear. Apostate from the Faith, I Tim. iv. 3. Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats. He adds, It tendeth to the Slander of the Church, AS HA-VING HITHERTO MAINTAINED AN ERROR. Is it then a Slander to the Church of England, or to any Protestant Church, to fay she is Fallible and may have maintained an Error? Have not Faibers and Councils erred? Nay, in the very Church of Rome, which alone lays Claim to INFALLIBILITY, have we not read of one Pope and Council reverfing the Decrees of another? The 21st Article of the Church of England fays, that General Councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in Things pertaining to God. And if a general Council may err, even in Things of Importance to Salvation, furely it can be no Slander to fay a Convocation, a Parliament, or a fingle Person may mistake in commanding to abstain from Meats, and forbidding to marry at certain Times of the Year.

While the Puritans were attending the Parliament, puritans they did not neglect the Convocation: A Petition was apply to presented to them in the Name of the Ministers that Convocarefused tion.

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refused to subscribe the Archbishop's three Articles. Elizabeth, wherein they defire to be fatisfied in their Scruples, which the Law admits, but had not hitherto been attempted. The Convocation rejecting M. S. their Petition, the Ministers printed their Apology P. 595. to the Church, and bumble Suit to the High Court of Parliament, in which they mention feveral Things in the publick Service as repugnant to the Word of God, as, Requiring Faith in an Infant to be baptized; Confounding Baptism and Regeneration; Adding to the pure and perfect Institutions of Christ the Cross in Baptism and the Ring in Marriage; Advancing the Writings of the Apocrypha to a Level with Holy Scripture by reading them in the Church; with many others. They conclude with an earnest Supplication to their Superiors, to be continued in their Callings, confidering their being fet apart to the Miniftry, and the Obligations they were under to God and their People; they protest they will do any Thing they can without Sin, and the rather, because they are apprehensive that the Shepherds being stricken their Flocks will be scattered.

And to the The Puritans last Resort was to the Archbishop, Archbishop. who had a prevailing Interest in the Queen; a Paper was therefore published, entitled Means how to settle a godly and charitable Quietness in the Church; humbly addressed to the Archbishop, and containing

the following Proposals.

Their Pro
1. That it would please his Grace not to press such posals.

Subscription as had been of late required, seeing in Lof Whit-the Parliament that established the Articles, the Subscription was missived and put out.

2. That he would not oblige Men to accuse themfelves by the Oath ex Officio, it being contrary to

Law, and the Liberty of the Subject.

3. That those Ministers who have been of late suspended, may be restored, upon giving a Bond and Security not to preach against the Dignities of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. nor to disturb the Order of

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the Church, but to maintain it as far as they can; Queen and soberly to teach Jesus Christ crucified.

4. That Ministers may not be exposed to the malicious Prosecution of their Enemies, upon their Omis-

fion of any TITLE in the Service Book.

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5. That they may not be obliged to read the Apocrypba, feeing in the first Book printed in her Majesty's Reign the same was lest out, and was afterwards inserted without Warrant of Law, and contrary to the Statute, which allows but three Alterations.

- 6. That the Cross in Baptism may not be enforced, seeing in King Edward's 2d Book there was a Note which left that, and some other Rites indifferent; which Note ought to have been in the Queen's Book, it not being among the Alterations appointed by Statute.
- 7. They further defire, that in Baptism the Godfathers may answer in their own Names, and not in the Child's.
- 8. That Midwives and Women may not bap-

9. That the Words upon Delivery of the Ring in

Marriage may be left indifferent.

10. That his Grace would not urge the precise wearing of the Gown, Cap, Tippet and Surplice, but only that Ministers be obliged to wear Apparel meet and decent for their Callings.

are licensed to preach, behaving themselves well, be not enforced to minister the Sacraments, unless they

be content fo to do.

But the Archbishop would abate nothing, nor ad-They are mit of the least Latitude from the National Establish-rejested, ment. He writ an Answer to the Proposals, in which he insists upon a full Conformity, telling the Petitioners, that it was none of his Business to alter the Ecclesiastical Laws, or dispense with them; which was all they were to expect from him. What could wise

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wife and good Men do more in a peaceable way for Queen Elizabeth, the Liberty of their Confciences, or a further Reformation in the Church? They petition'd the Queen. applied to both Houses of Parliament, and addressed the Convocation and Bishops; they moved no Seditions nor Riots, but fasted and prayed for the Queen and Church as long as they were allowed; and when they could ferve them no longer, they patiently fubmitted to Suspensions and Deprivations, Fines and Imprisonments, till it should please God, of his infinite Mercy, to open a Door for their further Useful. ness.

The Papifts made their Advantages of these Divi-

1585. State of Popery.

Strype's

fions; a Plot was discovered this very Year against the Queen's Life, for which Lord Paget and others fled their Country; and one Parry was executed, who was to have killed her Majesty, as she was riding An. p.249. Abroad; to which (it is faid) the Pope encouraged him, by granting him his Bleffing, and a plenary Indulgence and Remission of all his Sins; assuring him that belides the Merit of the Action in Heaven. his Holiness would make himself his Debtor in the best Manner he could, and therefore exhorted him to put his most holy and bonourable Purposes in Execution; this was written from Rome, 7an. 30. 1584. and figned by the Cardinal of Como. MARY Queen of Scots was big with Expectation of the Crown of England at this Time, from the Preparations of foreign popish Princes, who were determined to make the strongest Efforts to set her upon the Throne, and to restore the Catholick Religion in England; but they could not get ready before het Head was laid down upon the Block.

Proceedings of Parliament Ibid. p. 293.

The Parliament that met again in November being fensible of the Importance of the Queen's Life, enter'd into a voluntary Affociation to revenge her Death, if that should happen by any Violence. They also made a severe Statute against Jesuits and Seminary Priests, or others that engaged in any Plots, by

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virtue of the Bull of Excommunication of Pope Queen Pius V. and against any Subject of England that Elizabeth, should go Abroad for Education in any of the popish Seminaries. But none of these Things could move the Queen or Bishops to take any Steps towards uniting Protestants among themselves.

But to put an effectual Stop to the Pens of the Press re-Church's Adversaries, his Grace applied to the Queen strained. for a further Restraint of the Press, which he obtained Life of and published by Authority of the Star-Chamber (says Mr. Whitegist, Strype) June 23. 28 Eliz. It was framed by the Arch-P. 223.

bishop's Head, who writ a Preface to it: The Decree was to this Purpose, "That there should be no Printing Presses in private Places, nor any where but in London and the two Universities. No new Presses were to be set up but by Licence from the Archbishop, and Bishop of London for the Time being; They to signify the same to the Wardens of the Stationers Company, who should present fuch as they chose to be Masters of Printing Presses before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for their Approbation. No Person to print any Book unless first allowed according to the Queen's In-

" junctions, and to be feen and perused by the Archbishop or Bishop of London, or their Chaplain.

No Book to be printed against any of the Laws in

"being, nor any of the Queen's Injunctions. Per"fons that should fell or bind up such Books to suffer
"3 Months Imprisonment. And it shall be lawful
"for the Wardens of the Stationers Company to
"make search after them, and seize them to her

"Majesty's Use; and the Printers shall be disabled from exercising their Trade for the suture, and fuffer 6 Months Imprisonment, and their Presses

"be broken." But notwithstanding this Edict, the Archbishop was far from enjoying a peaceable Triumph, for the Puritans found Ways and Means from Abroad to propagate their Writings, and expose the

Severity of their Adversaries.

Some

Queen 1585. Prophe/yings revi-Strype's Ann.

p. 328.

M. S.

P. 515.

Some faint Attempts were made this Summer for Elizabeth, reviving the Exercises called Prophesyings, in the Diocese of Chester, where the Clergy were very ignorant : Bishop Chadderton drew up proper Regulations, in Imitation of those already mentioned; but the Defign came to nothing. The Bishop of Litchfield and Goventry also published some Articles for his Visitation which favoured of Puritanism, as against Non-Refidents, for making a more strict Enquiry into the Qualifications of Ministers, and for restraining unworthy Communicants. He also erected a kind of Judicatory, confifting of four learned Divines with himself, to examine such as should be presented for Ordination. When the Archbishop had read them over he called them the Well-spring of a pernicious Platform, and represented them to the Queen as contrary to Law, and to the fettled State of the Church; the Bishop writ a Defence of his Articles to the Archbishop, shewing their Consistency with Law, and the great Advantage that might arise from them; but Whitgift would hear of nothing that look'd like a

Bill for the Objervation of the Sabbath rejetted by

The Lord's Day [or Sunday] was now very much profaned, by the encouraging of Plays and Sports on the Evenings of those Days, and sometimes in the Afternoons. The Reverend Mr. Smith, M. A. in his Sermon before the University of Cambridge, the first the Queen. Sunday in Lent, maintained the Unlawfulness of these Plays; for which he was fummon'd before the Vice-An. p. 341. Chancellor, and upon Examination offered to prove, that the Christian Sabbath ought to be observed by an Abstinence from all worldly Business, and spent in Works of Piety and Charity; though he did not apprehend we were bound to the Strictness of the Jewish Precepts. The Parliament had taken this Matter into Confideration, and passed a Bill for the better and more reverent Observation of the Sabbath, which the Speaker recommended to the Queen in an elegant Speech, but her Majesty refused to pass it, under pretence of

Puritannical Reformation.

Ibid. P. 295.

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1585.

not fuffering the Parliament to meddle with Matters of Religion, which was her Prerogative. However, Elizabeth, the Thing appeared fo reasonable, that without the; Affistance of a Law, the religious Observation of the Sabbath grew into Esteem with all sober Perfons, and after a few Years became the diftinguish-

ing Mark of a Puritan.

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This Summer Mr. Cartwright returned from Mr. Cart-Abroad, having spent 5 Years in preaching to the wright re-English Congregation at Antwerp; he had been sick England, of an Ague, which ended in an Hectick, for which the Physicians advised him to try his native Air. Upon this he writ to the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer for leave to come home; these Noblemen made an honourable mention of him in Parliament, but he could not obtain their Mediation with the Queen for his Pardon, fo that as foon as it was known he was landed, though in a weak and languishing Condition, he was apprehended and cast into Prison; when he appeared before the Archbishop, he behaved with that Modesty and Respect as foftned the Heart of his great Adversary, who upon Promise of his peaceable and quiet Behaviour, fuffered him to go at large; for which the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Cartwright returned his Grace Thanks; but all the Interest they could make could not obtain a Licence to preach. "Mr. Cart-" wright (fays the Archbishop to the Earl) shall be " welcome to me at all Times, but to grant him a " Licence to preach till I am better fatisfied of his " Conformity, is not confistent with my Duty or

" Conscience." However, the Earl made him Go- And settles, vernor of an Hospital of Warwick, where he was con-at Warnived at for a Time, and preached without a Licence; wick.

his Salary was an House, and 100 !. W Ann.

Mr. Fenner and Wood, two other suspended Mini-subscriptisters were released after 12 Months Imprisonment, on to be moupon a general Subscription to the Articles, as far as derated by Hh

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the Law required, and a Promife to use the Book of Queen Elizabeth, Common Prayer, and no other; but such was the 1585. Clamour on all hands, by reason of the 3 Articles to be subscribed by all who had Livings already, as well as those that should hereafter take Orders, that Secretary Walfingham went over to Lambeth, and told his Grace, that it would stop in a great Measure the Complaints that were brought to Court, if he would require Subscription only of such as were hereafter to enter into Holy Orders, and fuffer those that were Life of already in Places to proceed in the Discharge of their Whitgift, Duty, upon Condition of their giving Bond to read P. 222.

Laws prescribing the same; which the Archbishop promised to comply with.

School-Mafters reftrained.

But the Non-subscribing Divines that were out of Place might not so much as teach School for a Livelihood, for the Archbishop would grant no Licence without subscribing; and from this Time his Licences to teach Grammar, and even Reading and Writing, were granted but from Year to Year: The School-Masters were to be full Conformists; they were limited to a particular Diocese, and were not authorized to teach elsewhere; they were to instruct their Scholars in nothing but what was agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and all this only during the Bishop's Pleasure. Such was the Severity of these Times!

the Common Prayer according to the Usages and

p. 246.

Ibid.

Mr. Travers sufpended. Mr. Travers had been Lecturer at the Temple with Mr. Hooker the new Master about two Years, but with very little Harmony or Agreement, one being a strict Calvinist, the other a Person of larger Principles; the Sermon in the Morning was very often confuted in the Asternoon, and vindicated again the next Lord's Day. The Writer of Hooker's Life reports, that the Morning Sermon spoke the Language of Canterbury, and the Asternoon that of Geneva. Hooker complaining of this Usage, the Archbishop took the Op-

Opportunity to fuspend Mr. Travers at once, without any Warning; for as he was going up into the Pulpit Elizabeth, to preach on the Lord's Day Afternoon the Officer ferved him with a Prohibition upon the Pulpit Stairs; upon which, instead of a Sermon, he acquainted the Congregation with his Sufpension, and dismissed them. The Reasons given for it were, (1.) That he was not ordained according to the Rites of the Church of England. (2.) That he had broken the Orders of the 7th of the Queen, That Disputes should not be brought into the Pulpit.

Mr. Travers in answer drew up a Petition, or Sup- His Suppliplication to the Council, in which he complains of being cation to judged and condemned before he was heard; and the Council. then goes on to answer the Objections alleged

against him in the Prohibition.

First it is said, that I am not lawfully called to exercise the Office of a Minister, nor allowed to preach, ac-

cording to the Laws of the Church of England.

To which I answer, That my Call was by such Methods as are appointed in the National Synods of the foreign reformed Churches; Testimonials of which I have shewn to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; so that if any Man be lawfully called to the Ministry in those Countries I am.

But I am not qualified to be a Minister in England, because I am not ordained according to the Laws of this

Country.

I befeech your Lordships to weigh my Answer, (1.) Such is the Communion of Saints, as that what solemn Acts are done in one true Church of Christ, according to bis Word, are held lawful in all others. (2.) The constituting or making of a Minister being once lawfully done ought not to be repeated. (3.) Whitgift's Pastors and Teachers in the New Testament hold Life, the fame Manner of Calling as I had. (4.) The re-P. 251. peating Ordination makes void the former Ordination, and confequently all fuch Acts as were done by Virtue of it, as Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, &c. Hha

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(5.) By the same Rule People ought to be rebaptized Elizabeth, and married over again, when they come into this

Country from a foreign.

Besides by the Statute 13 Elizabeth, those who have been ordained in foreign Protestant Churches. upon their subscribing the Articles therein mentioned. are qualified to enjoy any Benefice in the Kingdom, equally with them who are ordained according to the Laws now in being; which comprehending all that are Priests according to the Order of the Church of Rome. must certainly be as favourable to Ministers ordained among foreign Protestants. In consequence of this Law many Scots Divines are now in Possession of Benefices in the Church, as was Mr. Whittingham, tho' he was the first that was called in Question in this

But it is faid I preached without Presentation or Licence.

To which I answer, That the Place where I exercifed my Ministry required no Presentation, nor had I a Title, or reaped any Benefit by Law, but only received a voluntary Contribution, and was employed in preaching only; and as to a Licence, I was recommended to be a Minister of that Place by two several Letters of the Bishop of London to the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, without which Letters that Society would not have permitted me to officiate.

Secondly, I am charged with Indiscretion, and Want of Duty to Mr. Hooker, Master of the Temple; and with breaking the Order of the 7th of the Queen, about

bringing Disputes into the Pulpit.

As to Want of Duty I answer, Though some have Suspected my want of good Will to Mr. Hooker, because he succeeded Dr. Alvey in the Place I desired to have my felf; this is a Mistake, for I declined the Place because I could not subscribe to my Lord of Canterbury's late Articles, which I would not do for the Mastership of the Temple, or any other Place in

1586.

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the Church. I was glad the Place was given Mr. Hooker, as well for the fake of old Acquaintance, as Elizabeth, some kind of Affinity that is between us, hoping we should live peaceably and amicably together, as becomes Brethren; but when I heard him preach against the Doctrine of Assurance, and for Salvation in the Church of Rome, with all their Errors and Idolatry, I thought my felf obliged to oppose him; but when I found it occasioned a Pulpit War I declared publickly that I would concern my felf no further in that Manner, though Mr. Hooker went on with the Dispute.

But it is faid, I should then have complained of him to

the High Commission.

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To which I answer, It was not out of Contempt or Neglect of lawful Authority, but because I was against all Methods of Severity, and had declared my Resolution to trouble the Pulpit with those Debates no more.

Upon the whole, I hope it will appear to your Lordhips, that my Behaviour has not deferved to fevere a Punishment as has been inflicted upon me; and therefore I humbly pray, that your Lordships would please to restore me to my Ministry, by such Means as your Wildoms shall think fit; which will lay me under farther Obligations to pray for your temporal and eternal Happiness. But if your Lordships cannot procure me this Favour, I recommend my felf to your Lordships Protection, under her Majesty, in a private Life, and the Church to Almighty God, who in Justice will punish the Wicked, and in Mercy reward the Righteous with an happy Immortality.

Mr. Hooker writ an Answer to Mr. Travers's Suppli-Mr. cation, in a Letter to his Patron the Archbishop of Hooker's Canterbury, in which he takes no Notice of Travers's Answer, Ordination, but confines himself to his Objections against his Doctrine; some of which he undertakes

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Queen 1586.

to answer, and in other Places complains of Misre-Elizabeth, presentations. But let all be granted that he would have (fays Mr. Hooker) what will it advantage him? He ought to have complained to the High Commisfioners, and not have confuted me in the Pulpit; for Schisms and Disturbances will arise in the Church, if all Men may be tolerated to think as they please, and publickly speak what they think. Therefore by a Decree agreed upon by the Bishops, and confirmed by her Majesty, it was ordered that if erroneous Doctrine should be taught publickly, it should not be publickly refuted, but complained of to fuch Persons as her Majesty should appoint to hear and determine fuch Causes; for Breach of which Order he is charged with want of Duty, and all the Faults he alleges against me can fignify nothing in his own Defence. Mr. Hooker concludes with his unfeigned Defires, that both Mr. Travers's and his Papers may be burnt, and all Animoficies buried in Oblivion, and that there may be no Strife among them but this, who shall pursue Peace, Unity and Piety with the greatest Vigor and Diligence.

Mr. Travers filen. ced for Life.

But the Council did nothing in the Affair, Travers was left to the Mercy of the Archbishop, who could never be prevail'd with to take off his Suspension, or license him to preach in any part of England; upon which he accepted an Invitation into Ireland, and became Provost of Trinity College in the University of Dublin; here he was Tutor to the famous Dr. Usber, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, who always had him in high Esteem; but being driven from thence by the Wars, he returned after some Years into England, and spent the Remainder of his Days in Silence, Obscurity, and great Poverty; he was a learned Man, a polite Preacher, an admirable Orator, and one of the worthieft Divines of his Age. But all these Qualifications put together could not atone for the fingle Crime of Non-Conformity.

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Mr. Cartwright being forbid Preaching, had been Queen encouraged by the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Elizabeth, Walfingbam to answer the Rhemists Translation of the New Testament, published with Annotations in favour Cartof Popery; divers Doctors and Heads of Houses of wright the University of Cambridge solicited him to the forbid to fame Work, as appears by their Epistle printed answer before the Book; the like Encouragement he recei-mist Testaved from fundry Ministers in London and Suffolk, none ment. being thought so equal to the Task as himself; and Lof Whit. because Cartwright was poor, the Secretary of State P. 253. fent him 100 l. with Affurance of fuch further Affistance as should be necessary; this was about the Year 1583; Cartwright accordingly applied himself to the Work, but the Archbishop by his sovereign Authority forbid him to proceed, being afraid that his Writings would do the Hierarchy more Damage than they would do Service to the Protestant Cause: The Book therefore was left unfinished, and not published till the Year 1618. to the great Regret of the learned World, and Reproach of the Archbishop.

The Sufferings of Mr. Gardiner, the deprived Mini-Mr. Gardifter of Malden in Essex, would have moved Compassion ner's Case. in any but the Bishop of London. I will give it the M. S. Reader in his own Words, as it was fent to him in p. 752. form of a Supplication, dated Sept. 7th. 1586.

To the right Reverend Father in God the Lord

Bishop of London.

My Duty in humble-wise remember'd, my Lord,

" AM cast into Prison by your Lordship, for a "Matter which about 7 Years past was slander-"ously raised up against me; I was by Course of "Law cleared, and the Lord God which searcheth the Hearts, before whom both you and I shall shortly appear, doth know, and him I call to witness, that I was, and am falsly accused. I have been extremely sick in Prison; I thank God I am Hh 4 "amend-"

Elizabeth, "Infection from the Prison will be very dangerous, Infection from the Prison will be very dangerous, I have a poor Wise and five Children which are in lamentable Case: I had fix Children at the beginining of my Imprisonment; but by Reason of my Sickness in Prison, my Wise being constrained to attend upon me, one of my Children for want of somebody to oversee them, was drowned in a Tub of Wort, being two Years and half old. If your Lordship have no Compassion on me, yet take Pity upon the Widow and Fatherless (for in that State are now my Wise and poor Infants) whose Tears are before the Lord. I crave no more but this, to be bailed; and if I am found guilty of

" out any Favour."

Your Lordsbip's to command in Christ,

er any Breach of Law let me have Extremity with-

John Gardiner.

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And Mr. Wiggin-ton's.

Mr. Giles Wigginton, M. A. Minister of Sedbrugh, having been deprived at Lambeth for Non-Conformity, and another put into his Living, went home and being denied Entrance into the Church, preached a kind of farewel Sermon to his Parishioners in the Church-yard, and administer'd the Sacrament, having no Peace in his Mind till he had done it, though his Brethren in the Ministry would have dissuaded him; after this he retired with his Wife and Children to Burrough Briggs, but was arrested in his Journey by a Pursuivant from the Archbishop of York, and sent to Lancaster Gaol 50 Miles distant from the Place where he was arrested, in a hard and cold Winter; there he was flut up among Felons and condemned Prisoners, and worse used than they, or than the Recufant Papists. From hence he sent up his Case to Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the Privy CounCouncil, but with little Success; for he was a warm Non-Conformist, and a bold Preacher against the Elizabeth, lordly Proceedings of the Bishops, for which, and for refusing the Oath ex Officio, he suffered a long m. s. Imprisonment. He was afterwards apprehended 754, again, upon Suspicion of his being one of the Au-843, &c. thors of Martin Mar Prelate, which he denied, but confessed he did not dislike the Book, and was therefore confined in the Compter and the Gate-House, till (I believe) he consented to leave the Realm.

In the Parliament that met this Year, Octob. 29th. Supplicaand 28 Eliz. the Puritan Ministers made another Effort tion of the for Parliamentary Relief, for which purpose they presented an humble Supplication to the House of Com-liament.

mons; in which they fay, " It pierces our Hearts " with Grief to hear the Cries of the Country " People for the Word of God. The Bishops either " preach not at all, or very feldom; neither can " they for their manifold Bufiness, their Dioceses " being too large for their personal Inspection; be-" fides they are incumber'd with Civil Affairs, not " only in their own Ecclefiastical Courts, in Cau-& ses Testamentary, &c. but as Lord Barons, Justices " of Peace, Members of the Star-Chamber, Council " Table, and Ecclesiastical Commission; all which is " contrary to the Words of Christ, who fays, His " Kingdom is not of this World; and contrary to the " Practice of all other reformed Churches. And " whereas the Scriptures fay, that Ministers of the "Gospel should be such as are able to teach found " Doctrine and convince Gain-fayers, yet the Bi-

"People, not only for their Occupations and "Trades whence they have taken them, as Shoe-"Makers, Barbers, Taylors, Water-Bearers, Shepberds, and Horse-Keepers; but also for their want

" shops have made Priests of the basest of the

" of good Learning and Honesty. How true this our Complaint is, may appear by the SURVEY

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Elizabeth, " fome of the best, whereby the rest may be esti-

We do acknowledge, that there are a Number of Men within the Ministry, who have good and " acceptable Gifts, and are able to preach the " Word of God to Edification; of which Number " there are two Sorts: There are a great Number that live not upon the Place where they are bene-" ficed, but abandon their Flocks, directly contra-" ry to the Charge of Christ to Peter, faying, Feed " my Sheep; and of the Apostle Paul to the Elders " at Ephefus, Take heed to your selves, and the Flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you Overseers, " to feed the Church of God. Of this Sort are fun-" dry Bishops, who have Benefices in Commendam; " University Men, and Chaplains at Court; Others get 2 or 3 Benefices into their Hands, to ferve them for Winter and Summer Houses; which Plu-" ralities and Non-Residencies are the more grievous " because they are tolerated by Law. There are " indeed several that reside upon their Benefices, " but content themselves with just satisfying the " Law; that is, to have Divine Service read, and

" four Sermons a Year.

"But great Numbers of the best qualified for Preaching, and of the greatest Industry and Application to their Spiritual Functions, are not suffered quietly to discharge their Duties, but are followed with innumerable Vexations, notwith-

"flanding they are neither Hereticks nor Schismaticks, but keep within the Pale of the Church, and per"fuade others to do so, who would otherwise have

" departed from it. They fast and pray for the Queen and the Church, though they have been

" rebuked for it, and diverfly punished by Officers both Civil and Ecclesiastical. They are suspended and deprived of their Ministry, and the Fruits of

ce their

"their Livings are sequester'd for the Payment of such a Chaplain as their Superiors think fit to em-Elizabeth, ploy: This has continued for many Months and Years, notwithstanding the Intercession of their People, of their Friends, and sometimes of great Personages for their Release. Last of all, Many of them are committed to Prison, whereof some have been chained with Irons, and continued in there Durages for a language.

" hard Durance for a long Time.

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"To bring about these Severities, they [the Bi"shops] tender to the suspected Persons an Oath ex
"Officio, to answer all Interrogatories that shall be
"put to them, though it be to accuse themselves;
"and when they have gotten a Confession they pro"ceed upon it to punish them with all Rigor, con"trary to the Laws of God and of this Land, and
"of all Nations in Christendom, except it be in Spain
"by the Inquisition. Those that have resused the
"Oath have been cast into Prison, and commanded

"there to lie without Bail till they yield to it.

"The Grounds of these Troubles are, not Impiety, Immorality, Want of Learning or Diligence in
their Ministerial Work, but for not being satisfied
in the Use of certain Ceremonies and Orders of
the Church of Rome, and for not being able to
declare, that every Thing in the Common Prayer
Book is agreeable to the Word of God. Alas! that
for those Things good Preachers should be so molested, and the People deprived of the Food of
their Souls, and that by Fathers of the same Faith

" with our felves!

"We therefore most humbly, and for the Lord's M. S. fake, crave of this high and honourable Court of P. 672.

" Parliament, that it may please you to hear and " read this our Supplication, and take such Order for it as to your godly Wisdom shall be thought

the necessary. Nov. 1586.

The Grievances annexed to this Supplication Queen

Elizabeth, were thefe,

1586. (1.) The absolute Power of the Bishop to give Grievances and take away Licences to preach at his Plea. annexed, fure.

(2.) The Proceedings of the Ecclefiaftical Commissioners according to their own Discretions, without

regard to Law.

(3.) The small Number of Commissioners (viz.) THREE, who may decide the most weighty Causes.

(4.) The not allowing an Appeal to any other

Court.

(5.) The double Character of the Bishops, who fit on the Bench both as Bishops and as Commissioners.

(6.) The Oath ex Officio, in which this is always one of their Interrogatories, Do you wholly keep, obferve, and read in your Church, all the Parts of the Book of Common Prayer; and wear the Habits?

The SURVEY mentioned in the Supplication, by Survey of the state which the miserable State of the Church for want of Religion of an able and sufficient Ministry appears, is too an feveral large to be inserted; it was taken in the Years 1585 Counties. and 1586, by some Persons employed for that Purpose against the Meeting of the Parliament; 'tis di-M. S. p. 684, & vided into eight Columns: feq.

The first contains the Name of the Benefice.

The fecond the yearly Value. The third the Number of Souls.

The fourth the Name of the Incumbent, and whether a Preacher or not.

The fifth what other Benefices he has, and what Curates do serve him.

The fixth his Character and Conversation.

The seventh who made him Minister. And, The eighth the Patron of the Living; according

to the following Plan.

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The Patron.	Walter Kendal.	Ld. Chancellor.	Canonsof Exon.	The Queen.
His Conversa- made bim Mini-		Bp. Bradbridge. Ld. Chancellor.	common Bp. Bradbridge. Canonsof Exon.	for Felony, & full of all Ini- quity. Covetous; his Covetous; his Bp. Bradbridge. The Queen. Curate Rob. Doway, an ig- norant Man.
His Conversa-	He liveth as Bp. Alley.	panion. A fimple Man.	A common Dicer, burnt in the Hand	for Felony, & full of all Iniquity. Covetous; his Curate Rob. Doway, an ignorant Man.
Name of the What Benefices Incumbent, be has more, & and whether what Curates a Preacher, do serve them.	No more.	No more.	No more.	He hath Buckennock.
	Mr. Batten, No more.	Mr.Kendal, No more.	Joa. Bernard, No more.	Fitz Jeffery a Preacher, but Non-Re-
Num- ber of Souls.	200	300	9	700
Yearly Value.	30	Marks 100	30	120
Name of the Yearly ber of Benefice. Value. Souls.	V. Lan- Leverie.	V. Tre- wordreth.	V. Efey.	R. de Breage.

## The HISTORY Chap. VII.

		Churches or Livings.	Preachers.	No Preachers but Readers,	rs Double Beneficed,	neficed fidents.
n Cornwal are about	1	160	29	1407	7 25	
n Lincolnsbire	I	590	121	455	154	~
n Oxfordsbire	1	127	29	95	20	~
ges, Vicarages, and Cu-	1	210	30	120	160	
In Berkfaire	1	1	29	51	of which 43	
In Surrey	1	140	24	125	8	
Effex	1	335	12	173	14	
rwicksbire Pek about	11	188	14 41	120	27	
, within and with- }	1	123	26	16	141	

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It must be uncommon Diligence and Application, as well as a very great Expence, to collect fo many Elizabeth, Names and Characters of Men; the exact Valuation 1586. of fo many Livings; the Number of Non-Resident Remarks. Ministers; of such as had been Mass-Priests; and of Mechanicks and Tradesmen: But such was the Zeal of these pious Men! The Survey of Lincolnshire was figned by the Justices of the Peace of that County, and the others are attested by some of the principal Clergymen of those Parts; and are so particular in all Circumstances, as leave little room to doubt of their Truth in general, though there may be some few Mistakes in Characters and Numbers. Upon the whole the SURVEY takes Notice, that after 28 m. s. Years Establishment of the Church of England, there p. 206. were but 2000 Preachers to ferve near 10000 Parish Churches, fo that there were almost 8000 Parishes without preaching Ministers. To this Account Answer to agrees that of Mr. Fenner who lived in these Times, Dr. Bridand fays, that a third Part of the Ministers of England ges, p. 48. were covered with a Cloud of Suspensions; that if Persons would hear a Sermon they must go in some Places, 5, 7, 12, yea in some Counties 20 Miles, and at the same Time be fined 12 d. a Sabbath for being absent from their own Parish Church, tho' it be proved they were hearing a Sermon elsewhere, because they had none at home. Nor is it at all strange it should be thus in the Country, when the Bishop of London enjoined his Clergy in his Visitation this very Year, 1. That every Parson should have a Bible in L. of Ayl. Latin and English. 2. That they should have Bullin-p. 128. ger's Decads. 3. That they should have a Paper-Book, and write in it the Quantity of a Sermon every Week. 4. That fuch as could not preach themfelves should be taxed at four purchased Sermons a Year. What a miserable State of Things was this! when many Hundreds of pious and conscientious Preachers were shut out of the Church, and starving with their Families for want of Employment.

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With the Supplication and Survey above-mentioned, Jucen Elizabeth, a Bill was offered to the House of Commons for a 1586. further Reformation of the Church; wherein after a Recital of their Grievances, they pray that the Bill for Book hereunto annexed, entitled a Book of the Form of further Common Prayer, &c. and every Thing therein con-Reformatained, may be from henceforth authorized and put in Use and Practice throughout all her Majesty's Do. minions, any former Law Custom or Statute to the Lof Whit-contrary in any wife notwithstanding. The Book

gift,p.258 contained Prayers before and after Sermon, but left a liberty for Variation if it was thought proper. Minister was to pray and give Thanks in the Words there prescribed, or such like. In the Creed it leaves the Article of Christ's Descent into Hell more at large. It omits three of the Thirty nine Articles (viz.) the 34th, 35th and 36th. It takes the Jurisdiction of the Church out of the Hands of the Spiritual Courts and places it in an Affembly of Ministers and Elders in every Shire, who shall have Power to examine, approve, and present Ministers to the several Parishes for their Election, and even to depose them with the Consent of the Bishop, upon their Misbehaviour.

At the same Time a Pamphlet was dispersed with-Request against Ca-out Doors, entitled A Request of all true Christians to the Honourable House of Parliament. It prays, "That

" every Parish Church may have its Preacher, and

every City its Superintendent to live honestly but " not pompoufly." And to provide for this, it prays

"That all Cathedral Churches may be put down,

" where the Service of God is grievoully abused by pie ping with Organs, singing, ringing and trowling of Psalms

er from one side of the Choir to another, with the Squeak-

" ing of chanting Choristers, disguised (as are all the rest)

in white Surplices; some in corner Caps and filthy Copes, " imitating the Fashion and Manner of Antichrist the Pope,

et that Man of Sin, and Child of Perdition, with his other

\*\* Rabble of Miscreants and Shavelings. These unpro-

" fitable

M. S. p. 814. "fitable Drones, or rather Caterpillars of the Queen
"World, consume yearly some 2500 l. some 3000 l. Elizabeth,
"fome more, some less, whereof no Profit cometh
to the Church of God. They are the Dens of
idle loitering Lubbards; the Harbours of Timeferving Hypocrites, whose Prebends and Livings belong some to Gentlemen, some to Boys,
and some to Serving-Men and others. If the Revenues of these Houses were applied to augment
the Maintenance of poor, diligent, preaching
Parish-Ministers, or erecting Schools, Religion
would then flourish in the Land."

Some bold Speeches were made in Parliament stope by against the arbitrary Proceedings of the Bishops, by the Queen; Mr. Wentworth and others, for which those Members were fent to the Tower; at which the House was so intimidated, that they would not suffer the Bill to be read. Besides, the Queen sent both for the Bill and Petition out of the House, and ordered the Speaker to acquaint them, " That she was already settled Lof Whit? " in her Religion, and would not begin again; that gift, p.2 196 " Changes in Religion were dangerous; that it was " not reasonable for them to call in question the " establish'd Religion, while others were endea-" vouring to overthrow it; that she had considered " the Objections, and look'd upon them as frivolous; " and that the Platform it felf was most prejudicial to " her Crown, and to the Peace of her Government." Nay, fo incensed was the Queen with these Attempts of the Puritans, that in drawing up a general Pardon to be paffed in Parliament, the or-Heyl. Aer. dered an Exception to be made of fuch as com-P. 269. mitted any Offence against the Act of Uniformity, or were Publishers of seditious Books or Pamphlets.

The Convocation, contrary to all Custom and Usage, convocation continued sitting after the Parliament, and gave the on sit after. Queen a Subsidy or Benevolence. This Precedent the Parliament, Archbishop Laud made use of in the Year 1640.

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to prove the Lawfulness of a Convocation sitting with. Elizabeth, out a Parliament. All they did further was to address 1586. the Queen with an Offer to maintain by Disputation, that the Platform of the Puritans was abfurd in Divini. ty, and dangerous to the State; which the Non-Conformists would willingly have debated, but the other knew the Queen and Council would not admit it.

Writings of The Press was in the Hands of the Archbishop, the Puriwho took all possible Care to stifle the Writings of tans Juppressed, and the Puritans, while he gave Licence to Ascanio an popifo Books Italian Merchant, and Bookfeller in London, to import what popish Books he thought fit, upon this licenfed. L. of Whit-very odd Pretence, That the Adversaries Arguments be. gift,p.268. ing better known by learned Men might be more eafily confuted. But was it not a shorter way to confute them in the

High Commission? Or might not the same Reason have ferved for licenfing the Books of the Puritans? But his Grace feems to have been in no fear of Popery, tho' this very Year another Assassination Plot was discovered, for which Ballard a Priest, and about 12 or 14 more were executed. Remarkable were the Words of this Ballard, who declared upon Examination to Sir Fran-

p. 265.

Judgment

of the Pu-

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Ballard aa Privy Counfellor, "That he would defire no better " Books to prove his Doctrine of Popery, than the Prieft, bis "Archbishop's Writings against Cartwright, and " his Injunctions fet forth in her Majesty's Name.

cis Knollys Treasurer of the Queen's Houshold, and

"That if any Men among the Protestants lived vir-"tuously they were the Puritans, who renounced

"their Ceremonies, and would not be corrupted " with Pluralities. That unlearned and reading Mi-

" nisters were rather a Furtherance than a Hindrance " to the Catholick Cause. That though the Bishops

" owned her Majesty to be supreme Governor in c Causes Ecclesiastical, yet they did not keep their

" Courts in her Majefty's Name: And that though

" the Names and Authority of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. were in use in the Primitive Church,

they forgot that they were then Lords or Magi-

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" strates of Order only, made by the Prince; and not Queen " Lords of absolute Power ruling without Appeal." Elizabeth, This was written by Mr. Treasurer himself, October 15. 1586. upon which Sir Francis advised in Council, "That special Care should be taken of popish Re-" cufants; and that the absolute Authority of pri-" vate Bishops without Appeal should be restrained; " that they might not condemn zealous Preachers " against the Pope's Supremacy, for refusing to " subscribe unlawful Articles, nor without the Af-" fembly of a fynodical Council of Preachers, for-" asmuch as the absolute Authority of the Bishops; " and their Ambition and Covetousness had a Ten-" dency to lead People back to Popery." But how much Truth foever there was in these Observations, the Queen and Archbishop were of another mind.

The Puritans being wearied out with repeated Ap-Puritans plications to their Superiors for Relief began to def-remove pair, and in one of their Assemblies came to this further Conclusion: That fines the Maniferate could not be in the Conclusion; That fince the Magistrate could not be indu-church. ced to reform the Discipline of the Church, by so many Petitions and Supplications (which we all confess in the Liturgy is to be wished) that therefore after so many Years waiting it was lawful to all without him, and introduce a Reformation in the best manner they could. We have mentioned their private Classes in Esfex, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and other Parts, in which their Book, entitled The boly Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God, being revised, was subscribed by the feveral Members in these Words, according to Mr. Strype, which are fomething different from the Form at the End of the Book in the Appendix.

"We acknowledge and confess the same, agreeable Their Forms to God's most holy Word, so far as we are able to of Subjudge or discern of it, excepting some few Points, the Book of which they sent to their Reverend Brethren in Discipline.

" fome Assembly of them for their further Resolu"tion] and we affirm it to be the same which we de"fire to be established in this Church, by daily

fire to be established in this Church, by daily "Prayer.

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1586.

" Prayer to God, which we profess (as God shall Elizabeth, .. offer Opportunity, and give us to discern it so ex-" pedient) by humble Suit to her Majesty's most " honourable Privy Council and Parliament, and by all other lawful Means to further and advance, " fo far as the Law, and Peace of the present State of " our Church will fuffer it, and not to enforce the con-" trary. We promife to guide our felves according " to it, and follow the Directions fet down in the " Chapter Of the Office of the Ministers of the Word. " We promise to frequent our appointed Assemblies, " that is, every fix Weeks Classical Conferences, every half Year Provincial Affemblies, and Ge-" neral Assemblies every Year." Among those that subscribed or declared their Approbation of the Book of Discipline, were the Reverend

> Mr. Cartwright, Dr. Sparkes, Mr. Perkins. Mr. Travers. Mr. Ward, Mr. Allen, Dr. Knewstubs, Mr. Stone Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Charke, Mr. Warkton. Mr. Gellibrand. Mr. Edgerton, Mr. Larke, Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Fletcher. Mr. Harrison, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Lord, Mr. Maffie, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Barber, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Dod, Mr. Spicer, Mr. Brightman, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Greenbam, Mr. Oxenbridge, Mr. Cawdery, Mr. Payne, Mr. Seyntclere, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Fenner, Mr. Standen. Mr. Udall, Mr. Field. Mr. Wilcox. Mr. Dyke, Mr. Snape, Mr. Wight, Dr. Whitaker. Mr. Johnson, Mr. Chadderton, Mr. Paget, Mr. Nichols,

and others, to the Number of above 500, all beneficed in the Church of England, useful Preachers, of unspotted Lives and Characters, and many of them of the University of Cambridge, where they had a ftrong and powerful Interest.

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Besides the Puritans already mentioned as suffer- Queen ing this Year, the learned Dr. John Walward, Divi-Elizabeth, nity Professor at Oxford, was enjoined a publick Recantation, and suspended till he had done it, for Further teaching, that The Order of the Jewish Synagogue and Proceedings Eldership was adopted by Christ and his Apostles into the of the High Christian Church, and designed as a perpetual Model of Commission Church Government. He was also bound in a Recog-M. S. nizance of 100 l. for his good Behaviour. - Mr. Harsnet of Pembroke Hall was imprison'd at the same Time for not wearing the Surplice. ---- Mr. Edward Gillibrand, Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was forbid preaching, and bound in a Recognizance of 100 l. to revoke his Errors in fuch Words as the Commissioners should appoint. His Crime was speaking against the Hierarchy, and against the fwelling Titles of Archbishops and Bishops; for which Whitgift told him, he deferved not only to be imprisoned and suspended, but to be banished the University. - Mr. Farrar, Minister of Langbam in Essex, was charged with Rebellion against the Queen's Ecclefiaftical Laws, and fuspended for not wearing the Habits. Bishop Aylmer told him, that Ibid. except he and his Companions would be conformable, p. 803; in good Faith he and his Brethren the Bishops would in 805. one Quarter of a Year turn them all out of the Church. — Sept. 11th. Mr. Udall of King fton upon Thames was suspended and imprisoned, for keeping a private Fast in his Parish. —— In the Month of January Mr. Wilson, Mr. More, and two other Ministers, were imprisoned, and obliged to give Bond for their good Behaviour.

In the Month of May the Reverend Mr. Settle was Mr. Settle's fummoned before the Archbishop at Lambeth, and Examina-charged with denying the Article, Of the Descent of tion and our Saviour's Soul into Hell, or the Place of the Damn-troubles. Mr. Settle confessed it was his Opinion, that Christ did not descend locally into Hell, and that Calvin and Beza were of his mind; which put the

I i 3 Arch-

Queen 1587.

31. S.

p. 798.

Archbishop into such a Passion that he called him Elizabeth, Ais, Dolt, Fool. Mr. Settle faid, He ought not to rail at him being a Minister of the Gospel. What, faid the Archbishop, dost thou think much to be called As and Dolt? I have called many of thy Betters True, said Mr. Settle; but the Question is, how lawfully you have done fo? Then faid the Archbishop, thou shalt preach no more in my Diocefe. Mr. Settle answer'd, I am called to preach the Gospel and I will not cease to do it. The Archbishop replied with a stern Countenance, Neither you, nor any one in England, shall preach without my leave. He then charged Mr. Settle with not observing the Order of the Service Book; with not using the Cross in Baptism; with disallowing the Baptism of Midwives; and not using the Words in Marriage, With this Ring I thee wed. The Dean of Winchester asked him, If he had subscribed. Settle answered Tes, as far as the Law required; that is, to the Doctrines of Faith and the Sacraments, but as touching other Rites and Ceremonies, he neither could nor would. Then faid the Archbishop, thou shalt be subject to the Ecclesiastical Authority. Mr. Settle replied, I thank God you can use no Violence but upon my poor Body. So bis Grace committed him to the Gate-House, there to be kept close Prisoner.

Sandys Archbishop of York was no less active in his Province; I have many of his Examinations before me; he was a fevere Governor, hasty and passionate; but it was faid in Excuse for him and some others, that the Civilians by their Emissaries and Spies turn'd Informers, and then pushed the Bishops forward, to

bring Business into the Spiritual Courts.

3587. ges anfwer'd by Mr. Fen-

About this Time Dr. Bridges, afterwards Bishop of pr. Brid-Oxford, writ against the Puritans, and maintained that THEY were not grievously afflicted unless it were caused by their own Deserts. The Doctor was answered by Mr. Fenner, who appealed to the World in these Words, " Is it no grievous Affliction, by 66 Sufpen-

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" Sufpension to be hung up between Hope and Despair " for a Year or two, and in the mean Time to fee Elizabeth, 1587. " the Wages of our Labours eaten up by Loiterers? " Nay, our righteous Souls are vexed with feeing " and hearing the Ignorance, the prophane Speeches, "and evil Examples of those thrust upon our " Charges, while we our felves are defamed, re-" proached, fcoffed at, and called feditious and re-" bellious; cited, accused, and indicted, and yet no " Redrefs to be found. All this we have patiently " bore, tho' we come daily to the Congregations to " Prayers, to Baptisms, and to the Sacrament, and " by our Examples and Admonitions have kept " away many from Excesses whereunto rashness of " Zeal would have carried them. —— And though " to fuch as you who swarm with Deanries, with " double Benefices, Pensions, Advowlons, Reversions, " &c. these Molestations feem light; yet furely, up-" on every irreligious Man's Complaint in fuch " Things as many Times are incredible, to be fent " for by Pursuevants, to pay two Pence for every " Mile, to find Messengers, to defray our own " Charges, and this by fuch as can hardly with what " they have clothe and feed themselves and their Fa-" milies, it is not only grievous, but as far as well " can be a very Heart-burning. 'Tis grievous to a " Free-Man, and to a Free-Minister, for a light " Cause, as, for an humble Supplication to her Ma-" jesty and the whole Parliament, and to the Fathers " of the Church, to be shut up in close Prison; or " upon every trifling Complaint, to be brought into " a flavish Subjection to a Commissary, so as at his Answer to " Pleasure to be summoned into the Spiritual Courts, Dr. Brid-" and coming thither, to be fent home again at least ges, p. 45, " with unnecessary Expences, Master-like Answers, " yea, and fometimes with open Revilings. We will " not justify our felves (fays Mr. Fenner) in all Things, " but acknowledge, that when coming by Dozens

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" diforderly Reasoning, some not being heard to the Elizabeth, c full, fome rail'd on and mif-called, none with " Lenity fatisfied, but all suspended from our Office,

because we would not subscribe his two last Arti-" cles, there might pass from us some Infirmities af-

" terwards; this and many other Things we are Quiet Be- " But after all baviour of it may be question'd, whether the History of former Ages can furnish an Example of so many Severities against Divines of one and the same Faith, for a few

> trifling Ceremonies; or of a more peaceable and Christian Behaviour under Sufferings.

At the Approach of the Spafion.

tans,

Camden indeed complains of their dispersing Pamphlets against the Church and Prelates, in a Time nish Inva- of common Danger, when the Nation was in Arms against the Spanish Invasion; but these Pamphlets were only to shew, that the Danger of the Return of Popery (which all Men were now apprehensive of) arose from stopping the Mouths of those Ministers who were most zealous against it. It had been eafy at this Time to have distressed the Government and the Hierarchy, for the Cry of the People was against the Bishops; but the Puritans both bere and in Scotland were more afraid of the Return of Popery than their Adversaries: Those in Scotland enter'd into an Affociation, to affemble in Arms at what Time and Place their King should require, to affift the Queen of England against the Spaniard; and their Brethren in London took the Opportunity to petition the Queen for the Liberty of their

They petisign the Queen. M. S. p. 838.

Preachers, "That the People might be better instruct-" ed in the Duties of Obedience to their Civil Gover-" nors, and not be left a Prey to Priefts and Jesuits, " who were no better than Traitors to her Majesty " and the Kingdom. They affure her Majesty, That " the People will give their Ministers a good Mainte-" nance; that they [the People] will always pray for 66 her Majesty's Safety, and be ready to part with their Goods, and pour out their Blood like Water for

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"her Preservation, if they may but have the Go- Queen if spel." But the Queen gave them no Answer; Elizabeth, the whole Reformation must be hazarded rather than the Puritans be relieved.

After this, they applied to the Lord Mayor and And apply Court of Aldermen, befeeching them to address the to the Court Queen, to make some better Provision for the City; of Alderand to enforce their Petition, they laid before them a new Survey of the Ministry of London, taken this very Year, with the Names of every Parish Priest and Curate set down against his Living and Curacy, M. s. which is now before me; and it appears at the Footp. 842. of the Account that there were,

Double beneficed Men within the City — 18

Double beneficed Men without — 27

Simple Preachers (as the Survey calls them) — 10

Dumb, or unpreaching Ministers — 17

Resident Preachers, abiding in London only — 19

With the Survey they offered divers Reasons to without prevail with the Court to appear for them; as, Success.

(1.) Because the Laws of the Realm have provided very well for a learned preaching Ministry, whereas by the Account above, it appears that many are Pluralists and Non-Residents, others illiterate, being brought up to Trades, and not to Learning, and others of no very good Character in Life. (2.) Because divers of the principal Preachers of this Land have of late been put to silence. (3.) Because of the prevailing Ignorance and Impiety that is among the common People for want of better Instruction. (4.) M. S. Because we now pay our Money and Dues to them P. 839-that do little or nothing for it: But the Aldermen were afraid to interpose.

Such was the Scarcity of Preachers, and the Thirst Cry of the of the People after Knowledge, that the suspended People for Ministers of Essex petition'd the Parliament, March 8th. 1587. for some Remedy, "Such (say they)

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1587.

" is the Cry of the People to us Day and Night for Elizabeth, " the Bread of Life, that our Bowels earn within us; " and remembring the folemn Denunciation of the " Apostle, Woe be to us if we preach not the Gospel, we " begin to think it our Duty to preach to our People " as we have Opportunity, notwithstanding our Suspension, and to commit our Lives and whole " Estates to Almighty God, as to a faithful Creator; " and under God to the gracious Clemency of the "Queen, and of this honourable House." Many fuspended Preachers came out of the Countries and took Shelter in the City. But to prevent as much as possible their getting into any of the Pulpits of London, the following Commission was fent to all the Ministers and Church-Wardens of the City.

High Com- 66 missioners cc quithout Licence.

WHereas fundry Preachers have lately come into the City of Tand into the City of London, and Suburbs of prohibit all " the same; some of them not being Ministers, Preaching " others fuch as have no sufficient Warrant for their "- Calling, and others fuch as have been detected in " other Counties, and have notwithstanding in the "City taken upon them to preach publickly, to the "Infamy of their Calling; others have in their " Preaching rather stirr'd up the People to Innovation, than fought the Peace of the Church. These are therefore in her Majesty's Name, by virtue of " her high Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical to " us and others directed, straightly to enjoin, com-" mand, and charge all Parsons, Vicars, Curates " and Church-Wardens, of all Churches in the City of London, and the Suburbs thereof, as well in · Places exempt as not exempt, that they nor any " of them do fuffer any to preach in their Churches, " or to read any Lectures, they not being in their " own Cures, but only fuch whose Licences they " shall first have seen and read, and whom they shall 46 find to be licenced thereto, either by the Queen's " or Oxford, or by the Lord Archbishop of Canter- Queen bury, or the Bishop of London for the Time being, Elizabeth, under Seal.

" And that this may be published and take the M. S. better Effect, we will that a true Copy thereof p 835.

" shall be taken and delivered to every Curate and Church-Warden of every of the Churches afore-

" faid. The 16th Day of August, 1587." Sub-

John Canterbury, John London.

Val. Dale, Edw. Stanbope, Rich. Cozin.

But under all these Discouragements the Puritans Proceedkept close together, hoping one Time or other that ings of the Providence would make way for their Relief. They Puritans in maintained their Classes and Associations, wherein fes, they agreed upon certain general Rules for their Behaviour: One was, that they should endeavour in their Preaching and Conversation to wipe off the Calumny of Schifm, forafmuch as the Brethren communicated with the Church in the Word and Sacraments, and in all other Things, except their Corruptions; and that they affumed no Authority to themselves, of compelling others to observe their Decrees. In their provincial Synod held at Warwick, June 4th. 1588. it was agreed, that it was not lawful to baptize in private; nor sufficient for a Minister to read Homilies in Churches; nor lawful to use the Cross in Baptism. They agreed further, That they were not obliged to rest in the Bishops Deprivation, nor to appear in their Courts, without a Protestation of their Unlawfulness. In another Synod it was determined, that no Man should take upon him Ministerium vagum; that they who take upon them a Cure of Souls should be called by the Church whom they are to

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Queen ferve, and be approved by the Classes or some great-Elizabeth, er Assembly, and if by them they are found meet, , they are to be recommended to the Bishop for Ordination, if it might be obtained without subscribing Lof Whit. the Book of Common Prayer. It was further agreed, p. 291. how much of the Common Prayer might be lawfully read for the preserving their Ministry; and how far they might exercise their Discipline without the Civil Magistrate. In another provincial Synod about Michaelmas it was agreed, That the Oppressions offered to others, and especially to the Ministers, by the Bishops and their Officials in their Spiritual Courts, should be collected and register'd: If this had been preserved entire, more of the Sufferings of these great and good Men would have appeared, and many Works of Darkness, Oppression and Cruelty, would have been brought to light, which now must be concealed to the Day of Judgment.

Mr. Caw-Wilfon Suspended. M. S. p. 825.

The Danger the Nation was now in from a foreign dery and Invasion, gave a little Check to the Zeal of the Bishops against the Puritans for the present; however this Year Mr. Cawdery, Minister of South Luffingham was fuspended, imprison'd, and deprived by the Bishop of London; he had a Wife and seven Children, which were cast upon Providence; but this Divine gave his Lordship some further Trouble, as will be feen hereafter \_\_\_\_ Mr. Wilson, who had been fuspended some Time before, moved for a Release in the Bishop's Court; but because he refused to subfcribe, his Sufpension was continued, and himself treated by the Civilians with great Inhumanity.

Mr. Hilderiham's Form of Recanta-110m.

Fuller, B. IX.

p. 642.

Mr. Arthur Hildersham, whom Mr. Fuller represents as a heavenly Divine, being at this Time Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was suspended by the Commissioners for preaching occasionally before he had taken Orders, and obliged to fign the following Recantation; " I confess that I have rashly " and indifcreetly taken upon me to preach, not " being licenfed nor admitted into Holy Orders,

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" contrary to the Orders of the Church of England, " contrary to the Example of all Antiquity, and Elizabeth, " contrary to the Direction of the Apostle in the " Acts; whereby I have given great and just Of-" fence to many; and the more, because I have ut-" ter'd in my Sermons certain impertinent, and very " unfit Speeches for the Auditory, as moving their " Minds to Discontent with the State, rather than " tending to godly Edification, for which my Pre-" fumption and Indifcretion I am very heartily for-" ry, and defire you to bear witness of this my Con-" fession, and acknowledging my said Offences." This Recantation was by the Archbishop's Appointment to be uttered in Trinity Hall Chapel, before Easter. In the mean while he was suspended from the Profits of his Fellowship, and stood bound to appear before the Commissioners the first Court-Day of Easter Term, if he did not before that Time recant. Whether Mr. Hildersham recanted I am not certain, but Sept. 14. 1587. he left the University and settled at Asbby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, where he continued a deep Sufferer for Non-Conformity 43 Years, having been suspended and put to silence by the High Commission no less than four Times, and continued under that Hardship almost 20 Years.

This Year put an End to the Life of the famous Death of Martyrologist John Fox, a Person of indefatigable Mr. Fox Labour and Industry, and an Exile for Religion in the Marty-Queen Mary's Days; he spent all his Time abroad in compiling the Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, which was publish'd first in Latin, and afterwards, when he returned to his native Country, in English, with Enlargements; vast was the Pains he took in searching Records, and collecting Materials for this Work; and such was its Esteem, that it was ordered to be set up in all the Parish Churches in England. Mr. Fox was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, 1517. educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon, where he proceeded M. A. in the Year 1543. He was af-

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Queen terwards Tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's Children, Elizabeth, who in the Days of Queen Mary convey'd him privately out of the Kingdom. He was a most learned. pious, and judicious Divine, of a catholick Spirit, and against all Methods of Severity in Religion, But he was shamefully neglected for some Years because he was a Non-Conformist, and refused to subfcribe the Canons and Ceremonies; nor did he get any higher Preferment in the Church than a Prebend of Salisbury, though the Queen used to call him Father, and professed a high Veneration for him; as indeed he deserved. He died in London in the 70th Year of his Age, and lies buried in Cripplegate Church, where his Monument is still to be feen, against the South Wall of the Chancel, with a flat marble Stone over his Body.

1588. It has been observed, that our first Resormers adRise of the mitted but two Orders of Church Officers to be of
Controversy Divine Appointment (viz.) Bishops and Deacons, a
of the DivineRight
of Episcotwo Names for the same Office; but Dr. Bancrost
pacy. the Archbishop's Chaplain, in a Sermon at Paul's
Bancrost's Cross, Jan. 12th. 1588. maintained, that the Bisermon. Shops of England were a distinct Order from Priests,
and had Superiority over them Jure Divino, and di-

and had Superiority over them JURE DIVINO, and direttly from God. He affirmed this to be God's own Appointment, though not by express Words yet by necessary Consequence; and that the Denial of it was Herely. The Doctor confessed, that Aerius had maintained, there was no Difference between a Priest and a Bishop; but that Epiphanius had pronounced his Affertion full of Folly; and that it had been condemned as Herefy by the general Council of the Church; that Martin and his Companions had maintained the fame Opinion; but that St. Hierom and Calvin had confessed, that Bishops have had Superiority over Presbyters, ever fince the Times of St. Mark the Evangelist. This was new and strange Doctrine to the Churchmen of these Times. It had been

been always faid, that the Superiority of the Order Queen of Bishops above Presbyters had been a politick human Elizabeth, Appointment, for the more orderly Government of 1588. the Church, begun about the 3d or 4th Century; but Life of Bancroft was one of the first, who by the Archbishop's Whitgist, Directions advanced it into a DIVINE RIGHT. P. 292. His Sermon gave Offence to many of the Cler-Displeases gy and to all the Friends of the Puritans about the Purithe Court, who would have brought the Preach-tens. er into a Præmunire, for faying, that any Subject of this Realm hath Superiority over the Perfons of the Clergy, otherwise than from and by her Majesty's Authority. But the Doctor retorted this Argument upon the Disciplinarians, and added, that it was no better than a Sophism, because the Prince's Authority may, and very often does confirm and corroborate that which is primarily from the Laws of God. Sir Francis Knollys, who had this Affair at heart, told the Archbishop that Bancroft's Affertion was contrary to the Command of Christ, who condemned all Superiority among the Apostles. " I " do not deny (fays he) that Bishops may have lord-" ly Authority and Dignity, provided they claim it " not from an higher Authority than her Majesty's "Grant. If the Bishops are not Under-Governors " to her Majesty of the Clergy, but Superior-Go-" vernors over their Brethren by God's Ordinance, "[i. e. Jure Divino] it will then follow that her " Majesty is not supreme Governor over her Clergy." The fame Gentleman not relying upon his own Judgment, writ to the learned Dr. Raynolds of Oxford, for his Opinion of Bancroft's Doctrine, which he gave him in a Letter now before me, to this Effect.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Affertion is full of Folly, he does not disprove his nolds's Reasons from Scripture; nay, his Arguments are Remarks.

<sup>&</sup>quot; fo weak, that even Bellarmine confesses they are not agreeable to the Text. As for the general "Con-

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" Consent of the Church, which the Doctor fays, Elizabeth, " condemned Aerius's Opinion for Herefy, What " Proof does he bring for it? It appears (he fays) " in Epiphanius; but I say it does not; and the contrary appears by St. Ferom, and fundry others " who lived about the same Time. I grant that St. " Austin in his Book of Herefies ascribes this to " Aerius for one; that he faid there ought to be no "Difference between a Priest and a Bishop, because "this was to condem the Churches Order, and to " make a Schism therein. But it is a quite different " Thing to fay, that by the WORD OF GOD there " is a Difference between them, and to fay that it is by " the ORDER AND CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH: " which is all that St. Austin maintains. When Harding " the Papist alleged these very Witnesses, to prove the "Opinion of Bishops and Priests being of the same " Order to be Heresy; our learned Bishop Jewel " cited to the contrary, Chryfostom, Jerom, Ambrose, " and St. Austin himself, and concluded his Answer " with these Words, All these and other more boly Fa-" thers, together with the Apostle PAUL, for thus say-" ing, by HARDING'S Advice, must be held for Herece ticks. Michael Medina, a Man of great Account " in the Council of Trent, adds to the forementioned " Testimonies, Theodorus, Primarius, Sedulius, 4: Theophylast, with whom agree Oecumenius, the Greek " Scholiast, Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, Gre-" gory, and Gratian; and after them how many? It " being once inrolled in the Canon Law for Catho-" lick Doctrine, and thereupon taught by learned " Men.

> " Besides, all that have laboured in reforming the " Church for 500 Years have taught, that all Pa-" stors, be they entitled Bishops or Priests, have " equal Authority and Power by God's Word; as

> " first the Waldenses, next Marsilius Patavinus, then "Wickliffe and his Scholars, afterwards Husse and

> " the Hussites; and last of all, Luther, Calvin, Brenec tius

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" tius, Bullinger, and Musculus. Among our selves we " have Bishops, the Queen's Professors of Divinity in Elizabeth, " our Universities, and other learned Men consent-" ing herein, as Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilking-" ton, Humpbreys, Fulke, &c. But what do I speak " of particular Persons? It is the common Judgment " of the Reformed Churches of Helvetia, Savoy, " France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the " Low Countries, and our own. I hope Dr. Bancroft " will not fay, that all these have approved that for " found Doctrine which was condemned by the ge-" neral Confent of the whole Church for Herefy, in " a nost flourishing Time; I hope he will acknow-" ledge that he was overfeen, when he avouched the " Superiority which Bishops have among us over the " Clergy to be God's own Ordinance.

" As for the Doctor's faying that St. Ferom, and " Calvin from him, confessed that Bishops have had " the faid Superiority ever fince the Time of Saint " Mark the Evangelist, I think him mistaken, be-" cause neither Jerom says it, nor does Calvin seem " to confess it on his Report; for Bishops among " us may do fundry other Things, besides ordaining " and laying on of Hands, which inferior Ministers " or Priests may not; whereas St. Ferom says, What " does a Bishop except Ordination which a Priest does " not? meaning, that in his Time Bishops had only "that Power above Priests; which Chrysostom also " witnesses in Homily xi. on I Timothy. Nor had they " this Privilege alone in all Places, for in the Coun-" cil of Carthage it is faid, that the Priests laid their " Hands together with the Bishop's on those who were or-" dained. And St. Ferom having proved by Scrip-" ture, that in the Apostles Time Bishops and " Priests were all one, yet granteth that afterwards " Bishops had that peculiar to themselves somewhere, " but nothing else; so that St. Ferom does not say " concerning the Superiority in question, that Bi-" shops have had it ever fince St. Mark's Time.

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" Nor does Calvin confess it; he says, that in old Elizabeth, " Time Ministers chose one out of their Company in " every City, to whom they gave the Title of Bia " shop; yet the Bishop was not above them in Ho-" nour and Dignity, but as Confuls in the Senate or propose Matters, ask their Opinions, direct others " by giving Advice, by admonishing, by exhorting, " and fo guide the whole Action, and by their Authority fee that performed which was agreed on " by common Confent; the fame Charge had the " Bishop in the Assembly of Ministers; and having of shewed from St. Ferom, that this was brought in by confent of Men, he adds, that it was an anci-

" ent Order of the Church even from St. Mark; " from whence 'tis apparent, that the Order of the

"Church he mentions, has relation to that above described, in which he affirms, that the Bishop was not so above the rest in Honour as to have rule over

" them. It follows therefore, that Calvin does not " fo much as feem to confess of St. Jerom's Report,

" that ever fince St. Mark's Time Bishops have had

" a ruling Superiority over the Clergy.

We shall meet with this Controversy again hereafter. Whitgift faid, the Doctor's Sermon had done much good, though he himself rather wished than believed it to be true: It was new Doctrine at this Time. Most of the Clergy that approved the Superiority of the Episcopal Order were against the Divine Right; but the Bishops in the next Age revived the Debate, and carried their Pretensions to high, as to fubvert the very Foundations upon which they built.

Spanish Invafion.

The Queen having suffered Mary Queen of Scots to be beheaded at Fotheringay Castle, Feb. 1582. all the Roman Catholick Princes were alarm'd, and threaten'd Revenge; among others, the Spaniards hastned their Invincible Armada, to reduce England to the Catholick Faith, which had been three Years preparing at a prodigious Expence: The Fleet was well mann'd, and furnished with strange Instruments of Torture for th

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the English Hereticks; they came through the Channel like fo many floating Castles, being to take in a Elizabeth, Land Army from the Low Countries; but partly by Storms, and partly by the Valour and wife Conduct of the Queen's Admirals and Sea Captains, the whole Fleet was burnt and destroyed, so that not a Spaniard set foot upon English Ground; nor was there a Ship left entire to carry the News back to Spain. The Queen ordered the Coasts to be well guarded, and raised a Land Army, which she animated by appearing at the Head of them. A Terror was spread through the whole Nation by Reports of the Engines of Cruelty that were aboard the Fleet; their barbarous Usage of the poor Protestants in the Low Countries under Duke D'Alva was remember'd, as well as their bloody Massacres of the poor Indians in America: But the Storm blew over; and by the Bleffing of God upon the Queen's Arms the Nation was foon restor'd to its former Tranquillity.

The following Winter the Queen summoned a Puritans Parliament to meet [Feb. 4th.] in order to defray apply to the extraordinary Expences of the Year, and make Parliasome new Laws against the Papists. The Puritans having expressed their Zeal for the Queen and the Protestant Religion, by listing in her Army and Navy, thought it adviseable once more to address the Houses for some Favour in point of Subscription. Upon the delivery of the Petition one of the Members stood up and moved, that an Enquiry might be made, How far the Bishops had exceeded the Laws in the Profecution of her Majesty's Protestant Subjects. Another moved, for reviving the Bill against Pluralities and Non-Residents, which was brought in, and having passed the Commons was sent up to the Lords. This alarmed the Convocation, who addressed the Queen to protest the Church; and having flattered her with the Title of a Goddess, O Dea certe! they tell her, "That the paffing of the Bill will be Convocaattended with the Decay of Learning, and the tion's Peti-

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66 Spoil- Queen.

" Spoiling of their Livings; that it will take Elizabeth, away the fet Forms of Prayer in the Church, " and bring in Confusion and Barbarism. They Lof Whit-" put her in mind, how dangerous Innovations are gift,p.280. " in a fettled State; and add, that all the reform-" ed Churches in Europe cannot compare with Eng-" land in the Number of learned Ministers. " therefore (fay they) not as Directors, but as " humble Remembrancers, befeech your Highness's " favourable beholding of our prefent State, and not " to fuffer the Bill against Pluralities to pass." Upon this the Queen forbid the House of Lords to proceed, and fent for those Members of the House of Commons into Custody that had dared to break through her Orders, of not meddling with Affairs of Religion without her special Allowance; which put an End to

all Expectations of Relief for the present.

Death of

This Year died the Reverend and learned Mr. Tho-Mr. Samp- mas Sampson, of whom mention has been made already; he was born about the Year 1517. and educated at Oxford; he afterwards studied at the Temple, and was a Means of converting the famous Martyr John Bradford to the Protestant Religion; he took Orders from Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley in the Year 1549. who dispensed with the Habits at his Request, and became Rector of Allballows Breadstreet: He was a famous Preacher in the Reign of King Edward; but upon the Accession of Queen Mary he fled to Strafburgh, and was highly effeemed by the learned Tremelius. When Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown she offered him the Bishoprick of Norwich, but he refused it for no other Reason, but because he could not conform to the Habits and Ceremonies. In the Year 1561. he was installed Dean of Christ Church, Oxon; but soon after in the Year 1564. was deprived by Sentence of Archbishop Parker for Non-Conformity. He afterwards contented himfelf with the Mastership of an Hospital in Leicester, where he spent the Remainder of his Days in peace. He E

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was taken with the dead Palfey on one fide many Queen Years before he died; but continued preaching and Elizabeth, writing to the last, and was in high Esteem over all England for his Learning, Piety, and Zeal for the Wood's Protestant Religion. He died at his Hospital with Ath. Ox. great Tranquillity and Comfort in his Non-Conformi-P. 238. ty, the latter end of March or the beginning of April

1588. in the 72d Year of his Age.

Soon after him died the very learned Dr. Lawrence Death of Humphreys, a great Friend and Companion of Samp- Dr. Humson's; he was born in Buckingbamsbire, and educated phreys. in Magdalen College, Oxon, of which he was perpetual Fellow. In the Reign of Queen Mary he obtained leave to travel, and continued at Zurich till Queen Elizabeth's Accession, when he was made Queen's Professor in Divinity; he was afterwards President of Magdalen College, and Dean of Gloucester, which was the highest Preferment he could obtain, because be cambden. was a Non-Conformist from the Ceremonies of the Church. The Oxford Historian says, he was a moderate and conscientious Non-Conformist, and stocked his College with a Generation of that Sort of Men that could not be rooted out in many Years: He was certainly a strict Calvinist, and a bitter Enemy of the Papists; he was a great and general Scholar, an able Linguist, and a deeper Divine than most of his Age: He writ many learned Works, and at length died in his College, in the 63d Year of his Age, 1589. having had the Honour to fee many of his Pupils Bishops, while he who was every Way their Superior was denied Preferment for his puritannical Principles.

To these we may add the venerable Edwin Sandys, And of Archbishop of York, an excellent and frequent Sandys Preacher in his younger Days, and an Exile for Re-Abb. of ligion in Queen Mary's Reign. He was afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester, London and York, and a zealous Desender of the Laws against Non-Conformists of all Sorts; when Arguments sailed he K k 3 would

would earnestly implore the secular Arm; though he Elizabeth, had no great Opinion either of the Discipline or Cere-1588. monies of the Church, as appears by his last Will and Testament, in which are these remarkable Expressions. "I am persuaded that the Rites and Cere-" monies by political Inflitution appointed in the " Church, are not ungodly nor unlawful, but may " for Order and Obedience fake be used by a good L. of Whit- .. Christian \_\_ But I am now, and ever have been pergift,p.287. .. suaded, that some of these Rites and Ceremonies are not expedient for this Church now; but that in the Church " reformed, and in all this Time of the Gospel, they may " better be disused by little and little, than more and more " urged." Such a Testimony from the dying Lips of one that had been a fevere Persecutor of honest Men. for Things which he always thought had better be difused than urged, deserves to be remember'd. He died in the Month of July, 1588. in the 69th Year of his Age, and was buried in the Collegiate Church of Southwell, where there is a raifed Monument to his Memory, with his own Effigies on the Top, and a great Number of his Children kneeling round the

fides of it.



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## CHAP. VIII.

From the Spanish Invasion to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

WHILE there was any Hopes of compromi- Queen fing Matters between the Church and Puri-Elizabeth, tans, the Controversy was carried on with some Decency; but when all Hopes of Accommodation were satyrical at an end, the contending Parties loaded each other Pamphlets with nothing but Reproaches. The publick Printing Presses being shut against the Puritans, some of them purchased a private one, and carried it from one County to another to prevent Discovery: It was first set up at Mouldsey in Surrey, near King ston on Thames; from thence it was conveyed to Fawley in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton, from thence to Coventry, from Coventry to Woolston in Warwicksbire, and from thence to Manchester in Lancashire, where it was difcovered. Sundry fatyrical Pamphlets were printed by this Press, and dispersed all over the Kingdom; as,

Martin Mar-Prelate; written, as is supposed, by Martin a Club of Separatifts, for the Authors were never Mar-Prediscovered: 'Tis a violent Satyr against the Hierar-late. chy and all its Supporters; it calls the Lord Bishops petty Antichrifts, petty Popes, proud Prelates, Enemies to the Gospel, and most covetous wretched Priests - It fays, "That the Lord has given many of our Bi-" shops over to a reprobate Sense, because they wil-" fully oppose and persecute the Truth; and supposes " them to have committed the unpardonable Sin, be-" cause they have manifested in their publick Wri-" tings, &c. most blasphemous and damnable Do-" ctrines." The Author then addresses himself to the Clergy that had subscribed, and that were for pressing Subscription upon others, in such punning Kk 4

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Queen Language as this, "Right Puissant and Terrible Elizabeth," Priests, my Clergy Masters of the Confocation or 1589. "Conspiration House, whether Fickers [Vicars] Pallof Whit." tripolitans, or others of the holy League of Subgist, p. 290. "feription. Right poisoned, persecuting and terri-

" ble Priests; my Horned Masters, your Government is Antichristian, your Cause is Desperate,

" your Grounds are Ridiculous \_\_ Martin under-

" stands all your Knavery; you are intolerable Withstanders of Reformation, Enemies of the

"Gospel, and most covetous, wretched, and popish Priests, &c." There are a great many sad Truths in the Book, but delivered in rude and unbecoming

Language, and with an angry Spirit.

The Titles of the rest were,

Other sa. Theses Martinianæ; i. e. certain demonstrative tyrical Conclusions set down and collected by Martin Mar-Pamphlets. Prelate the Great, serving as a manifest and sufficient

Confutation of all that ever the College of Cater Caps, with their whole Band of Clergy-Priests have or can bring for the Desence of their ambitious and antichristian Prelacy. Published by Martin junior, 1589. in Octavo, and dedicated to John Kankerbury [i. e. Canterbury.] The Author of this tells the Bishops, that he would plant young Martins in every Diocese and Parish, who should watch the Behaviour of the Clergy, that when any Thing was done amiss it might be made publick.

Protestation of Martin Mar-Prelate; wherein notwithstanding the Surprising of the Printer, he maketh it known to the World, that he feareth neither proud Priest, Antichristian Pope, Tyrannous Prelate, nor Godless Cater Cap, &c. Printed 1589. Octavo.

A.b.Oxon. His Appellation to the High Court of Parliament from V.I.p.259 the bad and injurious Dealing of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other his Collegues of the High Commission, &c. Printed 1589. Octavo.

Dialogue, wherein is plainly laid open the tyrannical Dealings of the Lords Bishops against God's Children. Printed 1589. Quarto.

A Treatise, wherein is manifestly proved, That Refor- Queen mation, and those that sincerely favour the same, are un-Elizabeth, justly charged to be Enemies to her Majesty, and the State. 1589.

Printed 1590. Quarto.

Ha' ye any Work for the Cooper. This was written against Dr. Tho. Cooper Bishop of Winchester; and is said to be printed in Europe, not far from some of the

bounceing Priefts, 1590.

Epitome of the first Book of Dr. John Bridges against the Puritans; with this Expression in the Title Page, Oh! read over Dr. John Bridges, for it is a worthy Work. Printed over Sea in Europe, within two Furlongs of a bounceing Priest, at the Cost and Charges of Martin Mar-Prelate, Gent. in Quarto.

The Cobler's Book, which denies the Church of Life of England to be a true Church, and charges her with Whitgift, maintaining Idolatry under the Name of Decency, in the Habits, Fonts, Baptism by Women, Gang-Days, Saints Eves, Bishoping of Children, Organs, Waser-Cakes, &c.

Ha' ye any more Work for the Cooper. In printing of which the Press was discovered and seized, with seve-

ral Pamphlets unfinished; as,

Episto [Episco] Mastix,
Paradoxes,
Dialogues,
Miscellanea,
Variæ Lectiones.

Martin's Dream, Ibid.
The Lives and Doings of p. 288.
English Popes,
Itinerarium, or, Visitations,
Lambethisms.

The two last of these were impersect; but to complete the Itinerarium, the Author threatens to survey all the Clergy of England, and note their intolerable Pranks: And for his Lambetbisms he would have a Martin at Lambetb. Other Books were published of the same Nature; as, A Demonstration of Discipline; the Counter-Poison, &cc.

The Writers on the Church-Side came not behind their Adversaries in Buffoonry and Ridicule, as ap-

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pears by the following Pamphlets printed at this Queen Time. 1589.

Pappe with an Hatchet, alias, A Fig for my Godson: Ludicrous Or, Crack me this Nut, that is, a found Box of the Pamphlets Ear for the Ideot Martin to hold his Peace. Written by one that dares call a Dog a Dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and are to be fold at the Sign of the Crab-Tree Cudgel, in Thwack-Coat-Lane. Ath.Oxon.

Pasquil's Apology. In the first Part whereof he V.I.p. 260. renders a Reason of his long Silence and gallops the Field with the Treatise of Reformation. Printed where I was, and where I shall be ready, by the Help of God and my Muse, to send you a May-Game of Martinism. Anno 1590. Quarto.

> An Almond for a Parrot: Or, An Alms for Mart, Mar-Prelate, &c. By Cuthbert Curry-Knave. Quarto. The Return of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquil to Eng.

> land, and his meeting with Marforius at London, upon the Royal Exchange, Lond, 1589, against Martin and Martinism.

A Counter Cuff given to Martin junior, by the Pal-

quil of England, Cavaliero. 1589. Octavo.

'Tis fad, when a Controversy about serious Matter runs these Dregs: Ridicule and personal Satyr may expose an Adversary and make him ashamed, but will never convince or reconcile; it carries with it a Contempt which sticks in the Heart and will hardly be removed; nor do I remember any Cause that has been ferved by fuch Methods. Dr. Bridges answered Martin in a ludicrous Stile; but Cooper Bishop of Winchester did more Service by his grave and sober Reply, with the Affistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who being miserably aspers'd, furnished the Bishop with Replies to the particular Charges brought against him. The Book is entitled, An Advertisement to the People of England; wherein the Slanders Martin Mar-Prelate the Libeller are distinctly answered. But after all, it was impossible for the Bishops to wips off from themselves the Charge of Persecution and Violation of the Laws,

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To put a Stop to these Pamphlets the Queen sent Queen Letter to the Archbishop, commanding him to Elizabeth, make diligent Enquiry after the Printing Press, and iffued out her Royal Proclamation, dated Feb. 13th. Queen pro-" For the bringing in all feditious and schismatical bibits " Books, whether printed or written, to the Ordina-them. " ry, or to one of the Privy Council, as tending to " bring in a monstrous and dangerous Innovation of " all manner of Ecclefiastical Government now in use, " and with a rash and malicious Purpose to dissolve " the State of the Prelacy, being one of the three an-" cient Estates of this Realm under her Highness, " whereof her Majesty mindeth to have a reverend " Regard; she therefore prohibits any of her Subjects " from keeping any Books in their Custody against the Life of " Order of the Church, or the Rites and Ceremonies Whitgift,

" of it, her Majesty being minded to have the Laws No 41.

" of them, as foon as they shall be apprehended."

As foon as the Printing Press was discovered, bis the Enter-Grace writ to the Treasurer to prosecute the Persons tainers of with whom it was found; but like an artful Politician ing Press wishes it might be done by the Lords of the Council, punished, rather than by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, because Life of they had already suffered for supporting the Govern-Whitgist, ment, which was wounded through their Sides. Ac-p. 314. cordingly Sir Richard Knightley, Sir — Wig ston, Fuller, who had entertained the Press, together with the B. IX. Printer, and Humphrey Newman the Disperser, were deeply fined in the Star-Chamber; and others put to Death.

The Archbishop being now in his Visitation had Whitgist's framed 22 Articles of Enquiry, upon which the new Arti-Churth-Wardens of every Parish were to be examined station.

upon Oath. By these Articles they were to swear,

That their Minister was exactly conformable to the Orders of the Church, or else to impeach him; and to declare further, Whether they knew of any of their Neighbours or Fellow-Parishioners, that

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were common Swearers, Drunkards, Usurers, Witches, Elizabeth, Conjurers, Hereticks; any Man that had two Wives; or Women that had two Husbands: Whether they knew any that went to Conventicles or Meetings for faying Prayers in private Houses; any that were of Age and did not receive the Sacrament at Church three Times a L.of Whit- Year: With others, calculated to dissolve all Friendgift,p.309, ship in Country Towns, and set a whole Diocese in a Flame. When Sir Francis Knollys had read the Articles he fent them to the Treasurer, calling them by their proper Name, Articles of Inquisition, bigbly prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative: But there was no stopping bis Grace's Career.

Among the Divines that fuffered Death for the Li-1590. Mr. Udal's bels abovementioned, were the Reverend Mr. UDAL, tion.

Peirce's Vindic.

p. 129.

Examina- whose Case being peculiarly hard, I shall give the Reader an Abstract of it. He had been Minister of King ston upon Thames; but having been filenced by the Official Dr. Hone, he lay by for half a Year, having no farther Prospect of Usefulness in the Church. At length the People of Newcastle upon Tyne wanting a Minister, prevailed with the Earl of Huntingdon to fend him to them; when he had been there about a Year he was fent for up to London by the Lord Hunsdon and the Lord Chamberlain, in the Name of the whole Privy Council: Mr. Udal fet out December 29th. 1589. and on the 13th of January appeared at Lord Cobbam's House before the Commissioners, Lord Cobham, Lord Buckburst, Lord Chief Justice Anderson, Dr. John Young Bishop of Rachester, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Egerton the Queen's Solicitor, Dr. Aubery, and Dr. Lewin. The Bishop began the Examination in this Manner: Bishop. Have you the Allowance of the Bishop of the Diocese to preach at Newcastle? Udal. There was neither Bishop of the Diocese, nor Archbishop of York at that Time. Fortescue. By what Law then did you preach at Newcastle, being silenced at Kingston? Udal. I know no Law against it, seeing I was silenced only by the Official, III

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Official, whose Authority reaches not beyond his Queen Archdeaconry. L. C. J. Anderson. You are called Elizabeth, to answer concerning certain Books, thought to be of your writing. Udal. If it be any of Martin's Books, have disowned them a Year and a half ago at Lambelb. L. C. J. Anderson. Who was the Author of the Demonstration, or the Dialogue? Udal. I shall not answer. Anderson. Why will you clear your self of Martin, and not of these? Udal. Because I would not he thought to handle the Cause of Discipline as Marin did; but I think otherwise of the other Books, and care not though they should be fathered upon me; I think the Author did well, and therefore would not discover him if I knew him; but would hinder it all I could. L. C. J. Anderson. Why dare you not confess if you be the Author? Udal. I have faid I liked of the Books, and the Matter handled in them; but whether I made them, or no, I will not answer, for by the Law I am not obliged to it. Anderson. That is true, if it concerned the Loss of your Life. [and yet the Justice tried and condemned him for his Life. ] Udal. I pray your Lordship, does not the Law fay, No Man shall be put to answer without Presentment before Justices on Matters of Record, or by due Proofs and Writ original, &c. A. 42 Edw. 3. cap. 3. Anderson. That is Law if it be not repealed. Bishop of Rochester. Pray let me ask you a Question concerning your Book. But Udal was upon his Guard, and faid, 'Tis not yet proved to be mine. Mr. Solicitor. I am forry, Mr. Udal, you will not anfwer nor take an Oath, which by Law you ought to do; but he did not fay by what Law. Udal. Sir, if I have a Liberty by Law, there is no reason why I should not challenge it: Shew me by what Law I am obliged to accuse my self? Dr. Lewin. You have taken the Oath heretofore, why should you not take it now? Udal. I then voluntarily confessed certain Things concerning my preaching of the Points of Discipline, which could never have been proved; and

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Queen and when my Friends laboured to have me restored Elizabeth, to my Ministry, the Archbishop answered, there was sufficient Matter against me by my own Confes fion why I should not be restored; whereupon I covenanted with my own Heart never to be my own

Accuser again,

At length the Bishop told him his Sentence for that Time was to be fent to the Gate-House: Take it in his own Words, "I was carried to the Gate-House by a Messenger, who delivered me with a Warrant to be kept close Prisoner, and not to be full fered to have Pen, Ink, or Paper, or any body to se speak with me. Thus I remained half a Year, in so all which Time my Wife could not get leave to come to me, faving only that in the hearing of the "Keeper she might speak to me, and I to her of " fuch Things as the should think meet ---- All " which Time my Chamber-Fellows were Seminary Priests, Traitors, and professed Papists. At the End of the half Year I was removed to the White Lin in Southwark, and so carried to the Assizes at " Croydon."

His Trial.

On the 23d of July Mr. Udal was brought to Croydon with Fetters on his Legs, and indicted upon the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2. before Baron Clarke and Mr. Serjeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalow and feditious Libel, called a Demonstration of Distipline, dedicated to the supposed Governors of the Church of England, in which is this Passage; "Who

Life of P. 343.

Whitgift, " can without blushing deny you [the Bishops] to be the Cause of all Ungodliness? Forasmuch as " your Government gives liberty for a Man to be " any Thing but a found Christian; it is more free

" in these Days to be a Papist or a wicked Man, than what we should be; I could live 20 Years as such

" in England, and it may be in a Bishop's House, and

or not be molested: So true is it, that you care for " nothing but the Maintenance of your Dignities, be

it to the Damnation of your own Souls, and infinite 66 Milere

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dictment. To which Mr. Udal pleaded Not Guilty, and put himself upon the Trial of his Country. In opening the Cause Mr. Daulton the Queen's Counselmade a long Invective against the new Discipline, which he affirmed was not to be found in the Word of God. To whom Udal replied, This being a Controversy among learned Divines, he thought Mr. Daulton might have suspended his Judgment, since he had somethy shew'd some liking to the Cause. Upon which the Judge said, Sirrah! Sirrah! answer to the Matter. Mr. Daulton, go on to the Proof of the Points in the Indictment, which were these three:

1. That Udal was the Author of the Book.

2. That he had a malicious Intent in making it.

3. That the Matters in the Indictment were Felo-

ny by the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2.

The first Point was to prove Udal to be the Author of the Book; and here 'tis observable, that the Witnesses were not brought into Court, but only their Examinations, which the Register swore to. And, First, Stephen Chatfield's Articles were produced, which contained a Report of certain Papers he had feen in Udal's Study. Upon feeing them, he asked, Whose Writings they were? Udal answer'd, a Friend's. Chatfield then defired him to rid his Hands of them, for he doubted they concerned the State. He added, That Udal told him another Time, that if they put him to silence, he would give the Bishops such a Blow as they never had. Chatfield was called to witness these Things, but appeared not. Daulton faid he went out of the Way on purpose. The Judge faid, Mr. Udal, You are glad of that. Mr. Udal anfwered, my Lord, I wish heartily he were here; for as I am fure he could never fay any Thing against me to prove this Point; fo I am able to prove it to be true, that he is very forry that he ever made any Complaint against me, confessing he did it in anger when Martin came first out, and by their Suggestions, whom

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Queen whom he had proved fince to be very bad Men, Elizabeth, Mr. Udal added, That the Book was published before

this Conversation with Chatfield.

The Examination of Nicolas Thompkins before the Commissioners was next produced. This Thompkins was now beyond Sea, but the Paper said, that Udal had told him, He was the Author. But Thompkins himself sent Word, that He would not for a 1000 l. affirm any more, than that he had heard Udal say, that he would not doubt but set his Name to the Book if he had indifferent Judges. And when Udal offered to produce his Witnesses, the Judge said, That because the Witnesses were against the Queen's Majesty they could not be heard.

The Confession of Henry Sharp of Northampton was then read, who upon Oath before the Lord Chancellor had declared, That he heard Mr. Penry say, that Mr. Udal was the Author of the DEMONSTRATION.

This was the whole Evidence of the Fact upon which he was condemned, not a fingle living Witness was produced in Court; so that the Prisoner had no Opportunity to ask any Questions, or resute the Evidence. And what Methods were used to extort these Confessions may easily be imagined from the Confessors slying their Country, and then testifying

their Sorrow for what they had faid.

To prove the Sedition, and bring it within the Statute, the Council infifted upon his Threatning the Bishops, who being the Queen's Officers, it was conftrued a Threatning of the Queen her felf. The Prifoner defired Liberty to explain the Passage, and his Council infisted, that an Offence against the Bishops was not Sedition against the Queen; but the Judge gave it for Law, that They who spake against the Queen's Government in Causes Ecclesiastical, or ber Laws, Proceedings, and Ecclesiastical Officers, defamed the Queen her self. Upon this the Jury were directed to find him guilty of the Fast, and the Judges took upon

upon them the Point of Law and condemned him as Queen a Felon. Mr. Fuller confesses, that the Proof against Elizabeth, him was not pregnant, for it was generally believed he writ not the Book, but only the Presace. They Mr. Udal might as well have condemned him without the Form condemned of a Trial, for the Statute was undoubtedly stretched B. IX. beyond the Intent of it, to reach his Life. He be-P. 223. haved modestly and discreetly at the Bar; and having said as much for himself as must have satisfied any equitable Persons, he submitted to the Judgment of the Court.

Mr. Udal was cast in the Summer Assizes, 1590. but did not receive Sentence till the Lent after; in the mean Time he was offered his Pardon, if he would

fign the following Submission.

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John Udal have been heretofore, by due Course Judges ofa I of Law convicted of Felony, for penning or fet-fer bim a " ting forth a certain Book, called The Demonstration Submissions " of Discipline, wherein false, flanderous, and seditious Strype's "Matters are contained against her Majesty's Prero-Vol. ult. " gative Royal, her Crown and Dignity, and against the p. 26. " Laws and Government Ecclefiaftical and Temporal " by Law establish'd under her Highness, and tending " to the erecting a new Form of Government, contrary " to her faid Laws; all which Points I do now perceive " by the Grace of God, to be very dangerous to the " Peace of this Realm and Church, feditious in the "Commonwealth, and infinitely offensive to the " Queen's most excellent Majesty; so as thereby I " now feeing the grievousness of my Offence, do " most humbly on my Knees, before, and in this " Presence, submit my self to the Mercy of her " Highness, being most forry that I have so deeply " and worthily incurred her Majesty's Indignation " against me; promising, if it shall please God to " move her Royal Heart to have Compassion on me a most forrowful convicted Person, that I will " for ever hereafter forfake all such undutiful and

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" dangerous Courses, and demean my self dutifully Queen Elizabeth, co and peaceably; for I do acknowledge her Laws to 1590. " be both lawful and godly, and to be obeyed by every Subject. Feb. 15201."

> No Arguments or Threatnings of the Judges could prevail with Udal to fign this Submission; but the Day before Sentence was to be passed he offered

the following, drawn up by himself. Oncerning the Book whereof I was by due His own Submi [ion. cc

Course of Law convicted, by referring my " felf to the Trial of the Law, and for that by the " Verdict of 12 Men, I am found to be the Author of it, for which Cause an numble Submission is " worthily required and offered of me: Although I cannot disavow the Cause and Substance of the Doet ctrine debated in it, which I must needs acknow-" ledge to be holy, and (fo far as I conceive it) agreeable to the Word of God; yet I confess, the Manner of writing it, is fuch in some part as may " worthily be blamed, and might provoke her Ma-" jefty's just Indignation therein. Whereof the . Trial of the Law imputing to me all fuch Defaults " as are in that Book, and laying the Punishment of " the same in most grievous Manner upon me; as " my most humble Suit to her most excellent Maje-" fty is, that her Mercy and gracious Pardon may " free me from the Guilt and Offence which the faid "Trial of the Law hath cast upon me, and further of her great Clemency, to restore me to the Com-" fort of my Life and Liberty, fo do I promise in all " humble Submission to God and her Majesty, to car-" ry my felf in the whole Course of my Life, in such " humble and dutiful Obedience, as shall befit a Mi-" nifter of the Gospel and dutiful Subject, fervently " and continually praying for the good Preservation " of her Highness's precious Life, and happy Go-" vernment, to the Honour of God, and Comfort 66 0 of her Loyal and Dutiful Subjects. Feb. 19. Queen Elizabeth,

Mr. Udal had often, and with great Earnestness, His Petipetitioned his Judges for their Mediation with the tions. Oueen: In his Letter of Nov. 11th. he fays, " I pray " you call to mind my tedious State of Imprisonment, " whereby my felf, my Wife and Children, are re-"duced to Beggary; pray call to mind by what " Course this Misery is brought upon me, and if " you find by due Consideration, that I am worthy " to receive the Punishment from the Sentence " of upright Justice, I pray you to hasten the " Execution of the same, for it were better " for me to die than to live in this Case; but " if it appear to your Consciences (as I hope "it will) that no Malice against her Majesty " can possibly be in me, then do I humbly and " heartily defire you to be a Means that I may be " released; then I shall not only forget that hard " Opinion conceived of your Courses against me, " but pray heartily to God to bury the same, with " the rest of your Sins, in the Grave of his Son Je-" fus Christ." Mr. Udal writ again Nov. 18. and 25th. in most humble and dutiful Language; but the Court would do nothing till he had figned their Submiffion.

At the Close of the Lent Assizes being called to the Bar with the rest of the Felons, and asked what he had to say, why Judgment should not be given against him according to the Verdict, he gave in a Paper consisting of nine Reasons; of which these are the principal.

"the Fast, whether I was Author of the Book; and sons for were expressly freed by your Lordship from enqui-arrest of ring into the Intent, without which there is no

" Felony.

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Elizabeth, cores, but were wrought upon partly by Promises, affuring them it should be no further Danger to me but tend to my good; and partly by Fear,

" as appears, in that it has been a Grief to some of them ever fince.

3. "The Statute in the true Meaning of it, is thought not to reach my Case, there being nothing in the Book spoken of her Majesty's Person but in

" Duty and Honour; I befeech you therefore to confider, whether the drawing of it from her

Royal Person to the Bishops, as being part of her

"Body politick, be not a violent depraying and wrefting of the Statute.

4. "But if the Statute be taken as it is urged, the Felony must consist in the malicious Intent; where-

" in I appeal first to God, and then to all Men who have known the Course of my Life, and to your

"Lordships own Consciences, whether you can find

" me guilty of any Act in all my Life that savoured of any Malice or malicious Intent against her Ma-

" jesty; of which, if your Consciences must clear

" me before God, I hope you will not proceed to Iudgment.

5. " By the Laws of God, and I trust also by the Laws of the Land, the Witnesses ought to be pro-

"duced face to face against me; but I have none

" fuch, nor any other Things, but Papers and Re-

orts of Depositions taken by Ecclesiastical Commissioners and others. This kind of Evidence is

or not allowed in case of Lands, and therefore much

" less ought it to be allowed in case of Life.

6. "None of the Depositions prove me directly to be the Author of the Book in question; and the

" Author of the chief Testimony is so grieved, that

" he is ashamed to come where he is known.

7. "Supposing me to be the Author of the Book,

" let it be confidered that the faid Book for Sub" stance contains nothing but what is taught and

" believed by the best reformed Churches in Europe, Queen fo that in condemning me you condemn all such Elizabeth,

" Nations and Churches as hold the fame Doctrine. 1590.

"If the Punishment be for the Manner of writing, Strype's this may be thought by some worthy of an Admo-Ann.

" nition, or Fine, or some short Imprisonment; but Vol. ult.

" Death for an Error of fuch a Kind, as Terms and P. 22.

" Words not altogether dutiful of certain Bishops,

" cannot but be extreme Cruelty, against one that

" has endeavoured to shew himself a dutiful Subject,

" and faithful Minister of the Gospel.

"If all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend my felf, and fay as sometime feremiab said in a Case not much unlike, Behold, I am in your Hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you; but know you this, that if you put me to Death you shall bring innocent Blood upon your own Heads, and upon the Land. As the Blood of Abel, fo the Blood of Udal will cry to God with a loud Voice, and the righteous Judge of the Land will require it at the Hands of all that shall be guilty

" of it.

But nothing would avail, unless he would sign the His Sen-Submission the Court had drawn up for him; which tence. his Conscience not suffering him to do, Sentence of Death was passed upon him Feb. 20th. and Execution openly commanded; but next Morning the Judges, by Direction from Court, gave private Orders to respite it till her Majesty's Pleasure was further known. The Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign the Submission; which he peremptorily resused. But because the Queen had been missinformed of his Belief, he sent her Majesty a short Consession of his Faith in these Words:

1. "I believe, and have often preached, that the His confest." Church of England is a Part of the true visible sion of

"Church, the Word and Sacraments being truly Faith.
"dispensed; for which Reason I have communicated

" terly renounce the Schism and Separation of the . Brownists.

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1590.

2. " I do allow the Articles of Religion as far " as they contain the Doctrine of Faith and Sacra-

" ments, according to Law.

2. " I believe the Queen's Majesty hath, and ought to have supreme Authority over all Persons,

" in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil. - And if the Prince commands any Thing contrary to the

Word of God, it is not lawful for Subjects to rebel " or resist, but with Patience and Humility to bear

" the Punishment laid upon them.

4. " I believe the Church rightly reformed ought L.of Whit. " to be governed ecclesiastically by Ministers, assistp. 376.

" ed by Elders, as in the foreign reformed

66 Churches.

5. " I believe the Censures of the Church ought " merely to concern the Soul, and may not impeach

es any Subject, much less any Prince, in liberty of " Body, Goods, Dominion, or any earthly Privi-

" lege; nor do I believe that a Christian Prince

" ought otherwise to be subject to Church Censures, " than our gracious Queen professes her seif to be

" to the Preaching of the Word and the Admini-

" ftration of the Sacraments."

Petitions to be bamifbed.

With this Declaration of his Faith he fent an humble Request, That if her Majesty would not gracioufly be pleafed to pardon him, she would change his Sentence into Banishment, that the Land might not be charged with his Blood. King James of Scotland writ to the Queen, requesting most earnestly, that for the sake of his Intercession, Udal might be relieved of his present Strait, promising to do the like for her Majesty in any Matter she should recommend to him. The Turkey Merchants also offered to send him as Chaplain to one of their Factories abroad,

Fuller,

B. IX. p. 203.

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if he might have his Life and Liberty; which Queen Udal confented to, as appears by his Letter to Elizabeth, the Lord Treasurer, in which he says, " Lament-" able is my Case, having been three Years in " Durance, which makes me humbly defire your " Lordship's Favour, that I may be released from " my Imprisonment, the Turkey Merchants having " my Consent to go into Syria or Guinea, there to " remain two Years with their Factors, if my " Liberty may be obtained." The Writer of Archbishop Whitgift's Life says the Archbishop yielded to this Petition; that the Lord Keeper promised to further it; and that the Earl of Effex had a Draught of a Pardon ready drawn, with this Condition to be added, that he should never return without the Queen's Licence; but her Majesty never sign'd it, and the Turkey Ships going away without him, poor His Death unhappy Udal died a few Months after in the Mar- and Charashalfea Prison, quite Heart-broken with Sorrow and eter. Grief, about the end of the Year 1592. Mr. Fuller B. IX. fays he was a learned Man, and of a blameless Life, p. 222. powerful in Prayer, and no less profitable than painful in preaching. He was decently interred in the Church-Yard of St. George, Southwark, not far from the Grave of Bishop Bonner, being honoured with the Attendance of great Numbers of the London Minifters, who visited him in Prison, and now wept over the Remains of a Man, that after a long and fevere Trial of his Faith and Patience, died for the Testimony of a good Conscience, and stands upon Record as a Monument of the Oppression and Cruelty of the Government under which he suffered.

Though the moderate Puritans publickly disowned Examinathe Libels above-mentioned, and disliked the Spirit tion of Mr. with which they were writ, they were nevertheless wright brought into Trouble for their Associations. Among and his others, the Reverend Mr. Cartwright Father of the Pu-Brethren. ritans, and Master of the new Hospital at Warwick, was suspended by his Diocesan, and summoned before the

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Queen High Commissioners, who committed him to the Elizabeth, Fleet with his Brethren, Mr. Egerton, Fen, Wight, 1590. Farmer, Lord, Snape, King, Rushbrooke, Wiggins, Littleton, Field, Loyde, Payne, Proudlove, and Jewel. At their first Appearance the Commissioners asked

At their first Appearance the Commissioners asked them, Where they held their Associations or Assemblies, and how often? Who were present, and what Matters were treated of? Who corrected or set forth the Book of Discipline, and who had subscribed or submitted to it? Whether in a Christian Monarchy the King is supreme Governor of the Church? or, Whether he is under the Government of Pastors, Doctors,

gift,p. 373. Prince to ordain Ceremonies, and make Orders for the Church? Whether the Ecclefiastical Government established in England be lawful, and allowed by the Word of God? Whether the Sacraments minister'd according to the Book of Common Prayer, are

godly and rightly minister'd? &c.

Mr. Cartwright's Answer to these Interrogatories was said by the Civilians to be insufficient; upon which they exhibited 31 Articles against him, September 1st. 1590. and required him to answer them

upon Oath.

Articles exhibited against Mr. Cartwright.

The first 24 Articles charge him with renouncing his Episcopal Orders, by being re-ordained beyond Sea; with interrupting the Peace, and breaking the Orders of the Church since he came home; and with knowing the Authors or Printers of Martin Mar-Prelate.

Art. 25. Charges him with penning, or procuring to be penned, the Book of Discipline; and with recommending the Practice of it.

Art. 26. Charges him with being present at sundry pretended Synods, Classes or Conferences of Mini-

Iters in divers Counties.

Art. 27. — That at fuch Synods they subscribed the Book of Discipline, and promised to govern themselves by it as far as they could.

Art. 28.

Art. 28. — Charges him with fetting up particu- Queen lar Conferences in feveral Shires, which were to re-Elizabeth, ceive the Determinations of the general Assembly, 1591.

and put them in practice.

Art. 29, 30, and 31. Mentions some Rules and Orders of their Synods; as, that the Members should bring Testimonials from their several Classes; that they should subscribe the Book of Discipline; that no Books should be printed but by consent; that they should be subject to the Censures of the Brethren both for Doctrine and Life; and that if any should be sent abroad upon publick Service at the Meeting of Parliament, their Charges should be bore, &c.

Mr. Cartwright offer'd to clear himself of some of He refuses these Articles upon Oath, and to give his Reasons for to answer not answering the rest, but if this would not satisfy, the was determined to submit to the Punishment the Whitgist, Commissioners should award [which was Imprisonment p. 338. in the Fleet]; praying the Lord Treasurer to make some Provision for the poor People of Warwick who had no Minister. The rest of Cartwright's Brethren resuling the OATH for the same Reasons (viz.)

Because they would not accuse themselves, nor bring their Friends into trouble, were committed to divers Prisons. But the Archbishop, by Advice of the Treasurer, was not present at the Commitment of his old Adversary.

On the 13th of May they were brought before the 1591.

Star-Chamber, which was a Court made up of of the certain Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, and Counsellors of Court of the Queen's Nomination, to the Number of 20 or Star-30, with her Majesty at their Head, who is the sole Life of Judge when present, the other Members being only Whitgist, to give their Opinion to their Sovereign by Way of p. 361.

Advice, which he [or she] disallows at their Pleafare; but in the Absence of the Sovereign the Determination is by a Majority, the Lord Chancellor or Reeper having a casting Voice. The Determinations

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of this Court (fays Mr. Rushworth) were not by the Elizabeth, Verdict of a Jury, nor according to any Statute Law of the Land, but according to the King for Queen's Royal Will and Pleafure, and yet they Vol. I. were made as binding to the Subject as an Act of P. 475. Parliament. In the Reign of King Henry VII, the Practice of that Court was thought to intrench upon the Common Law, but it feldom did any Business: but in the latter end of this, and the two next Reigns, the Court fat constantly, and was so unmerciful in its Censures and Punishments, that the whole Nation cried out against it as a Mark of the vilest Slavery. Lord Clarendon fays, " There were very few Persons

" of Quality in those Times that had not suffered, Rebellion, " or been perplexed by the Weight and Fear of its Vol. I.8vo. ... Censures and Judgments; for having extended p. 68, &c. " their Jurisdiction from Riots, Perjuries, and the

" most notorious Misdemeanors, to an afferting of " all Proclamations, and Orders of State, to the

" vindicating illegal Commissions and Grants of Mo-

" nopolies, no Man could hope to be any longer " free from the Inquisition of that Court, than he

" resolved to submit to those and the like extraordi-

" nary Courfes."

Cartwright and bis Brethren fore it.

When Cartwright and his Brethren appeared before the Court, Mr. Attorney General inveighed bitterly against them for refusing the Oath, and when appear be-Mr. Fuller Counsel for the Prisoners stood up to anfwer, he was commanded filence, and told, that far less Crimes than theirs had been punished with the

L. of Whit-Gallies or perpetual Banishment, which latter he gift,p.360. thought proper for them, provided it was in some remote Place from whence they might not return, From the Star-Chamber they were remitted back to the High Commission, where Bancrost had a long Argument with Cartwright about the Oath; from thence they were returned again to the Star-Chamber, Ibid. and a Bill was exhibited against them with 20 Arti-

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cles; in Answer to which they maintain, That their Associations were very useful, and not forbidden by any Law of the Realm; that they exercised no Jurisdiction, nor moved any Sedition, nor transacted any Assairs in them, but with a due Regard to their Duty to their Prince, and to the Peace of the Church; that they had agreed upon some Regulations to render their Ministry more edifying, but all was voluntary, and in breach of no Law; and as for the Oath, they refused it not in Contempt of the Court, but as contrary to the Laws of God and Nature.

But this Answer not being fatisfactory they were rbey me remanded to Prison, where they continued two but up in Years without any further Process, or being ad-divers Primitted to Bail; in the mean Time King James of fons. Scotland interceeded for them, in a Letter to the Queen, dated June 12th. 1591. in which he requests her Majesty to shew Favour to Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren, because of their great Learning and faithful Travels in the Gospel. Cartwright himself L. of Ayl. petition'd for his Liberty, as being afflicted with ex- p. 321. cessive Pains of the Gout and Sciatica, which were B. IX. much encreased by lying in a cold Prison; he writ a p. 203. most humble and pious Letter to the Lady Russel, and another to the Lord Treasurer, befeeching them to procure his Enlargement with the Queen, though it were upon Bond, expressing a very great Concern that her Majesty should be so highly offended with him, fince he had printed no Books for 13 Years past that could give the least Uneasiness; since he had declared his diflike of Martin Mar-Prelate; and that he never had a Finger in any of the Books under his Name, nor in any other fatyrical Pamphlets; and further, that in the Course of his Ministry for five Years past at Warwick he had avoided all Controversy. Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and two others Life of of the University, writ an excellent Letter to the Whirgift, Trea- P. 370.

Queen

Treasurer in favour of the Prisoners, beseeching his Elizabeth, Lordship that they might not be more hardly dealt with than Papists; but this not prevailing, after fix Months they petition'd the Lords of the Council [Decemb. 4th] to be enlarged upon Bail, and writ to the Treasurer to second it, assuring his Lordship of their Loyalty to the Queen, and peaceable Behaviour in the Church. "We doubt not (fay "they) but your Lordship is sensible, that a Year's "Imprisonment and more which we have suffered, must strike deeper into our Healths, consider-" ing our Education, than a Number of Years to " Men of a different Occupation. Your Lordship " knows, that many Papists who deny the Queen's "Supremacy have been enlarged, whereas we have " all fworn to it; and if the Government require, " are ready to take the Oath again. This was fign'd

> Tho, Cartwright, Edward Lord, Hump. Fen, Dan. Wyghte, John Payne,

Edmund Snape. Andrew King, Wm. Proudlove, Melanchton Jewel.

They also applied to the Archbishop, who refused to consent to their Enlargement unless they would under their Hands declare the Church of England to be a true Church, and the whole Order of publick Prayers, &c. consonant to the Word of God, and renounce for the future all their Assemblies, Classes and Synods; which they declined. These Applications proving ineffectual, they resolved at last to address the Queen her self, for which purpose they drew up the following Declaration, containing a full Answer to the several Charges brought against them.

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9 ween A Letter of the above-mentioned Puritan Ministers im- Elizabeth, prisoned, to ber Majesty, in Vindication of their Innocency. Dated April 1592.

May it please your excellent Majesty,

"Here is nothing, right gracious Sovereign, Their Adnext to the faving Mercy of Almighty God, drefs to the " that can be more comfortable than your High-Queen. " ness's Favour, as to all other your faithful and Strype's " dutiful Subjects, fo to us your Majesty's most vol. ult. " humble Suppliants, who are by our Calling Mi-p. 85, &c. " nifters of God's holy Word; and by our present " Condition now, and of long Time, Prisoners in " divers Prisons in and about the City of London; " for which Cause our most humble Suit is, That it " may please your most excellent Majesty, graci-" oully to understand our necessary Answer to such " grievous Charges as we hear to be informed " against us, which if they were true, might be just " Cause of withdrawing for ever from us your High-" ness's gracious Protection and Favour, which " above all other earthly Things we most defire to "enjoy. The Reason of our Trouble, is a Suspi-" cion that we should be guilty of many heinous " Crimes; but these supposed Crimes we have not " been charged with in any due and ordinary Course " of Proceeding, by open Accusation and Witnes-" fes. But being called up to London by Authority " of some of your Majesty's Commissioners in Causes " Ecclesiastical, we have been required by them to " take an Oath of Inquisition or Office, as it is called; " for not taking whereof we were first committed to " Prison, and since have continued there a long " Time, notwithstanding that all of us fave one " have been deprived of our Livings, and degraded " of our Ministry.

"Wherefore, for that the Oath is the next and " immediate Cause of our Trouble, we have made

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Queen " our Answer first to that, and then after also to Elizabeth, " the Crimes that are fuggested, and secretly in-" formed against us.

# The OATH.

" As for the Oath, the Reason why we took it " not, is because it is without Limitation of any " certain Matter, infinite and general, to answer whatfoever shall be demanded of us. Of this kind of Oath we find neither Rule nor Example " in the Word of God; but contrariwife both Precepts and Precedents of all lawful Oaths reported " in the same tend to this, that an Oath ought to " be taken with Judgment, and fo as he that fwearet eth may fee the Bounds of his Oath, and to what " Condition it does bind him, &c. But this Oath es is to enquire of our private Speeches and Confe-" rences with our dearest and nearest Friends; year of the very fecret Thoughts and Intents of our " Hearts, that so we may furnish both Matter of " Accusation and Evidence of Proof against our se felves, which was not used to be done in Causes of " Herefy or High Treason; for these are the Words of " the Statutes of your most noble Father, Henry An. 25 H. " VIII. For that the most expert and best learned, can-8. cap. 14. 66 not escape the Danger of such captious Interrogatories (as the Law calleth them) which are accustomed to be administer'd by the Ordinaries of this Realm; as also " that it standeth not with the right Order of Justice, or " good Equity, that any Person should be convicted, or put to the Loss of Life, good Name, or Goods, unless it be by due Accusation and Witness, or by Presentment, An. 35 H. " Verdiet, Confession, or Process of Outlawry: \_\_\_ And 8. cap. 15. cc further, for the avoiding untrue Accusations and Prese sentments which might be maliciously conspired, and kept se fecret and unrevealed, till Time might be espied to have Men thereof by Malice convicted, it was ordained that " none should be put to answer but upon Accusation 66 and II.

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" and Presentments taken in open and manifest "Courts by the Oath of twelve Men.

Elizabeth,

#### SCHISM.

" As to the Charge of Schism, and that we so far con-" demned the State of the Church, that we hold it not " for any true, visible Church of God, as it is esta-" blished by publick Authority within the Land, and " therefore refuse to have any Part or Communion with " it in publick Prayers, or in the Ministry of the Word " and Sacraments: If this were true, we were of all " Men living the most unthankful, first to Almigh-" ty God, and next to your excellent Majesty, by " whose blessed Means we are partakers of that " happy Liberty of the Profession of the Gospel, " and of the true Service of God, that by your "Highness's gracious Government we do enjoy. "We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the Sight of "God, that this our Church, as it is by your " Highness's Laws and Authority established among " us, having that Faith professed and taught pub-" lickly in it, that was agreed of in the Convoca-" tion of 1562. and fuch Form of publick Prayers " and Administration of the Sacraments, as in the " first Year of your most gracious Reign was esta-" blished (notwithstanding any Thing that may " need to be revised and further reformed) is a " true visible Church of Christ, from the holy Com-" munion whereof, by way of Schifm, it is not law-" ful to depart.

"Our whole Life may shew the evident Proof hereof; for always before the Time of our Trouble we have lived in the daily Communion of it, not only as private Men, but at the Time of our Restraint (as many Years before) preached and exercised our Ministry in the same; and at this present most earnestly beseech all in Authority that is set over us, especially your excellent

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Queen "Majesty, that we may so proceed to serve Elizabeth, "God and your Highness all the Days of our 1592. "Life.

### REBELLION.

" Another Crime suggested against us is, That we should practise or purpose rebelliously to procure " fuch further Reformation of our Church as we defire, by violent and undutiful Means. Whereunto our Answer is, that as we think it not lawful to make " a Schism in the Church for any Thing that we " esteem needful to be reformed in it, so do we in all " Simplicity and Sincerity of Heart [declare] in the " Prefence of Almighty God (to whom all Secrets are known) and of your excellent Majesty (to whom " the Sword is given of God for just Vengeance and Punishment of Transgressors) that for procuring " Reformation of any Thing that we defire to be reor dreffed in the State of our Church, we judge it " most unlawful and damnable by the Word of God " to rebel, and by Force of Arms, or any violent " Means, to feek Redress thereof: And moreover, " that we never intended to use, or procure any other Means for the Furtherance of fuch Re-" formation than only Prayer to Almighty God, " and most humble Suit to your excellent Majesty, " and others in Authority, with fuch like dutiful " and peaceable Means as might give Information of " this our Suit, and of the Reasons moving us thereec unto.

### SUPREMACY.

"We impeach your Majesty's Supremacy. For Answer whereunto we unfeignedly protest (God being witness, that we speak the Truth herein from our Hearts) that we acknowledge your Highness's Sove

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"Sovereignty and supreme Power, next and imme-" diately under God, over all Persons, and in all Elizabeth, " Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, in as large, " and ample Manner as it is agnized by the High " Court of Parliament in the Statute of Recognition, " and is fet down in the Oath of Supremacy enacted "by the fame; and as it is further declared in your " Majesty's Injunctions, and also in the Articles of "Religion agreed in the Convocation, and in fun-"dry Books of learned Men of our Nation pub-" lished and allowed by publick Authority. We add " yet hereunto, that we acknowledge the same as " fully as ever it was in old Time acknowledged by " the Prophets to belong to the virtuous Kings of " Judah; and as all the reformed Churches in Chri-" ftendom acknowledge the fame to their Sovereign " Princes in the Confessions of their Faith, exhibi-" ted unto them, as they are fet down in a Book na-" med the Harmony of Confessions, and the Observati-" ons annexed thereunto.

" And besides this Protestation, we appeal to the " former whole Course of our Lives, wherein it can-" not be shewed, that we ever made question of it; " and more particularly by our publick Doctrine, " declaring the fame; and by our taking the Oath " of Supremacy as Occasion hath required.

## EXCOMMUNICATION.

" It bath been odiously devised against us, concerning " the Persons subject to Excommunication, and the Pow-" er thereof, how far it extendeth: Touching the for-" mer, - we judge not otherwise herein, than " all the reformed Churches that are this Day in the "Christian World, nor than our own English " Church, both always heretofore hath judged, and " doth still at this present, as may appear by the " Articles of Religion agreed by the Convocation, and by a Book of Homilies allowed by the same, M m

Queen 1992.

" and also by fundry other Books of greatest Credit Elizabeth, ec and Authority in our Church; which is that the Word of God, the Sacraments, and the Power of binding and loofing, are all Ordinances of Al-" mighty God, graciously ordained for the Comfort and Salvation of the whole Church; and that 44 therefore no Part or Member of it is to be denied the comfortable wholesome Aid and Benefit thereof, for the Furtherance of their Faith, and " (as need may require) of their Repentance, &c. For the other part, how far this Cenfure ex-46 tendeth, we profess that it depriveth a Man only of spiritual Comforts, as of being Partaker of the Lord's Table, and being present at the publick Prayers of the Church, or fuch like, without staking away either Liberty, Goods, Lands, Go-" vernment private or publick whatfoever, or any other civil or earthly Commodity of this Life. "Wherefore from our Hearts we deteft and abhor " that intolerable Presumption of the Bishop of Rome, taking upon him, in fuch Cases, to depose Sove-" reign Princes from their highest Seats of supreme Government, and difcharging their Subjects from "that dutiful Obedience that by the Laws of God " they ought to perform.

## CONFERENCES.

" Concerning our Conferences, we have been charged to have given ORDERS, and made MINI-66 STERS, and to have administer'd the Censures of the "Church, and finally to have exercised all Ecclesiastical " Jurisdiction. To which Suggestion we answer, that indeed of long Time we have used, as other Ministers have done (as we think in most parts of "the Land) to meet fometimes and confer together; " which being granted to all good and dutiful Sub-" jects upon occasion to refort and meet together, " we esteem it is lawful for us to do so. es For WITE AN

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For besides the common Affairs of all Men, " which may give them just Cause to meet with Elizabeth, " their Acquaintance and Friends, mutually to com-" municate for their Comfort and Help one with " another; Men professing Learning have more " necessary and special Use of such Conferences for " their furtherance in fuch Knowledge as they pro-" fels. - But fuch as are professed Ministers of the "Word have fundry great and necessary Causes so " to do more than others, because of the manifold " Knowledge both of Divinity, and also of divers " Tongues and Sciences, that are of great Use for " the better enabling them for their Ministry; in " which respect the Conferences of the Ministers " were allowed by many Bishops within their Dio-" celes, and to our Knowledge never disallowed nor " forbidden by any. Some late Years also have gi-" ven us more special Cause of conferring together, " where Jesuits, Seminaries, and other Hereticks, " fought to feduce many; and wherein also some " Schismaticks condemned the whole State of our " Church as no part of the true visible Church of " Chr.ft, and therefore refused to have any Part or " Communion with it; upon which Occasion it is " needful for us to advise of the best Way and " Means we could to keep the People that we had " charge to instruct, from such damnable Errors. " Further also particularly, because some reckon-" ed us to have part with their Schism, and report-" ed us to agree in nothing but to differ one from " another in the Reformation we defire; we have " special Cause to confer together, that we might set

" all Times, whenfoever we should be demanded, might be our true and just Defence, both to clear us from partaking with the Schism, and to witness for us, that we agreed in the Reformation that

" down fome Things touching fuch Matters, which at

" we define the reference, we hold no the gularitable " Opinion, but the Truth of the Word of Cod.

Queen 1592.

" But as touching the Thing furmifed of our Meet-Elizabeth, " ings, that we exercise in them all Ecclesiastical Ju-" risdiction, in making Ministers, in censuring and " excommunicating, in ordaining Constitutions and

" Orders upon such Censures to bind any; we pro-" test before God and the Holy Angels, that we ne-

" ver exercised any part of such Jurisdiction, nor " had any Purpose agreed among us to exercise the " fame, before we should by publick Law be autho-

" rifed thereunto.

" Further also, touching such our Meetings, we " affirm that they were only of Ministers (faving in of fome Parts where a School-Master two or three,

" desirous to train themselves to the Ministry joined " with us) and the fame, but of fix or feven or like

" small Number in a Conference, without all Deed " or Appearance that might be offensive to any.

# SINGULARITY.

"Which though it be not subject to any Punish-" ment of Law, yet is suggested against us by such " as favour not our most humble defire of a fur-" ther Reformation to difgrace us, and make us odious with others, and chiefly with your excellent Majesty; whereunto our Answer is, that the " Discipline of the primitive Church is ancient, and " fo acknowledged by the Book of Common Prayer, ... in these Words, That there was a godly Discipline " in the primitive Church; instead whereof, until the " said Discipline may be restored again (which Thing is " much to be wished) it is thought convenient to use " such a Form of Commination as is prescribed. " Further also, if it please your Majesty with Favour to understand it from us, we are ready to

" fhew, that in such Points of Ecclesiastical Disciof pline of our Church, which we defire most humbly " may be reformed, we hold no fingular or private

" Opinion, but the Truth of the Word of God, es ac" acknowledged to be fuch by all the best Churches " and Writers of ancient Time and of this present Elizabeth,

Queen 1592.

" Age. "Thus have we declared, right gracious Sove-" reign, truly and fincerely, as we will answer it " before God, and to your Majesty upon our Alle-" giance, what Judgment we are of concerning the " Matters informed against us; and further testify, " that no Minister within this Land defiring a fur-"ther Reformation, with whom we have had any " private Acquaintance or Conference of these Mat-" ters (whatfoever may be otherwise informed) is " of any other Mind or Opinion in these Cases that " have been named; by which Declaration if (ac-" cording to our earnest Prayers to Almighty God) " your Majesty shall clearly discern us to stand free " from all fuch Matters as we are charged with, " our most humble Suit is, that your Majesty's gra-" cious Favour (which is more dear and precious to " us than our Lives) may be extended to us, and " that by means thereof we may enjoy the comfort-" able Liberty of our Persons and Ministry, as we did before our Troubles; which if by your High-" ness's special Mercy and Goodness we may obtain, " we promise and vow to Almighty God, and your " excellent Majesty, to behave our selves in so " peaceable and dutiful fort in every respect, as may give no just Cause of your Highness's Offence, but " according to our Callings, both in Doctrine and " Example as heretofore, fo always hereafter to " teach due Obedience to your Majesty among other " Parts of holy Doctrine; and to pray for your Ma-" jefty's long and bleffed Reign over us, &c."

It was not till some Time after this that Mr, Cart-Mr. Cartwright was released, upon promise of his quiet and wright peaceable Behaviour, and restored to his Hospital in released. Warwick, where he continued without further Difturbance the rest of his Days; but many of his Brethren

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Queen continued under Suspension while their Families were toren under Suspenfion. M. S. p. 584.

Elizabeth, starving, as the Reverend Mr. Fenner of Cranbrook fuspended 7 Years, Mr. Leverwood of Manchelley 7 But many Years, Mr. Percival Wyburne of Rochester 5 Years, of his Bre- Mr. Rockeray Prebendary of Rochester 4 Years, Mr. Barbar of Bow-Church, London, 2 Years 6 Months, Mr. Field of Aldermary, London, Mr. Smith Lecturer of St. Clements, whose printed Sermons were a Family Book all over England many Years; Mr. Travers of the Temple, Mr. Colfet of Easton on the Hill, Mr. Settle of Buxstead, Suffolk, Mr. Gellibrand, Dyke, Fleming, Mr. Kendal, Mr. Hubbock of Oxford, with many others whose Names are before me. Mr. Hubbock was an excellent Divine, and was called before the Commission for faying, that A great Nobleman (meaning the Archbishop) had kneeled down to her Majesty for staying and bindring ber Intent to reform Religion. his Grace not being willing to infift upon this, commanded him to subscribe, and in case of refusal to en-Mr. Hub-ter into Bonds not to preach any more; nor to come within 10 Miles of Oxford; which Mr. Hubbock de-

bock's Sufferings. Whitgift's Life, p. 341, 342.

clined, faying, "He had rather go to Prison than " confent to be filent from preaching, unless he was " convinced that he had taught falfe Doctrine, or " committed any Fault worthy of Bonds." Sir Francis Knollys and the Treasurer interceeded for him, but to no purpose; upon which Sir Francis writ back to the Treasurer in these Words; "You know how " greatly, yea, and tyrannously the Archbishop " hath urged Subscription to his own Articles with-

" out Law - and that he has claimed in the Right " of all the Bishops a Superiority over the inferior

" Clergy from God's own Ordinance, in prejudice to " her Majesty's supreme Government, though at

or present he says he does not claim it, therefore in " my Opinion he ought openly to retract it."

These high Proceedings of the Commissioners brought their Powers under Examination; were of Opinion that they exceeded the Law, but fome

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some thought the very Court it self was illegal, ima- Queen gining the Queen could not delegate her Supremacy Elizabeth, to others. Mr. Cawdery, late Minister of Luffingham in 1502. Suffolk, had been suspended by the Bishop of London for powers of refusing the Oath ex Officio; but not acquiescing in his the com-Lordship's Sentence, the Bishop summoned him be-missioners fore the High Commissioners, who deprived him for debated in Non-Conformity and lack of Learning, and gave away derv's his Living to another, though Mr. Cawdery was one Cafe. of the most learned Clergymen, and best Preachers in the Country, and offered to give Proof of his Learning before his Judges. When this would not be accepted he pleaded with Tears his Wife and eight poor Children that had no Maintenance, but the Hearts of the Commissioners not being mollified, Mr. Cawdery was advised to appeal to the Court of Ex-Hevl. Hist. chequer, and serve a Subpœna upon the Chaplain that Presb. had Possession of his Living; here the Jurisdiction of p. 318. the Court was argued before all the Judges in Hilary Term, 1591. Dr. Aubrey the Civilian confessed, that their Proceedings were not warrantable by the Letter of the Statute primo Eliz. but were built upon the old Canon Law still in force; though it has been shewn that their Proceeding by way of Inquisition was warranted by no Law at all; but the Judges confirmed the Proceedings of the Court, and left Mr. Cawdery with his large Family to starve as a Layman. The Suit cost Mr. Cawdery's Friends a round Sum of Money, besides two and twenty Journies which he made to London. But it was a brave Stand for the Rights of the Subject, and stagger'd the Archbishop so much, that he declined the Business of the Commission afterwards, and fent most of his Prisoners to the Star-Chamber.

While these Causes were in Debate sundry Books were writ for and against the Oath ex Officio; among others Mr. Morrice, Attorney of the Court of Wards, and Member of Parliament, writ a learned Treatise to prove, that no Prelates, or Ecclesiastical Judges, M m 4 have

Queen have Authority to compel any Subject of the Land to Elizabeth, an Oath, except in Causes Testamentary or Matrimonial; and he gives these Reasons for it, (1.) Be-Mr. Attor-cause it is against the Word of God. (2.) It was ney Mor-never allowed by any general Council for a thousand rice's Ar- Years after Christ. (3.) It was forbidden by the Paguments against the gan Emperors against the Christians. (4.) 'Tis against the Pope's Decretals except in Cases of He-Oath ex resy, & ubi periculum est Accusatori, and not other-Officio. wife. (5.) 'Tis against the Laws of the Realm. Life of Whitgiff, And, (6.) Because it is against the Queen's Prerogap. 339. tive. Morrice's Book was answer'd by Dr. Cosins a Civilian, in bis Apology for the Ecclesiastical Proceedings; to which Morrice had prepared a Reply, but the Archbishop hearing of it, sent for him, and forbid the Publication. The Attorney complained of this Usage to the Treasurer in these Words; " Cosins " may write at his Pleasure of Ecclesiastical Courts without Check or Controulment, though never 44 fo erroneously; but I poor Man, such is my ill " Hap, may not maintain the right Cause of Ju-" flice without some blot or blemish." But this was his Grace's shortest Way of ending Controversies. Though Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren above.

Many of the Brethren take it.

L.of Whitgift,p. 371.

mentioned had the Resolution to lie in Gaol for two Years, rather than take the Oath ex Officio, others out of Weakness, or some other Principle, yielded to it, and discovered their Classes, with the Names of those that were present at them: Among these were Mr. Sione, Rector of Warkton in Northamptonshire; Mr. Henry Alvey, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; Mr. Thomas Edmunds, Mr. William Perkins, Mr. Littleton, Johnson, Barbar, Cleavely and Nutter. And disco- These Divines confessed upon Examination, that they had feveral Meetings with their Brethren in London, at the Houses of Mr. Travers, Egerton, Gardner, and Barbar; that there had been Affembles of Ministers at Cambridge, Northamptonshire and Warwicksbire; that at these Meetings there were ufually

ver their Synods.

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usually between 12 and 24 Ministers present; that they had a Moderator; that they begun and ended Elizabeth, with Prayer; and that their usual Debates were, how far they might comply with the Establishment rather than forego their Ministry; here they revised their Book of Discipline, and consulted of peaceable Methods in Subordination to the Laws for promoting a Reformation in the Church, and how far they might exercise their own Platform in the mean Time: But the worst Part of their Confession was their discovering the Names of the Brethren that were present. which brought them into trouble. The Reasons they gave for taking the Oath were, (1.) Because it was administer'd by a lawful Magistrate. (2.) Because the Magistrate had a Right to search out the Truth in Matters relating to the publick Safety. (3.) Because it was impossible to keep Things any longer fecret, many Letters of the Brethren having been intercepted. (4.) Because there was nothing criminal in their Affemblies, and the Magistrate might suspect worse Things of them than were true; and though their Confessions might bring some into trouble, they might deliver others that were suspected. How far these Reasons will justify the Confesfors, I leave with the Reader; but 'tis certain they purchased their own Liberties at the Expence of their Brethrens; for they had the Favour to be difmissed, and lived without Disturbance afterwards.

To render the Puritans odious to the Publick, all Execution Enthusiasts without Distinction were ranked among of Hacket, them; even Hacket and his two Prophets, Arthington Strype's and Coppinger: Hacket was a blasphemous, ignorant An. Vol. Wretch, that could not so much as read; he pretended to be King Jesus, and to set up his Empire in the room of the Queen's, who (he said) was no longer to be Queen of England: He desaced her Majesty's Arms, and stabbed her Picture through with his Dagger, in the House where he lodged. Being apprehended and put upon the Rack, he confessed

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every Thing they would have him, and upon his Queen Elizabeth, Trial pleaded Guilty, declaring he was moved there-1592. unto by the Spirit; he was hanged July 18th. and died raving like a Madman. Coppinger starved him-The Purifelf in Prison, but Arthington lived to recover himself tans not and was pardoned. Dr. Nichols fays, that by the Solconcerned quith bim. licitations of these Men the Puritans stirred up the Peirce's People to Rebellion, their Defign being communi-Vindic. cated to Cartwright, Egerton and Wigginton; whereas p. 140. there was not a fingle Puritan concerned with them. B. IX. Fuller the Historian speaks candidly of the Matter; p. 386. "This Bufiness of Hacket (says he) happen'd unsea-" fonably for the Presbyterians; true it is, they as " cordially detefted his Blasphemies as any of the Episcopal Party; and such of them as loved " Hacket the Non-Conformist, abhorred Hacket the Heretick, after he had mounted to fo high a " Pitch of Impiety." However, Mr. Cartwright writ an Apology for himself and his Brethren against the Aspersions of Dr. Sutcliff, in which he declares, He had never feen Hacket nor Arthington, nor ever had any Conference with them by Letter or Message. Had there been any ground for this vile Charge, we should no doubt have found it among their Ar-

ticles of Impeachment. At the opening of the new Parliament, Feb. 2d. Queen's Message to the Queen fignified her Pleasure to the House, That

the Parlia they might redress such popular Grievances as were complained of in their several Counties, but should leave all Matters of State to ber self and the Council; and all Matters relating to the Church to her felf and the Bi-What an infignificant Thing is a Representative Body of the Nation, that must not meddle with Matters of Church or State! But her Majesty was refolved to let them see she would be obeyed, for

Heyl.Hift, when Mr. Wentworth and Bromley moved the House to address the Queen to name her Successor, she sent Presb. p. 319. for them, together with Mr. Welsh and Stevens, and committed them to Prison, where Wentworth

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House to address the Queen for the Release of their Elizabeth, Members, it was answered by those Privy Counsellors that were of the House, That her Majesty had committed them for Causes best known to her self; that the House must not call the Queen to Account for what she did of her Royal Authority; that the Causes of their Restraint might be high and dangerous; that her Majesty did not like such Questions, nor did it become the House to deal in such Matters.

After this it was a bold Adventure of Mr. Attorney Debates in Marrice, and for which he paid very dear, to move Parliathe House, to enquire into the Proceedings of the ment about Bishops in their Spiritual Courts, and how far they spiritual could justify their Inquisition, their Subscriptions, their courts. binding the Queen's Subjects to their good Behaviour con- Life of trary to the Laws of God and of the Realm; their com-Whitgift, pelling Men to take Oaths to accuse themselves; and upon p. 386. their refusal to degrade deprive and imprison them at Pleasure, and not to release them till they had complied. At the same Time he offered two Bills to the House; Bill aone against the Oath ex Officio, and the other against gainst their illegal Imprisonments; which last he prayed them. might be read prefently. Sir Francis Knollys feconded the Attorney and faid, " That in his Opinion these L. of Whit-" Abuses ought to be reformed; and that if the Pre-gift,p. 338.

" lates had acted against Law they were in a Præmu" nire. He added, that after the Reformation of
" King Henry VIII. no Bishop practised Superiority
" over his Brethren; that in King Edward VIth's

"Time a Statute was made, that Bishops should keep their Courts in the King's Name; and that

"though this Statute was repealed by Queen Mary,
and not fince revived, yet it was doubtful what Not to be
Authority Bishops had to keep Courts in their own kept in the
Name, because it was manifestly against the Prero-Bps. Name.

" gative that any Subject should hold a Court, without express Warrant from the Crown. If it was said, They kept their Courts by Prescription,

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Queen " or by the Statute of King Henry VIII. which gives Elizabeth, " Bishops the same Rule under the King as they had under the Pope, he answered, That there was a " Clause in the Act which restrains them from of-" fending against the King's Prerogative, and the Laws and Customs of the Realm; and according " to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, no Sub-" ject can hold a Court but by special Warrant from " the Crown." Mr. Beal spoke on the same side, " and added, " That the Bishops had incurred a " Præmunire, because the Statute of 13 Eliz. requires Subscription to Articles of Faith only; that this Limitation was made by the Lords after the " Bill had past the Commons; and that no Coun-" cils nor Canons gave Authority to the Bishops to " frame Articles, and require Subscription at their " Pleasure." For which Speech the Queen forbid him the Court, and commanded him to absent from Parliament.

These Debates awakened the Civilians in the House, and particularly Mr. Daulton, who opposed the reading of the Bill, because the Queen had often forbid them to meddle with the Reformation of the Church; which Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Secretaries, confirmed.

Stopt by Presb. p. 320.

As from as the Queen was acquainted with the the Queen. Proceedings of the House she sent for the Speaker Heyl.Hist. Coke, and commanded him to tell the House, That it was wholly in her Power to call, to determine, to affent or dissent, to any Thing done in Parliament; that the Calling of this was only, that such as neglected the Service of the Church might be compelled to it with some sharp Laws; and that the Safety of her Majesty's Person and the Realm might be provided for ; that it was not meant that they should meddle with Matters of State or Causes Ecclesiastical; that she wonder'd they should attempt a Thing so contrary to her Commandment; that she was highly offended at it, and that it was ber Royal Pleasure, that no Bill touching any Matters of State and Causes Ecclesiastical should be there II.

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was seized on in the House by a Serjeant at Arms, distallizabeth, charged from his Office of Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, disabled from any Practice in his Profession, as a common Lawyer, and kept for some Years Prisoner in Tutbury Castle.

If there had been a Spirit of English Liberty in the House of Commons they would not have submitted so tamely to the Insults of an arbitrary Court, which arrested their Members for liberty of Speech, and committed them to Prison; which forbid their redressing the Grievances of Church or State, and sent for their Bills out of the House and cancell'd them. These were such Acts of sovereign Power which none of her Majesty's Ancestors assumed, and which cost one of her Successors his Crown and Life.

But this Parliament, instead of afferting their own AH for but and the Peoples Liberties, stands upon Record for nishing one of the severest Acts of Oppression and Cruel-Refusers to ty that ever was made by the Representatives of a church. Protestant Nation, and a free People. It is en- 35 Eliz. titled An Act for the Punishment of Persons obsti-cap, 1. nately refusing to come to Church, and persuading others to impugn the Queen's Authority in Ecclefiastical Causes. 'Tis here enacted, "That if any Person above the " Age of 16 shall obstinately refuse to repair to " fome Church, Chapel, or usual Place of Common " Prayer, to hear Divine Service, for the Space of " one Month, without lawful Cause; or shall at any " Time, 40 Days after the End of this Session, by " printing, writing, or express Words, go about " to persuade any of her Majesty's Subjects to deny, " withstand, or impugn her Majesty's Power or Au-" thority in Causes Ecclesiastical; or shall disfuade " them from coming to Church, to hear Divine " Service, or receive the Communion according as " the Law directs; or shall be present at any un-" lawful Affembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, un-

Queen 1593.

der Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Reli-Elizabeth, et gion, that every Person so offending, and lawfully convicted, shall be committed to Prison without Bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves

st to come to Church, and make the following De-

claration of their Conformity,

A. B. do humbly confess and acknowledge that I have grievously offended God, in contenning her Majesty's godly and lawful Government and Authority, by absenting my self from \* Church, and from hearing Divine Service, con-"trary to the godly Laws and Statutes of the 46 Realm, and in frequenting diforderly and unlawful Conventicles, under Pretence and Colour of 44 Exercise of Religion; and I am heartily forry for " the fame, and do acknowledge and teftify in my "Conscience, that no other Person has or ought to 55 have any Power or Authority over her Majesty. And I do promise and protest without any Dissimudation, or Colour of Dispensation, that from "henceforth I will obey her Majesty's Statutes and Laws in repairing to Church and hearing Divine " Service; and to my utmost Endeavour will main-" tain and defend the same."

> " But in case the Offenders against this Statute, " being lawfully convict, shall not submit and sign " the Declaration within 3 Months, then they shall " ABJURE THE REALM AND GO INTO PER-" PETUAL BANISHMENT. And if they do not " depart within the Time limited by the Quarter Sef-" fions, or Justices of Peace; brif they return at any "Time afterwards without the Queen's Licence, they " fhall SUFFER: DEATH WITHOUT BENEFIT " OF CLERGY." So that as the Lord Chandellor King observed at the Trial of Dr. Sacheverel, the Cafe of the Non-Conformifts by this Act was worfe than that of Felons at common Law, for these were allowed

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ed the Benefit of Clergy, but the others were not This Statute was levell'd against the Laity as well as Elizabeth, the Clergy; and the fevere Execution of it with that 1592. of the 23d of Elizabeth, in this and the following Reigns, brought infinite Mischiefs upon the Kingdom; many Families being forced into Banishment; some put to Death, as in Cases of Treason; and others as the Authors of feditious Pamphlets.

The moderate Puritans made a shift to evade the Progress of Force of this Law, by coming to Church when Come Brownifia mon Prayer was almost over, and by receiving the Sacrament in some Churches where it was adminifter'd with some latitude; but the Weight of it fell upon the Separatifts, who renounced all Communion with the Church in the Word and Sacraments as well as in the Common Prayer and Ceremonies; thefe were called Brownists or Barrowists, from one Barrow a Gentleman of the Temple, who was now at their Head. We have given an Account of their diffinguishing Principles in the Year 1580. since which Time their Numbers were prodigiously encreafed, though the Bishops pursued them, and shut them up in Prison without Bail, or troubling themfelves to bring them to a Trial. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in the Parliament House, that they were not less than 20000, divided into several Congregations in Norfoik, in Effex, and in the Parts about London: There were several learned Men now at their Head, as the Reverend Mr. Smith, Mr. Jacob, the Learned Mr. Ainsworth, the Rabbi of his Age, and others.

The Congregation about London being pretty nu- Their merous formed themselves into a Church, Mr. Fran-Church cis Johnson being chosen Pastor by the Suffrage of the Settlement Brotherhood, Mr. Greenwood Doctor, [or Teacher] niftration Mr. Bowman and Lee Deacons, Mr. Studley and Kina- of the Saflon Elders, all in one Day, at the House of Mr. craments. Fox in Nicolas Lane in the Year 1592. feven Perfons Strype's were baptifed at the same Time without God-Fathers ult. p. 174,

or God-Mothers, Mr. Johnson only washing their Faces Elizabeth, with Water, and pronouncing the Form, I baptize thee in the Name, &c. the Lord's Supper was also administer'd in this Manner; five white Loaves being fet upon the Table, the Pastor bleffed them by Prayer, after which having broke the Bread he delivered it to some, and the Deacons to the rest, some standing and others fitting about the Table, using the Words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 24. Take eat, this is the Body of the Lord Jesus, which was broken for you: This do in Remembrance of him. In like manner he gave the Cup, using the like Words of the Apostle. This Cup is the new Testament in his Blood; this do ye. as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of bim. In the Close they fung a Hymn, and made a Collection for the Poor. When any Person came first into the Church he made this Protestation or Promise, that He would walk with them so long as they did walk in the Way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the Word of God.

They are and imprifon'd.

The Congregation being obliged to meet in diffediscovered rent Places to cover themselves from the Bishops Officers, was at length discovered on a Lord's Day at Islington, in the very same Place where the Protestant Congregation met in Queen Mary's Reign; about 56 were taken Prisoners, and sent two by two to the Gaols about London, where several of their Friends had been confined for a confiderable Time.

mination. Strype's An. p. 579

Their Exa- At their Examination they confessed, That for fome Years they had met in the Fields in the Summer Time at 5 of the Clock in the Morning of the Lord's Day, and in the Winter at private Houses; that they continued all Day in Prayer and expounding the Scriptures; that they dined together, and after Dinner made a Collection for their Diet, and fent the Remainder of the Money to their Brethren in Prison; that they did not use the Lord's Prayer, apprehending it not to be intended by our bleffed Saviour to be used as a Form after the sending down of

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the Spirit at Pentecost. Their Adversaries charged them with several Extravagancies about Baptism, Elizabeth's Marriage, Lay-Preaching, &c. from which they vindicated themselves in a very solid and judicious Reply, m. s. shewing how far they disowned, and with what Li-p. 850. mitations they acknowledged the Charge.

But the Bishops observing no Measures with this Their Peti-?
People, they ventured to lay their Case before tion to the the Lords of the Council in an humble Petition, Strype's wherein they say, that "Upon a careful Examination Ann."
of the Holy Scriptures, we find the English Hie-Vol. ult.

" rarchy to be dissonant from Christ's Institution, and p. 95, 97. " to be derived from Antichrift, being the fame the " Pope left in this Land, to which we dare not fub-" ject our felves. --- We further find, that God " has commanded all that believe the Gospel to walk " in that holy Faith and Order which he has appoint-" ed in his Church; wherefore in the Reverend " Fear of his Name we have joined our felves toge-" ther, and subjected our Souls and Bodies to those " Laws and Ordinances; and have chosen to our " selves such a Ministry of Pastor, Teacher, Elders " and Deacons, as Christ has given to his Church on " Earth to the World's End, hoping for the promi-" fed Affistance of his Grace in our Attendance up-" on him; notwithstanding any Probibition of Men, or " what by Men can be done unto us. - We are ready " to prove our Church Order to be warranted by the "Word of God, allowable by her Majesty's Laws, " and no ways prejudicial to her Sovereign Power; " and to disprove the publick Hierarchy, Worship " and Government, by fuch Evidence of Scripture, " as our Adversaries shall not be able to withstand; " protesting if we fail herein, not only willingly to " fustain such deserved Punishment as shall be in-" flicted upon us, but to become conformable for " the future; if we overthrow not our Adversaries,

ec But

" we will not fay if our Adversaries overcome us.

Queen 1592. Their Sufferings .

"But the Prelates of this Land have for a long Elizabeth, ce Time dealt most injuriously, unlawfully and out-" ragiously with us, by the great Power and high " Authority they have gotten in their Hands, and " usurped above all the publick Courts, Judges, " Laws and Charters of this Land, perfecuting, imor prisoning and detaining at their Pleasure our poor " Bodies, without any Trial Release or Bail; and " hitherto without any Cause either for Error or " Crime directly objected. \_\_ Some of us they have " kept in close Prison 4 or 5 Years with miserable " Ulage, as Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood now " in the Fleet; others they have cast into Newgate, " and laden with as many Irons as they could bear; others into dangerous and loathfome Gaols, among st the most facinorous and vile Persons, where it is se lamentable to relate how many of these Innocents have perished within these 5 Years; aged Widows, 44 aged Men and young Maidens, &c. where, fo ma-" ny as the Infection hath spared, lie in woful Di-" stress, like to follow their Fellows if speedy Re-" drefs be not had; others of us have been grievouf-" ly beaten with Cudgels in Bridewel, and cast into " a Place called Little Ease, for refusing to come to their Chapel Service; in which Prison several have ended their Lives; but upon none of our Compavi nions thus committed by them, and dying in their Prison, is any Search or Inquest suffered to pass, as of by Law in like Cafe is provided. "Their Manner of pursuing and apprehending us is with no less Violence and Outrage; their Pur-" fuevants, with their Affistants, break into out

Houses at all Times of the Night, where they break open, ransack, and riste at their Pleasure, under Pretence of fearthing for feditious and un-" lawful Books. The Husbands in the deep of the

" Night they have pluck'd out of their Beds from " their Wives and haled them to Prison. - Some "Time fince their Pursuevants late in the Night

66 enter'd

Queen

1592.

" enter'd in the Queen's Name, into an honest Citi-" zen's House upon Ludgate-Hill, where, after they Elizabeth, had at their Pleafure fearch'd and ranfack'd all Plase ces, Chests, &c. of the House, they apprehended " two of our Ministers, Mr. Francis Johnson and John

" Greenwood, without any Warrant at all, both whom between one and two of the Clock after

" Midnight, they with Bills and Staves led to the " Counter of Woodstreet, taking Affurance of Mr.

Boys, the Master of the House, to be Prisoner in " his House till next Day; at which Time the

" Archbishop with certain Doctors his Affociates

" committed them to close Prison, two to the Clink, ss and the third to the Fleet, where they now remain

in Diffress. Since this they have cast into Prison

" Thomas Settle, Daniel Studley, and Nicolas Lane, ta-" ken upon a Lord's Day in our Assembly, and shut

" them up in the Gate-House; others of our Friends

" they are in continual Pursuit of; so that there is " no Safety for them in any one Place.

"We therefore humbly pray, in the Name of " God, and our Sovereign the Queen, that we may

" have the Benefit of the Laws, and of the publick

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" Charter of the Land, namely, that we may be " received to Bail till we be by Order of Law con-

" victed of some Crime deserving Bonds. We plight

" unto your Honours our Faith unto God, and our Al-" legiance to ber Majesty, that we will not commit

" any Thing unworthy the Gospel of Christ, or to

" the Disturbance of the common Peace and good " Order of the Land, and that we will be forth-

" coming at fuch reasonable Warning as your Lord-

" ships shall command. Oh! Let us not perish be-" fore Trial and Judgment, especially imploring

" and crying out to you for the fame. - However,

" we here take the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and

" his Angels, together with your own Consciences,

" and all Persons in all Ages, to whom this our Sup-" plication may come, to witness that we have here

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Elizabeth, "Ufage, and have in all Humility offered our Cause to Christian Trial." But the Privy Council dropt the Petition, being afraid to move in an Affair that

lay more immediately before the High Commission.

Sufferings Mr. Smith, one of their Ministers, after he had of Mr. been in Prison 12 Months, was called before the Smith and Commissioners, and being asked Whether he would go Brownists to Church? Answered, that he should dissemble and Strype's play the Hypocrite if he should do it to avoid Trou-Ann. Vol. ble, for he thought it utterly unlawful; to which ult. p.134 one of the Commissioners answered, Come to Church and obey the Queen's Laws, and he a Dissembler, he a Hypocrite or a Devil if thou wilt. Upon his Retusal he was remanded to the Clink, and his Brethren to the

was remanded to the Clink, and his Brethren to the Fleet, where by Order of Mr. Justice Young, one of the Commissioners, they were shut up in close Rooms, not being allowed the Liberty of the Prison; here they died like rotten Sheep, some of the Disease of the Prison, some for Want, and others of infectious Barrowe's Distempers. "These bloody Men stee Ecclesiasti-

Supplication to Parliament.

Strype's

Ann.

Vol. ult.

p. 133.

" cal Commissioners] (says Mr. Barrowe) in his "Supplication, will allow us neither Meat, Drink,

" Fire, Lodging, nor fuffer any whose Hearts the Lord would stir up for our Relief, to have any Access to us, by which Means 17 or 18 have perish-

ed in the noisom Gaols within these 6 Years; some of us had not one Penny about us when we were

" fent to Prison, nor any Thing to procure a Main-

"tenance for our felves and Families but our handy
"Labour and Trades, by which means not only we

" our felves, but our Families and Children are un-

done and starved. Their unbridled Slander; their

" lawless Privy Searches; their violent breaking

open Houses; their taking away whatever they

think meet; and their barbarous Usage of Wo-

" men, Children, &c. We are forced to omit lest

" we be tedious. — That which we crave for us all, is the Liberty to die openly, or live openly in

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"the Land of our Nativity; if we deserve Death gueen let us not be closely murthered, yea, starved to Elizabeth, Death with Hunger and Cold, and stifled in loathfome Dungeons—"Among those who perished in Prison was one Mr. Roger Rippon, who dying in Newgate, his fellow Prisoners put this Inscription upon his Cossin;

"This is the Corps of Roger Rippon, a Servant of Inscription " Christ, and her Majesty's faithful Subject; who wpon Ripis the last of fixteen or feventeen which that great pon's of-Enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury with fin, a Brownist. a bis bigh Commissioners have murthered in Newgate Strype's within these five Years, manifestly for the Testi- An. Vol. " mony of Jesus Christ; his Soul is now with theult.p.133. " Lord, and his Blood crieth for speedy Vengeance " against that great Enemy of the Saints, and " against Mr. Richard Young [a Justice of Peace in " London who in this and many the like Points hath " abused his Power for the Upholding of the Romisb " Antichrift, Prelacy and Priesthood. He died " A. D. 1592." Many Copies of this Inscription were dispersed among Friends, for which some were apprehended and confined.

The Privy Council taking no Notice of the abovementioned Supplications, the Prisoners in the several Gaols about London, joined in the following Petition to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, to which they subscribed their Names.

The bumble Petition of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the Bishops in sundry Prisons in and about London, to the Lord Treasurer.

while, that we may be bailed according to Law; fons about

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p. 91.

or else put into Bridewel, or some other conve-Queen Elizabeth, co nient Place, where we may be together for our 1592. " mutual Help and Comfort; or if your Honour Strype's Ann. Vol. ult.

will not your felf alone grant this our Request, that then it may please you to be a Mean for our " fpeedy Relief, unto the rest of her Majesty's most " honourable Privy Council. " The Almighty God, that hath preferved your " Lordship unto these honourable Years in so high " Service to our Sovereign Prince, and to the un-" speakable Comfort of this whole Land, give your " honourable Heart fo tender Compassion and care-" ful Confideration in Equity, of the poor afflicted " Servants of Christ, and that (before the Lord plead against this Land for Abel's innocent Blood that is " fhed in the feveral Prisons) your Honour may " open your Mouth for the Dumb in the Cause of " the Children of [devoted to] Destruction. [that] You may open your Mouth and judge righteously, and " judge the Cause of the afflicted; as the People of " Ifrael when they went to War first made Peace with God, and removed all Occasion whereby his Wrath might be incenfed, left he should fight " against them in Battle. For if this Suppression of the Truth, and Oppression of Christ in his " Members, contrary to all Law and Justice, be " without Restraint prosecuted by the Enemy in the Land; then not only the perfecuted shall daily co cry from under the Altar for Redress, but God's Wrath be fo kindled for the shedding the innocent " Blood of Men, even the Blood of his own Servants ( of whom he has faid, Touch not mine Anointed) " that if Noah, Daniel, and Job, should pray for this " People, yet should they not deliver them. " Pleaseth it then your Lordship to understand, " that we her Majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true " hearted Subjects, to the Number of threescore

" Persons and upwards, have contrary to all Law s and Equity been imprisoned, separated from our

" Trades,

"Trades, Wives, Children, and Families; yea, Queen " shut up close Prisoners from all Comfort, many Elizabeth, of us the Space of 2 Years and a half, upon the Bi-" Shop's fole Commandment, in great Penury and Noi-" fomness of the Prisons; many ending their Lives " never called to Trial; fome haled forth to the Sef-

" fions; fome cast in Irons and Dungeons; fome in " Hunger and Famine; all of us debarred from any

" lawful Audience before our honourable Governors " and Magistrates, and from all Benefit and Help of

" the Laws; daily defamed and falfly accused by " published Pamphlets, by private Suggestions,

" open Preaching, Slanders, and Accusations of

" Herefy, Sedition, Schism, and what not. And " above all, which most utterly toucheth our Sal-" vation, they keep us from all spiritual Comfort

" and edifying by Doctrine, Prayer, or mutual

" Conference, &c.

"And feeing for our Conscience only we are deor prived of all Comfort, we most humbly befeech " your good Lordship, that some more mitigate " and peaceable Course might be taken therein, " that some free and Christian Conference publickly " or privately before your Honour, or before whom " it would please you, where our Adversaries may " not be our Judges [might be had]; that our Cafe, with the Reason and Proof on both Sides, might be recorded by indifferent Notaries and faithful Witnesses: And if any Thing be found in us wor-" thy of Death or Bonds, let us be made an Example " to all Posterity; if not, we intreat for some Compassion to be shewn in Equity according to Law for our Relief; [and] that in the mean Time we may be " bailed to do her Majesty Service, walk in our Cal-" lings, to provide Things needful for our felves, our poor Wives, disconsolate Children and Fami-" lies lying upon us, or else that we might be Prisoners together in Bridewel, or any other convenient Place at your Honour's Appointment, where Nn 4

Queen "we might provide such Relief by our Diligence Elizabeth," and Labours as might preserve Life, to the Com1592. "fort both of our Souls and Bodies."

Signed by your poor Supplicants in the following Prisons.

In the Gate-House.

John Gualter,
John Nicolas,
John Barnes,
John Grawford,
Thomas Conadyne,
Thomas Reeve,
William Dodshowe,
Father Debnam,
Edmund Thompson,
Thomas Freeman.

In the Fleet.

Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, Daniel Studley, Robert Badkyne, Walter Lane.

In Newgate.

William Deptford, Widow Borrough, Roger Waterer.

In Bridewel.

William Broomal, James Forrester, Antony Claxton, Nic. Lee, John Francis,
William Forester,
John Clarke,
John Fisher,
John Bucer,
Roger Rippon,
Robert Andrews,
Richard Skarlet,
Luke Hayes,
Richard Maltusse,
Richard Umbersield,
William Fowler,
William Burt,
William Hutton.

In the Clink.

George Collier,
John Sparrow,
Edmund Nicolson,
Christopher Browne,
Thomas Mitchel,
Andrew Smith,
William Blackborrow,
Thomas Lemare,
Christopher Raper,
Quintin Smith.

In the White Lion.

Thomas Legat, Edmund Marsh, Antony Johnes,

Cook,

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Chap. VIII. of the PURITANS.

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\_\_\_ Cook, \_\_\_ Auger. Out of Woodstreet Comp- Queen Elizabet

Elizabeth,

Woodstreet Compter.

George Dingbtie.

George Snells, Christopher Bowman, Robert Jackson. Out of Newgate.

In the Poultry Compter.

Richard Jackson, Widow Mainard, Widow Row, Nic. Crane, Thomas Stephens.

Rowlet Skipwith, George Kingstone, Thomas Eyneworth, Richard Hayward, John Lancaster.

Out of the Clink.

In all 59

Henry Thompson, Jerom Studley.

Prisoners deceased.

Out of Bridewel.

Out of the Poultry Compter. John Pardy.

In all 10

John Chaundler.

Among the Names subscribed to this Petition is Barrowe's Mr. Henry Barrowe, an ingenious and learned Man, Supplicatibut of a very warm Spirit, as appears by his Book, en-on for a Conference. titled A brief Discovery of false Churches, printed 1590. Strype's and reprinted 1707. This Gentleman having been fe- An. Vol. veral Years in Prison, fent another Supplication to the ult. p.171, Attorney General and Privy Council for a Conference with 173. the Bishops, or that their Ministers might be confer'd with in their hearing, without Taunts or Railings, for fearching out the Truth in love; "If it be ob-" jected [fays Barrowe] that none of our Side are " worthy to be thus disputed with, we think we " shall prove the contrary; for there are three or " four of them in the City of London, and more elfewhere, who have been zealous Preachers in the " Parish

Queen "Parish Affemblies, and are not ignorant of the Elizabeth," Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues, nor otherwise unlearned, and generally confessed to be of honest Conversation. If this Motion takes effect the Controversy will soon end with most of us, for by this Means we poor Wretches shall perceive, where ther as simple Souls we are led aside; or whether as the dear Children of God we are first trusted

"with the View of, and standing up for the Cause of Holiness and Righteousness. — But let us not

" perish secretly in Prison, or openly by Execution, for want of that Help that lies in your Power to afford; when we protest in the Sight of God, we do

" not separate from the Establishment out of Pride or Obstinacy, but from the Constraints of Con-

" fcience."

Reasons for refusing it. Strype's Ann. Vol. ult. p. 172.

But all these Petitions were rejected by the Bishops and Privy Council for the following Reasons if they deserve that Name; "(1.) Be-" cause a Disputation has been denied to Papists. " (2.) To call the Ministry of the Church of Eng-" land into question, is to call all other Churches " into question, against whom their Exceptions ex-" tend. (3.) The Church of England has submitted " to Disputation three Times in King Edward's, "Queen Mary's and Queen Elizabeth's Time. (4.) These Mens Errors have been condemned by the Writings of learned Men. (5.) 'Tis not " reasonable that a Religion established by Parliament should be examined by an inferior Authori-"ty. (6.) 'Tis not reasonable to condemn those foreign Churches that have acknowledged ours for a " true Church. (7.) Their principal Errors have been confuted by St. Austin: (8.) This will 44 strengthen the Hands of the Papists. (9.) It has " been the Manner of Hereticks to require Disputa-" tions with Clamour and Importunity. (10.) The " Cause has been already decided by written Books which they may consult. (11.) They will not

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"fland to the Judgment of the Civil Magistrate. "(12.) If the Church should satisfy every Sect that Elizabeth, "riseth there would be no End of Disputations." Thus these pious and conscientious Persons, after a long and illegal Imprisonment, were abandoned to the Severity of an unrighteous Law; some of them being publickly executed as Felons, and others proscribed and sent into Banishment.

Among the former were Mr. Barrowe, Gent. of Mr. Bar-Gray's Inn, Mr. Greenwood and Penry Ministers; the rowe's two first had been in Prison some Years, and se-mination. veral Times before the Commissioners; their Examinations writ by themselves are now before me. Barrowe was apprehended at the Clink Prison in Southwark, where he went to visit his Brother Greenwood; he was carried immediately to Lambeth, where the Archbishop would have examined him upon the Oath ex Officio, but he refused to take it, or to swear at all upon the Bible; but (fays he) by God's Grace I will answer nothing but the Truth. So the Archbishop took a Paper of Interrogatories into his Hand and asked him, I. Whether the Lord's Prayer might be used in the Church? He answered, That in his Opinion it was rather a Summary than a Form; and not finding it used by the Apostles, he thought it should not be constantly used by us. 2. Whether Forms of Prayer may be used in the Church? He answered, That none fuch ought to be imposed. 3. Whether the Common Prayer be idolatrous or superstitious? He answered, That in his Opinion it was fo. 4. Whether the Sacraments of the Church are true Sacraments and Seals of the Favour of God? He answered, He thought as they were publickly administer'd they were not. 5. Whether the Laws of the Church are good? He answered, That many of them were unlawful and Antichriftian. 6. Whether the Church of England is a true Church? He answered, That as it was now formed it was not; yet that there are many excellent good Christians of it, 7. Whether the Queen be supreme Governor of the Church.

Church, and may make Laws for it? He answered. Elizabeth, That the Queen was supreme Governor of the Church, but might not make Laws other than Christ had left in his Word. 8. Whether a private Person may reform if the Prince neglects it? He answered, That no private Persons might reform the State, but they are to abstain from any unlawful Thing commanded by the Prince. 9. Whether every particular Church ought to have a Prefbytery? He answered in the Affirmative. After this Examination he was remanded to close Prison, and denied a Copy of his Answers, though he earnestly defired it.

His fecond tion.

His next Examination was before the Archbishop, Examina- the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckburst, and the Bishop of London, at Whitehall, where he found 12 of his Brethren in the same Circumstances with himself, but was not admitted to speak to them. Being called into another Room and kneeling down at the End of the Table, the Lord Treasurer spoke to him thus. Treaf. Why are you in Prison? rowe, Upon the Statute against Recusants. Treasurer, Why will you not go to Church? Barrowe, Because I think the Church of England as established by Law not a Church of Christ, nor their Manner of Worship lawful. After a long Debate on this Head the Treasurer said, You complain of Injustice, where have you Wrong? Barrowe, In being kept in Prison without due Trial; and in the Misery we suffer by a close Imprisonment contrary to Law. Archbishop said, he had matter to call him before Barrowe replied, That you him for an Heretick. shall never do, I may err, but Heretick by the Grace of God I will never be. It being observed that he did not pay fuch Reverence to the Archbishop and Bishop. of London as to the temporal Lords, the Chancellor asked him, If he did not know those two Men, pointing to the Bishops. To which he answered, That he had cause to know them, but did not own them for Lord Bishops. Being then asked by what Name he would

would call the Archbishop; he replied, That he was a Monster, a Persecutor, a Compound of he knew not Elizabeth, what, neither Ecclesiastical nor Civil, like the second Beast spoken of in the Revelations: Upon which the Archbishop rose out of his Place, and with a severe Countenance said, My Lords, Will you suffer bim? So he was plucked off his Knees, and carried

away.

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Mr. Greenwood the Minister was examin'd after Trial of the same Manner before the Archbishop of Canter-Mr. Barbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Lords Green-Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, and the Master wood, of the Rolls: He had Interrogatories put to him as and others; Barrowe had, but refused to swear, and made much the same Answer with the other. At length, on the 21st of March, 1592. they together with Saxio Bellot, Gent. Daniel Studley, Girdler, and Robert Bowlle, Fishmonger, were indicted at the Sessions House in the Old-Bailey, upon the Satute of 23 Eliz. For writing and publishing sundry seditious Books and Pamphlets, tending to the Slander of the Queen and Government: Though they had only writ against the Church; but this was the Archbishop's artful Contrivance, to throw off the Odium of their Death from himfelf to the Civil Magistrate; for as the Reverend and Learned Mr. Hugh Broughton writes, " Though Brough " Mr. Barrowe and Greenwood were condemned for ton's " Disturbance of the State; yet this would have Works, " been pardon'd, and their Lives spared, if they? 731. " would have promifed to come to Church". Upon their Trial they behav'd with Constancy and Resolution, shewing no Token of Recognition (fays the Attorney) nor Prayer for Mercy: They protested their inviolable Loyalty to the Queen, and Obedience to her Government; that they never writ, nor fo much as intended any Thing against her Highness, but only against the Bishops and the Hierarchy of the Heyl. Hift. Church; which was apparent enough. However, Pr. p. 323. the Jury brought them all in Guilty. Bellot defired a ConThe HISTORY Chap. VIII.

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Queen 1592.

Conference, and with Tears confessing his Sorrow Elizabeth, for what he had done, was pardon'd. Bowlle and Studley being look'd upon but as Accessories, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken Loyalty to the Queen, and refuling to alk for Mercy, were reprieved, and fent back to Prison; but Barrowe and Greenwood were to be made Examples. Sentence of Death being passed upon them, March the

23d, fundry Divines were appointed to perfuade

Bellot, Bowlle, and Studley repriv'd.

cuted.

Death.

them to recapt; but not fucceeding, they were brought in a Cart to Tyburn on the last of March. and exposed under the Gallows for some Time to the People, to see if the Terrors of Death would afand Green-fright them; but remaining constant, they were wood exe brought back to Newgate, and on the Sixth of April, carried a fecond Time to Tyburn and executed. At the Place of Execution they gave such Testimonies of their unfeigned Piety towards God, and Loyalty to the Queen, praying so earnestly for her long and prosperous Reign, that when Dr. Reynolds, who attended them, reported their Behaviour to her Majesty, she repented that she had yielded to their

They had been in close Prison ever fince the Year 1590. exposed to all the Severities of Cold, Hunger, and Nakedness, which Mr. Barrowe represented in a Supplication to the Queen, already mentioned, concluding with an earnest Defire of Deliverance from their present Miseries, though it were by Death; but the Archbishop intercepted the Paper, and endeavour'd to prevent the Knowledge of their Condition from coming to the Queen's Ear: Upon this Mr. Barrowe expos'd his Grace's Behaviour towards miserable Men, in a Letter to one Mr. Fisher, where-Barrowe's in he charges him " with abufing the Queen's Cle-

Letter a- " mency by false Informations and Suggestions; gainst the " and with artful Disingenuity, in committing so archbishop. and with artiful Bridewel, the Compter, New-" gate, the White Lyon and the Fleet, and then postes ing IJ,

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" ing them to the Civil Magistrate to take off the Cla- Queen " mour of the People from himself. He says, That he Elizabeth, " had destin'd bimself and his Brother Greenwood, to " Death, and others to be kept in close Prison; " their poor Wives and Children to be cast out of the " City, and their Goods to be confiscated. Is not " this a Christian Bishop? (fays he) Are these the Life of " Virtues of him who takes upon him the Care and Go. Whitgift, " vernment of all the Churches of the Land, to tear ?. 416. " and devour God's poor Sheep, and to rend off the " Flesh and break their Bones, and chop them in " Pieces as Flesh to the Cauldron? Will he thus in-" struct and convince Gainsayers? Surely he will " persuade but sew that fear God, to his Religion, " by his Dealing and Evil. Does he confult his own " Credit, or the Honour of his Prince by this tyran-" nous Havock? For our Parts, our Lives are not " dear to us, so that we may finish our Testimony " with Joy: We are always ready, through God's "Grace, to be offered up upon the Testimony of " the Faith that we have made". Thus fell these two unhappy Gentlemen a Sacrifice to the Re-

fentments of an angry Prelate.

About fix Weeks after this, the Reverend Mr. John Penry, or Ap-Henry, a Welch Divine, was ex-Mr. Penecuted for the same Crime, in a cruel and inhuman ry's Hift. Manner. He was a pious and learned Man, well difposed to Religion (says Mr. Strype) but mistaken in his Principles, and hot in his Temper; a zealous Platformer, and a declared Enemy of the Archbishop. He was born in the County of Brecknock, and educated first at Cambridge, and afterwards in St. Alban's-Hall, Oxford, where he proceeded M. A. 1586. and entered into Holy Orders, being well acquainted with Arts and Languages. He preach'd in both Universities with Applause, and afterwards travelling into Wales, was the first (as he faid) that preach'd the Gospel publickly to the Welch, and lowed the good Seed among his Countrymen. In the

Queen the Year 1588. he publish'd a View of such publick Elizabeth, Wants and Disorders as are in her Majesty's Country of Wales, with an bumble Petition to the High Court of Parliament for their Redress: Wherein is shewed not only the Necessity of reforming the State of Religion among that People, but also the only way in regard of Substance to bring that Reformation to pass. He also published an Exhortation to the Governors and People of her Majesty's Country of Wales, to

labour earnestly to have the preaching of the Gospel plant-

ed among them. Printed 1588.

Proclamaprebend bim.

When Martin-mar-prelate, and the other fatyrical tion to ap- Pamphlets against the Bishops were publish'd, a special Warrant was iffued out from the Privy Council, 1590. under several of their Hands, whereof the Archbishop's was one, to seize and apprehend Mr. Penry, as an Enemy of the State; and that all the Queen's good Subjects should take him so to be. To avoid being taken he retired into Scotland, where he continued till this present Year 1593. Here he made many Observations of Things relating to Religion, for his own private Use; and at length prepared the Heads of a Petition, or an Address to the Queen, to shew her Majesty the true State of Religion, and how ignorant she was of many Abuses in the Church of England, especially in the Management of Ecclefiaftical Matters; and likewise to interceed for fo much Favour, that he might by her Authority, have Liberty to go into Wales, his native Country, to preach the Gospel. With this Petition he came from Scotland, resolving to finish and deliver it with his own Hand, as he should find Oppor-

Life of Whitgift, p. 409.

He is takentunity; but upon his Arrival he was feized with his Papers in Stepney Parish, by the Information of the Vicar, in the Month of May, and arraigned, condemn'd and executed hastily, the very same Month.

> The Heads of the Petition, taken upon him, were as follow, "The last Days of your Reign

es are

" are turned rather against Jesus Christ and his Queen " Gospel, than to the Maintenance of the same. " I have great Cause of Complaint, Madam; nay, " the Lord and his Church have Cause to complain His Peti-" of your Government, because we your Subjects, tion to the " this Day are not permitted to ferve our God under Queen un-

" your Government according to his Word, but finifeed. " are fold to be Bondslaves, not only to our Affecti-" ons, to do what we will, fo that we keep our " felves within the Compass of established civil " Laws, but also to be Servants to the Man of Sin

" [the Pope] and his Ordinances.

It is not the Force that we feem to fear that Life of " will come upon us (for the Lord may deftroy both Whitgits " you for denying, and us for flack feeking of his p. 411.

" Will) by Strangers: I come unto you with it: " If you will hear it, our Cause may be eased; if " not, that Posterity may know that you have " been dealt with, and that this Age may know "that there is no Expectation to be look'd for at

" your Hands.

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" Among the rest of the Princes under the Gos-" pel, that have been drawn to oppose it, you must " think your felf to be one; for until you fee this, " Madam, you fee not your felf, and they are but " Sycophants and Flatterers whoever tell you other-" wise: Your standing is and has been by the Gos-" pel. It is little beholden to you for any Thing that appears. The Practice of your Government " shews, that if you could have ruled without the " Gospel, it would have been doubtful whether the " Gospel should be established or not; for now that you are established in your Throne by the Gospel, you fuffer it to reach no further than the End of your Sceptre limiteth unto it.

" If we had had Queen Mary's Days, I think that " we should have had as flourishing a Church this " Day as ever any; for it is well known that there " was then in London, under the Burthen, and elsees where

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Queen "where in Exile, more flourishing Churches than Elizabeth," any now tolerated by your Authority.

"Now whereas we should have your Help both to join our selves with the true Church, and reject the salse, and all the Ordinances thereof; we are

"the false, and all the Ordinances thereof; we are in your Kingdom permitted to do nothing, but

" accounted Seditions, if we affirm either the one or the other of the former Points; and therefore,

"Madam, you are not so much an Adversary to us poor Men, as unto Christ Jesus and the Wealth of

" his Kingdom.

"If we cannot have your Favour, but by omitting our Duty to God, we are unworthy of it,
and by God's Grace we mean not to purchase it so
dear.

"But, Madam, thus much we must needs say, that in all likelihood, if the Days of your Sister

"Queen Mary, and her Persecution had continued unto this Day, that the Church of God in Eng-

" land had been far more flourishing than at this

"Day it is: For then, Madam, the Church of God within this Land, and elsewhere, being Strangers,

" enjoy'd the Ordinances of God's holy Word, as far as then they faw.

"But fince your Majesty came unto your Crown, we have had whole Christ Jesus, God and Man;

to but we must serve him only in Heart.

"And if those Days had continued to this Time, and those Lights risen therein, which by the Mer-

cy of God have fince shined in England, it is not to be doubted but the Church of England, even in

" England, had far surpassed all the reformed Chur-

" ches in the World.

"Then, Madam, any of our Brethren durst not have been seen within the Tents of Antichrist;

now they are ready to defend them to be the Lord's, and that he has no other Tabernacle upon Earth but them. Our Brethren then durst

not temporize in the Cause of God, because the

"Lord ruled himself in his Church, by his own Queen "Laws, in a good Measure; but now behold! they Elizabeth, "may do what they will, for any Sword that the

"Church has to draw against them, if they contain

" themselves within your Laws.

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"This Peace, under those Conditions, we cannot enjoy; and therefore, for any Thing I can see, Queen Mary's Days will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. The whole Truth we must not speak; the whole Truth we must not profess. Your State must have a Stroke above the Truth of God.

"Now, Madam, your Majesty may consider what good the Church of God hath taken at your Hands, even outward Peace, with the Absence of Christ Jesus in his Ordinance; otherwise as great Troubles are likely to come as ever were in

" the Days of your Sister.

"As for the Council and Clergy, if we bring any fuch Suit unto them, we have no other Answer but that which *Pharaoh* gives to the Lord's Mesure fengers, touching the State of the Church under his Government.

"For when any are called for this Cause before your Council, or the Judges of the Land, they must take this for granted, once for all, that the Uprightness of their Cause will profit them nothing, if the Law of the Land be against them; for your Council and Judges have so well profited in Religion, that they will not stick to say, That they come not to consult whether the Matter be with or against the Word or not, but their Purpose is to take the Penalty of the Transgressions against your Laws.

"If your Council were wife, they would not kindle your Wrath against us; but, Madam, if you give Ear to their Words, no Marvail though you

have no better Counsellors".

Queen His Trial and Sentence.

It appears by this Petition, as well as by his Let-Elizabeth, ter writ to the Congregation of Separatists in London, that Mr. Penry was a Brownist. His Book of Observations was also seized, out of which were drawn Articles of Accusation against him. He was indicted upon the Statute of 23 Eliz. Chap. 2d. for seditious Words and Rumours uttered against the Queen's most excellent Majesty, tending to the stirring up of Rebellion among ber Subjects; and was convicted of Felony, May 21, at the King's-Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice Popham. He received Sentence of Death May 25. and was executed on the 29th of the same Month. It was defign'd to indict him for the Books published in his Name; but by the Advice of Coun-Whitgift, ry's Declaration, May 16, 1593. That he is not in Dan-

Life of p. 412.

fel, Mr. Penry drew up a Paper, entitled, Mr. Penger of the Law for the Books published in his Name. Here he observes, that the Statute was not intended against such as writ only against the Hierarchy of the Church; for then it must condemn many of the most learned Protestants both at home and abroad; but relates to fuch as defame her Majesty's Royal Person: Whereas he had always writ most dutifully of her Perfon and Government, having never encouraged Sedition, or Infurrection against her Majesty, but the contrary : Nor had he ever been at any Affembly or Conventicle, where any, under or above the Number of Twelve were affembled with Force of Arms, or otherwife, to alter any Thing established by Law: Nor was it his Opinion that private Persons should of their own Authority, attempt any such Thing; for he had always writ and spoke to the contrary. But however, if all this had been true, he ought to have been accused within one Month of the Crime, upon the Oath of two Witnesses, and have been indicted within one Year; otherwise the Statute it felf clears him in express Words.

Hir Complaints to Surer,

The Court apprehending this Declaration might the Treas occasion an Argument at Law, set aside his printed Books, -

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Books, and convicted him upon the Petition and private Observations above-mentioned, which was still Elizabeth, harder, as he represented it himself in the following Letter to the Lord Treasurer, with a Protestation enclosed, immediately after his Condemnation. "Vouchsfafe, I beseech your Lordship (right Honourable) to read the enclosed Writing. My Days, I see, are drawing to an End, and I thank God an undeserved End, except the Lord stir up your Honour to ac-

" quaint her Majesty with my guiltless State.

"The Cause is most lamentable, That the private Observations of any Student being in a foreign Land, and wishing well to his Prince and Country, should bring his Life with Blood to a violent End; especially seeing they are most private and so imperfect, as they have no Coherence at all in them, and in most Places

" carry no true English -

"Though my Innocence may stand me in no flead before an earthly Tribunal, yet I know that I shall have the Reward thereof before the Judgment Seat of the great King; and the merciful Lord, who relieves the Widow and Fatherless, will reward my desolate Orphans and friendless Widow that I leave behind me, and even hear their

" Cry, for he is merciful.

"Being like to trouble your Lordship with no more Letters, I do with Thankfulness acknow- ledge your Honour's Favour in receiving the Writings I have presumed to send to you from Time to Time; and in this my last, I protest I have writ nothing but the Truth from Time to Time. "Thus preparing my self, not so much for an unigust Verdict, and an undeserved Doom in this Life, as unto that blessed Crown of Glory, which of the great Mercy of my God is ready for me in Heaven, I humbly betake your Lordship unto the Hands of the just Lord. May 22d. 1593. Your Lordship's most humble in the Lord.

John Penry.

Queen In the Protestation enclosed in this Letter he de-Elizabeth, clares, That he writ his Observations in Scotland; that 1593. they were the Sum of certain Objections made by People in those Parts against her Majesty and her

Government, which he intended to examine, but had not so much as looked into them for 14 or 15 Months past, that even in these Writings so imperfect, unfinished, and inclosed within his private Study, he had shewn his Dutifulness to the Queen, nor had he ever a fecret wandering Thought of the leaft

fation.

Life of Whitgift,

in Rec.

p. 176.

His Prote-Disloyalty to her Majesty: "I thank the Lord (says " he) I remember not, that that Day has past over " my Head, fince under her Government I came to

the Knowledge of the Truth, wherein I have not

commended her Estate unto God. Well, I may be indicted and condemned, and end my Days as a

" Felon or a Traitor against my natural Sovereign, " but Heaven and Earth shall not be able to convict

" me thereof. Whenfoever an End of my Days

" comes (as I look not to live this Week to an end)

" I shall die Queen Elizabeth's most faithful Subject, " even in the Consciences of mine Enemies, if they

" will be Beholders thereof.

"I never took my felf for a Rebuker, much less " for a Reformer of States and Kingdoms; far was

" that from me; yet in the Discharge of my Consci-

es ence all the World must bear with me, if I prefer " my Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ before

" the Favour of any Creature. An Enemy to good

" Order and Policy either in the Church or Com-

" monwealth was I never. I never did any Thing

in this Cause (Lord thou art witness) for Conten-

" tion, Vain-Glory, or to draw Disciples after

Great Things in this Life I never fought

" for; Sufficiency I have had with great outward

"Trouble; but most content I was with my Lot;

44 and content I am and shall be with my untimely

" Death, though I leave behind me a friendless Wi-

dow and 4 Infants, the eldest of which is not above

" 4 Years old. I do from my Heart forgive all that Queen " feek my Life; and if my Death can procure any Elizabeth,

"Quietness to the Church of God or the State, I, 
"shall rejoice. May my Prince have many such

"Subjects, but may none of them meet with fuch a Reward! My earnest Request is, that her Maje-

" fty may be acquainted with these Things before

" my Death, or at least after my Departure.

"Subscribed with the Heart and Hand that never devised, or writ any Thing to the Discredit or

" Defamation of my Sovereign Queen Elizabeth: I take it on my Death, as I hope to have a Life af-

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John Penry.

It was never known before this Time, that a Mi- His Death. nister and Scholar was condemned to Death for private Papers found in his Study; nor do I remember more than one fince that Time, in whose Case it was given for Law, that Scribere est agere; but Penry must die right or wrong; the Arcbbishop was the first Man that fign'd the Warrant for his Execution, and after him Puckering and Popham. The Warrant was fent immediately to the Sheriff, who the very fame Day erected a Gallows at St. Thomas Waterings; and while the Prisoner was at Dinner sent his Officers to bid him make ready, for he must die that Afternoon; accordingly he was carried in a Cart to the Place of Execution; when he came thither the Sheriff would not fuffer him to speak to the People, nor make any Profession of his Faith towards God, or his Loyalty to the Queen, but ordered him to be turn'd off in a Hurry about 5 of the Clock in the Evening, May 29th. 1593. in the 34th Year of his Age.

The Court being struck with this Behaviour of the Brownists, began to be ashamed of hanging Men for Sedition against the State, who died with such strong Professions of Loyalty to the Queen and Government, and therefore must suffer only for the O o 4 Cause

Cause of Religion. This raised an Odium against Elizabeth, the Bishops and the High Commissioners, who all Men knew were at the Bottom of these Proceedings. 'Tis faid the Queen her felf was displeased with them when she heard of the Devotion and Loyalty of the Sufferers. It was therefore resolved to proceed for the future on the late Statute of the 31st Eliz. To retain the Queen's Subjects in their Obedience; and instead of putting the Brownists to Death, to fend them into Banishment. Upon this Statute Mr. Johnfon Pastor of the Brownist Church, was convicted, and all the Gaols were cleared for the prefent; though the Commissioners took care within the Compass of another Year to fill them again.

Bufferings. of the Papifts,

The Papists were distressed by this, and the Statute of 23 Eliz. as much as the Brownists, though they met with much more Favour from the Ecclefiaftical Courts; the Queen either loved or feared them, and would often fay she would never ranfack their Consciences if they would be quiet; but they were always libelling her Majesty, and in continual Plots against her Government. While the Queen of Scots was alive they supported her Pretentions to the Crown, and after her Death they maintained in print the Title of the Infante of Spain: They were concerned with the Spaniards in the Invasion of 1588. which obliged the Queen to confine some of their Chiefs in Wishech Castle, and other Places of Safety, but she was tender of their Lives. In the first 11 Years of her Reign not one Roman Catholick was profecuted capitally for Religion; in the next 10 Years, when the Pope had excommunicated the Queen and the whole Kingdom, and there had been dangerous Rebellions in the North, there were but 12 Priests executed, and most of them for Matters against the State. In the to following Years, when swarms of Priests and Jefuits came over from foreign Seminaries, to invite the Catholicks to join with the Spaniards, the Laws were girt closer upon them, 50 Priests being executed,

ted, and 55 banished; but as soon as the Danger was over the Laws were relaxed; and by Reason Elizabeth, of the Ignorance and Laziness of the beneficed Clergy, the Missionaries gained over such Numbers of Proselytes in the latter End of this Reign, as endangered the whole Government and Reformation in the

beginning of the next.

The last and finishing Hand was put to the Pres- Asummabyterian Discipline in Scotland this Year. That y of Kirk Kingdom had been governed by different Factions Scotland. during the Minority of King James, which prevented a full Settlement of Religion. The General Affembly in the Year 1566. had approved of the Geneva Discipline, but the Parliament did not confirm the Votes of the Assembly, nor formally deprive the Bishops of their Power, though all Church Affairs from that Time were managed by Presbyteries and General Afsemblies. In the Year 1574, they voted the Bishops to be only Pastors of one Parish; and to shew their Power, they deposed the Bishop of Dunkeld, and delated the Bishop of Glasgow. In the Year 1577. they ordained that all Bishops be called by their own Names; and the next Year voted the very Name of a Bishop a Grievance. In the Year 1580, the General Affembly with one Voice declared Diocesan Episcopacy to be unfcriptural and unlawful. The same Year King James with his Family, and the whole Nation, subscribed a Confession of Faith, with a solemn League and Covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant Doctrine and the Prefbyterian Government. After this, in the Year 1584. Heyl. Hist. the Bishops were restored by Parliament to some Parts Presb. of their ancient Dignity; and it was made Treason P. 231. for any Man to procure the Innovation or Diminution of the Power and Authority of any of the three Estates; but when this Act was proclaimed the Ministers protested against it, as not having been agreed to by the Kirk. In the Year 1587, things took another Turn, and his Majesty being at the full Age

p. 294.

gueen of 21 consented to an Act to take away Bishops Lands Elizabeth, and annex them to the Crown. In the Year 1590. it was ordained by the General Affembly, that all that Presbytery bore Office in the Kirk, or should bereafter do so, should established subscribe to the Book of Discipline. In the Year 1592. all Acts of Parliament whatfoever made by the King's by Law. Highness, or any of his Predecessors in favour of Popery or Episcopacy were annulled; and in particular, the Act of May 22d. 1584. For granting Commissions to Bishops, or other Ecclesiastical Judges, to receive Presenta-

tions to Benefices, and give Collation thereupon; and it was Heyl.Hist. ordained, that for the future, "All Presentations to Presb. "Benefices shall be directed to the particular Pres-

66 byteries, with full Power to give Collation thereupon; and to order all Matters and Caufes Eccle-" fiaftical within their Bounds, according to the

" Discipline of the Kirk.

" Further, the Act ratifies and confirms all former Acts of Parliament infavour of Kirk Discipline, and declares. That it shall be lawful for the Kirk and " Ministers to hold General Assemblies once a Year, or oftner if Necessity require, the King's Com-

" missioner being present if his Majesty pleases. It " ratifies and approves of Provincial and Synodal

44 Affemblies twice a Year within every Province; and of Presbyteries and particular Sessions appoint-

ed by the Kirk, with the whole Discipline and " Jurisdiction of the same. Provincial Assemblies

" have Power to redress all Things omitted or done amifs in the particular Assemblies, to depose the

" Office-Bearers of the Province, and generally

" they have the Power of the particular Elderships

" whereof they are collected.

Power of " The Power of Presbyteries is declared to consist " in keeping the Kirks within their Bounds in good Assemblies, "Order; to enquire after and endeavour to reform " vicious Persons. It belongs to the Elderships to vies, &c.

" fee that the Word of God be duly preached, and

"the Sacraments rightly administer'd, and Disci-66 pline

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"pline entertained; they are to cause the Ordinances made by the Provincial, National and General Elizabeth,
Assemblies to be put in Execution; to make or
abolish Constitutions which concern decent Order in
their Kirks, provided they alter no Rules made
by the superior Assemblies, and communicate
their Constitutions to the Provincial Assembly;
they have Power to excommunicate the Obstinate
after due Process. Concerning particular Kirks,
if they are lawfully ruled by sufficient Ministers
and Session, they have Power and Jurisdiction in
their own Congregation in Matters Ecclesiastical."

This Act, for the greater Solemnity, was confirmed again in the Year 1593. and again this prefent Year 1594. fo that from this Time, to the Year 1612. Presbytery was undoubtedly the legal Establishment of the Kirk of Scotland, as it had been in

fast ever fince the Reformation.

To return to England; several Champions appeared about this Time for the Cause of Episcopacy, as Dr. Bilson, Bancrost, Bridges, Cosins, Soam, and Dr. Adrian Sararia, a Spaniard, but beneficed in the Church of England: This last was answered by Beza; Bridges was answered by Fenner, Cosins by Morrice, and Bilson by Bradshaw, though the Press was shut

against the Puritans.

But the most celebrated Performance, and of great-Account of est Note, was Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, in Hooker's eight Books; the four first of which were published Eccl. Polity. this Year; the fifth in the Year 1597, and the three loss Whithis Year; the fifth in the Year 1597, and the three gift, p. 421. It aft not till many Years after his Death, for which Reason some have suspected them to be interpolated, though they were deposited in the Hands of Archbishop Abbot, from whose Copy they were printed, about the beginning of the Civil Wars. This is esteemed the most learned Desence of the Church of England, wherein all that would be acquainted with its Constitution (says a learned Prelate) may see upon

Queen on what Foundation it is built. Mr. Hooker begun Elizabeth, his Work while Master of the Temple, but meeting with some Trouble, and many Interruptions in that

with some Trouble, and many Interruptions in that Place, the Archbishop, at his Request, removed him to Boscum in the Diocese of Salisbury, and gave him a minor Prebend in that Church; here he finished his four first Books; from thence he was removed to the Parsonage of Bishopsborn in Kent, about 3 Miles from Canterbury, where he finished his Work and his Life, in the Year 1600, and 47th Year of his Age.

The chief Principles upon which this learned Au-

thor proceeds, are

General Maxims contained in it. 1. " That though the Holy Scriptures are a perfect Standard of Doctrine, they are not a Rule of

" Discipline or Government.

2, "Nor is the Practice of the Apostles an inva-

" riable Rule or Law to the Church in succeeding Ages, because they acted according to the Cir-

" cumstances of the Church in its infant and persecu-

" ted State.

3. " Neither are the Scriptures a Rule of human "Actions so far, as that whatsoever we do in Mat-

"ters of Religion without their express Direction

" or Warrant is Sin, but many Things are left indiffe-

" rent.

4. " The Church is a Society like others, invested

" with Powers to make what Laws she apprehends reasonable, decent, or necessary for her Well-be-

" ing and Government, provided they do not interfere

" with, or contradict the Laws and Commandments

" of Holy Scripture.

5. " Where the Scripture is filent human Autho-

" rity may interpose; we must then have recourse to the Reason of Things and the Rights of Society.

6. " It follows from hence, that the Church is at

" liberty to appoint Ceremonies, and establish Or-

" der within the Limits above-mentioned; and her

"Authority ought to determine what is fit and con-

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7. "All who are born within the Confines of an Queen Establish'd Church, and are baptized into it, are Elizabeth, bound to submit to its Ecclesiastical Laws; they

" may not disgrace, tevile, or reject them at plea-" fure: The Church is their Mother, and bas more

" than a maternal Power over them.

8. "The positive Laws of the Church not being of a moral Nature, are mutable, and may be changed or reversed by the same Powers that made them; but while they are in force they are to be submitted to, under such Penalties as the

" Church in her Wisdom shall direct."

The 4th and 5th Propositions are the main Pillars Remarks. of Mr. Hooker's Fabrick, and the Foundation of all human Establishments (viz.) That the Church, like other Societies, is invested with Power to make Laws for its Well-being; and that where the Scripture is filent buman Authority may interpose. All Men allow, that human Societies may form themselves after any Model, and make what Laws they please for their Wellbeing; and that the Christian Church has some Things in common with all Societies as fuch, as the appointing Time and Place, and the Order of publick Worship, &c. but it must be remember'd, that the Christian Church is not a meer voluntary Society, but a Community formed and constituted by Christ the fole King and Lawgiver of it, who has made fufficient Provision for its Well-being to the End of the World. It does not appear in the New Testament, that the Church is empowered to mend or alter the Constitution of Christ, by creating new Officers, or making new Laws, though the Christian World has ventur'd upon it. Christ gave his Church Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting the Saints, and edifying his Body; but the Successors of the Apostles in the Government of the Church apprehending these not sufficient, have added Patriarchs, Cardinals, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, and other The Church is represented in Scripture as a SpiriDueen Spiritual Body; her Ordinances, Privileges and Centilizabeth, sures being purely such; but later Ages have wrought the Civil Powers into her Constitution, and kept Men within her Pale by all the Terrors of this World, as Fines, Imprisonments, Banishments, Fire and Sword. 'Tis the peculiar Excellency of the Gospel Worship to be plain and simple, free from the Yoke of Jewish Ceremonies; but the Antichristian Powers thinking this a Defect, have loaded it with numberless Ceremonies of their own Invention; and

though there are Laws in Scripture sufficient for the Direction of the Church, as constituted by Christ and his Apostles, they have thought fit to add so many Volumes of Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons, and Injunctions, as have consounded, if not subverted the

Laws of Christ.

But if Men considered the Church as a Spiritual Body, constituted by Christ its sole Lawgiver for spiritual Purposes, they would then see that it had no Concern with their Civil Properties and Estates; nor any Power to force Men to be of its Communion by the Pains and Penalties of this World. of the New Testament would appear sufficient for the Well-being of fuch a Society; and in cases where there are no particular Laws or Injunctions, that it is the Will of Christ and his Apostles there should be Liberty and Forbearance; there would then be no Occasion for Christian Courts (as they are called) nor for the Interpolition of human Authority, any further than to keep the Peace. Upon the whole, as far as any Church is governed by the Laws and Precepts of the New Testament it is certainly a Church of Christ; but when it sets up its own By-Laws as Terms of Communion, or works the Laws of the Civil Magistrate into its Constitution, it is so far a Creature of the State.

Mr. Hooker's two last Propositions are inconsistent with the first Principles of the Reformation, (viz.) that All that are born within the Confines of an establish-

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ed Church, and are baptized into it, are bound to submit Queen to its Ecclesiastical Laws under such Penalties as the Elizabeth, Church in her Wisdom shall direct. Must I then be of 1594. the Religion of the Country where I am born? That is, at Rome a Papist; in Saxony a Lutheran; in Scotland a Presbyterian; and in England a Diocesan Prelatift; and this under fuch Penalties as the Church in her Wisdom shall think fit? Must I believe as the Church believes, and submit to her Laws right or wrong? Have I no Right as a Man and a Christian, to judge and act for my felf, as long as I continue a dutiful and faithful Subject to my Prince? Surely religious Principles and Church Communion should be the Effect of Examination and a deliberate Choice, or they lose their Name, and must degenerate into Hypocrify or Atheism.

From general Principles Mr. Hooker proceeds to vindicate the particular Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and to clear them from the Exceptions of the Puritans, which will eafily be done when he has proved, that the Church has a Discretionary Power to appoint what Ceremonies, and establish what Order she thinks fit; he may then vindicate not only the Ceremonies of the Church of England, but all those of Rome, for no doubt that Church apprehends all their Ceremonies conducive to her Well-being, and not in-

confistent with the Laws of Christ.

This Year died Dr. John Aylmer, Bishop of London, Death of whose Character has been sufficiently drawn in this Aylmer, History; he was born in Norfolk, educated in Cam-Bishop of bridge, and in Queen Mary's Reign an Exile for Reli bridge, and in Queen Mary's Reign an Exile for Religion; he was fuch a little Man, that Fuller fays, Fuller's when the Searchers were clearing the Ship in which Worthies, he made his Escape, the Merchant put him into a great Wine But that had a Partition in the middle, fo that Mr. Aylmer fat enclosed in the hinder Part, while the Searchers drank of the Wine which they law drawn out of the Head on the other Part; he was of an active, bufy Spirit, quick in his Language,

guage, and after his Advancement of a stout and di-Queen Elizabeth, thant Behaviour: In his younger Days he was enclined to Puritanism, but when he was made a Bishop he became a resolute Champion of the Hierarchy, and a bitter Persecutor of his former Friends. In his latter Days he was very covetous, and a little too lax in his Morals: He usually played at Bowls on Sundays in the Afternoons; and used such Language at his Game, as justly exposed his Character to Reproach; but with all these Blemishes, the Writer of his Life (Mr. Strype) will have him a learned, pious, and humble Bishop. He died at Fulbam June 3.

1594. in the 74th Year of his Age.

1595. ceeded by Bp. Fletch-

Aylmer was succeeded by Dr. Fletcher Bishop of He is suc-Worcester, who in his primary Visitation gave out 27 Articles of Enquiry to the Church Wardens concerning their Preachers; as, Whether they prayed for the Queen as fupreme Head over all Persons and Caufes within her Dominions, Ecclefiastical and Temporal -? Whether they were learned - or frequented Conventicles - or taught Innovations - or commended the new Discipline - or spoke in Derogation of any part of the Common Prayer - or did not administer the Sacrament in their own Persons at Who perfer certain Times of the Year? &c. By these, and such like Enquiries, the Prisons that had been lately cleared, were filled again; for by an Account fent to

> the Queen from the Ecclefiastical Commissioners towards the Close of this Year, it appears that in the Marshalsea, Newgate, the Gate-House, Bridewel, the Fleet, the Compters, the White Lion, and the King's Bench, there were 89 Prisoners for Religion; some Popish Recusants, and the rest Protestant Non-Conformists; of whom 24 had been committed by the Ecclefiaftical Commission, and the rest by the Coun-

cutes the Puritans.

> cil and the Bishops Courts. But his Lordsbip's Proceedings were quickly interrupted, by his falling under her Majesty's Displeasure a few Months after his

Translation, for marrying a second Wife, which the Queen n-

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Queen looked upon as indecent in an elderly Clergy- Queen man; for this she banished him the Court, and com-Elizabeth, manded the Archbishop to suspend him from his Bi- 1595. shoprick; but after six Months, her Majesty being a little pacified, ordered his Suspension to be taken off, but would never admit him into her Presence, which had fuch an Influence upon his great Spirit, as was thought to hasten his Death, which happen'd the next Year, as he was fetting in his Chair smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco. The Year following he was succeeded by Dr. Bancroft, the great Adversary of the Puritans.

These violent Proceedings of the Bishops drove And drives great Numbers of the Brownists into Holland, where them into their Leaders, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob and others were gone before-hand, and with the leave of the States were erecting Churches after their own Model at Amsterdam, Arnheim, Middleburgh, Leyden, and other Places. The Church at Amsterdam had like to have

been torn in pieces at first by intestine Divisions, but afterwards flourished under a Succession of Pastors for above a hundred Years. Mr. Robinson, Pastor of the Church at Leyden, first struck out the Congregational or Independent Form of Church Government, and at

length part of this Church transplanting themselves into America laid the Foundation of the noble Colony

of New England, as will be feen hereafter.

Hitherto the Controversy between the Church and Controversy Puritans had been chiefly about Habits and Ceremo-about the nies, and Church-Discipline, but now it began to open Sabbath. upon Points of Doctrine; for this Year Dr. Bound published his Treatise OF THE SABBATH, wherein he maintains the Morality of a seventh Part of Time for the Worship of God; that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's Day as much as the Jews on the Mosaical Sabbath, the Commandment of Rest being moral and perpetual; that therefore it was not lawful to follow our Studies or worldly Business on

Queen that Day; nor to use such Recreations and Pleasures Elizabeth, as were lawful on other Days, as Shooting, Fencing 1595. and Bowling, &c. This Book had a wonderful Spread among the People, and wrought a mighty Refor-

mation; fo that the Lord's Day, which used to be prophaned by Interludes, May-Games, Morice Dan-

Fuller,

B. IX. p. 227. ces, and other Sports and Recreations, began to be kept more precifely, especially in Corporations. All the Puritans fell in with this Doctrine, and diffinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred Time in publick, family, and private Acts of Devotion. But the governing Clergy exclaimed against it, as a Restraint of Christian Liberty; as putting an unequal Lustre on the Sunday, and tending to eclipse the Authority of the Church in appointing other Festivals. Mr. Rogers, Author of a Commentary on the 39 Articles, writes in his Preface, That it was the Comfort of his Soul, and would be to his dying Day, that he had been the Man, and the Means that the Sabbatarian Errors were brought to the Light and Knowledge of the State. But I should have thought this Clergyman might have had as much Comfort upon his Death-bed, if he had spent his Zeal in recommending the religious Observation of that sacred Day. Dr. Bound might carry his Doctrine too high if he advanced it to a Level with the Jewish Rigors; but it was certainly unworthy the Character of Divines to encourage Men in Shooting, Fencing, and other Diversions on the Lord's Day, which they are forward enough to give way to, without the Countenance and Example of their spiritual Guides. But Archbishop Whitgift called in all the Copies of Dr. Bound's Book

Bound's Book Suppressed by his Letters and Officers at Synods and Visitations, by the Abp. and forbid it to be reprinted; and the Lord Chief Ju-L.of Whit- Stice Popham did the same; both of them declaring,

gift,p.531. that the Sabbath Doctrine agreed neither with the Do-Etrine of our Church, nor with the Laws and Orders of this Kingdom; that it disturbed the Peace of the Commonwealth and Church, and tended to Schism in the

15 60 M

the one, and Sedition in the other; but notwithstanding all this Caution, the Book was read privately Elizabeth; more than ever. " The more Liberty People were offered (says Mr. Fuller) the less they used, refu-" fing to take the Freedom Authority tender'd them, " as being jealous of a Defign to blow up their Civil "Liberties." The Archbishop's Head was no soon-But preer laid, but Dr. Bound prepared his Book for the vails. Press a second Time, and published it with large Additions, 1606. and fuch was its Reputation, that scarce any Comment, or Catechism was published by the stricter Divines for many Years, in which the Morality of the Sabbath was not strongly recommended

the next Reign.

All the Protestant Divines in the Church, whether Predestina Puritans or others, feemed of one Mind hitherto rian Conabout the Dostrines of Faith, but now there arose a troverly. Party which were first for softning, and then for overthrowing the received Opinions about Predestination, Perseverance, Free-Will, Effectual Grace, and the Extent of our Saviour's Redemption. The Articles of the Church of England were thought by all Men hitherto to favour the Explication of Calvin; but these Divines would make them stand Neuter, and leave a Latitude for the Subscriber to take either Side of the Question. All the Puritans to a Man maintained the Articles of the Church to be Calvinistical, and inconsistent with any other Interpretation, and fo did far the greatest Number of the conforming Clergy; but as the new Explications of Arminius grew into Repute, the Calvinists were reckoned old fashioned Divines, and at length branded with the Character of DOCTRINAL PURI-TANS.

and urged: But this Controverfy will return again in

The Debate began in the University of Cambridge, Mr. Barwhere one Mr. Barret, Fellow of Gonville and Caius ret's Cafe. College, in his Sermon ad Clerum, declared himself against Calvin's Doctrine about Predestination and Fal-P p 2

Queen ling from Grace; reflecting with some Sharpness upon Elizabeth, that great Divine, and advising his Hearers not to 1595. read him. For this he was fummoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, and obliged to retract in St. Mary's Church, according to a Form prescribed by his Superiors; which he read after a Manner that shewed he did it only to fave his Place in the University. This was so offensive to the Scholars, that 40 or 50 Graduates of the feveral Colleges fign'd a Petition, dated May 26. 1595. defiring some further Course might be taken with him, that the great Names which he had reproached, as L.of Whit-P. Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c. might re-

gift,p 445 ceive some Reparation. Both Parties writ to the Archbishop, who blamed the University for their too hafty Proceedings, and feemed to take part with Barret; but the Heads of Colleges in a fecond Letter vindicated their Proceedings, desiring his Grace not to encourage fuch a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young Fellow, and infifted on the Rights and Prerogatives of the University. At length Mr. Barret was fent for to Lambeth, and having been examined before the Archbishop and some other Divines, Heyl.Hift. they agreed that he had maintained fome Errors, and

Presb. P. 343

enjoined him in a humble Manner to confess his Ignorance and Mistake, and not to teach the like Doctrines for the future; but he chose rather to quit the University. This Barret was a conceited Youth, who did not treat his Superiors with Decency: In one of his Letters he calls the grave and Hickman's learned Mr. Perkins, Homuncio quidam, A little contemptible Fellow: But at last he turned Papist. The Fire was no fooner kindled, but it was observed

quing; Hift. against Heylin, p. 210.

that Barret and his Friends were countenanced by the High-Conformists and Roman Catholicks, and that his Adversaries took part with the Puritans, which was like to produce a new Division in the Church.

To put an End to these Disputes the Heads of the University fent Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal to Lambeth,

beth, to consult with the Archbishop and some other Queen learned Divines upon these Points; who at length, Elizabeth, Nov. 20th. concluded upon the following nine Propositions, commonly called the Lambeth Articles, which the Scholars in the University were strictly enjoin'd to conform their Judgments unto, and not to vary from. The Articles were as follow;

- 1. " That God from Eternity has predestinated Lambeth " fome Persons to Life, and reprobated others to Articles. " Death.
- 2. The moving or efficient Cause of Predestina-" tion to Life is not foreseen Faith or good Works,
- or any other commendable Quality in the Persons
- " predestinated, but the good Will and Pleasure of " God.
- 3. " The Number of the Predestinate is fixed, " and cannot be leffened or encreased.
- 4. " They who are not predestinated to Salva-"tion shall be necessarily condemned for their
- " Sins. 5. " A true, lively, and justifying Faith, and "the fanctifying Influence of the Spirit, is not ex-" tinguished, nor does it fail, or go off either finally

" or totally.

6. " A justified Person has a full Assurance and " Certainty of the Remission of his Sins, and of his

" everlasting Salvation by Christ.

7. " Saving Grace is not communicated to all " Men; neither have all Men fuch a Measure of " Divine Assistance, that they may be saved if they

" will.

8. " No Person can come to Christ unless it be " given him, and unless the Father draws him; and " all Men are not drawn by the Father that they

" may come to Christ.

9. " 'Tis not in every ones Will and Power to be " faved."

Ducen These high Propositions were drawn up, and conElizabeth, sented to by Archbishop Whitgist, Dr. Fletcher Bishop
of London, Dr. Vaughan elect of Bangor, and some others; they were sent to Dr. Hutton Archbishop of York, and Dr. Young of Rochester, who subscribed them, only wishing, that the Word [necessarily] in the fourth Article; and those Words in the seventh Article [If they will] might be omitted. The Archbishop in his Letter which he sent to the University with the Articles, says they are to look upon them not as new Laws and Decrees, but only as an Explication of certain Points which they apprehend to be true, and correspondent to the Dostrine professed in the Church of England, and already established by the Laws

Lof Whit-of the Land. But forasmuch as they had not the gift, p.463. Queen's Sanction, he desires they may not become a publick Ast, but used privately and with Discretion. He adds, that her Majesty was fully persuaded of the Truth of them; which is strange, when she commanded Sir Robert Cecil to signify to the Archbishop

Distiked by by Letter, "That she missiked much that any Al-

"thren for any such Points to be disputed, being a

"Matter tender and dangerous to weak, ignorant

"Minds: And thereupon commanded him to suspend the urging them publickly, or suffering them to

" be debated in the Pulpit."

Dr. Baro's The Queen's Design was to stifle the Controversy sufferings. in its Birth; for if she was dissatisfied with the Archbishop's private Determinations, she was downright angry with Dr. Baro a Frenchman, and one of the Divinity Professors at Cambridge, for continuing the Debate. She said, That being an Alien, and humanly harboured and infranchised both himself and Family, he ought to have carried himself more quietly and peaceably. His Case was this; In his Sermon before the University preached January 12th. he afferted, (1.) That God created all Men according to his own Likeness in Adam, and consequently to eternal Life, from which he rejects

rejects no Man but on the Account of his Sins. (2.) That Queen Christ died for all Mankind, and was a Propitiation for the Elizabeth, Sins of the whole World, original and actual; the Remedy provided by him being as extensive as the Ruins of the Fall. (2.) That the Promises of eternal Life made to us in Christ are to be generally and universally taken and understood, being made as much to Judas as to Peter. For these Propositions he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, who examined him by several Interrogatories, and commanded him peremptorily to abstain from those Controversies in his Lectures and Sermons for the future.

They acquainted Secretary Cecil by Letter with their Proceedings, in which they call his Doctrines Popish, and fay, that for 14 or 15 Years he has taught in his Lectures, and preached in his Sermons, divers Points of Doctrine contrary to those which have been taught and read ever fince her Majesty's Reign, and agreeable to the Errors of Popery, by which Means they fear the whole Body of that Religion will break in upon them; they therefore pray his Lordship's Affistance for the suppressing them. Camb. March 8th. 1595. Sign'd by

> Roger Goad, Procan. Tho. Preston, R. Some, Tho. Legge, John Jegon, Tho. Nevyle,

Hump. Tindal, James Montague, Edm. Barrel, Lawr. Chadderton.

On the other hand Baro writ to the Archbishop to Strype's keep him in his Place, promising Obedience to his Ann. Vol. Grace's Commands, and to keep the Peace of the ult. p. 2306 University by dropping the Controversy in silence. He also writ to Secretary Cecil to put a Stop to the Proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor, which he, together with the Archbishop accomplished; but the University not being satisfied with him, he was obliged next Year to quit his Professorship and retire to PP4

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Queen London, where he died two or three Years after, ha-Elizabeth, ving been Lady Margaret's Professor at Cambridge about 25 Years. He left a large Posterity behind him, and was buried in St. Olave's Hart-Street, his Pall being supported by fix Doctors of Divinity, by L. of Whit-Order from the Bishop of London. The Chancellor gift,p.473 in his Letter to the University was very angry, because they fifted Baro with Interrogatories, " as if (fays " he) he was a Thief: This feems done of Stomach " among you." How fad then was the Case of the Puritans!

The Divines of Oxford, and indeed all the first Re-Sentiments of the Ch. formers, were in the same Sentiments with those of on this Cambridge about the disputed Points; Calvin's In-H:ad. stitutions being read publickly in the Schools by appointment of the Convocation, though perhaps they might not go the full Length of the Lambeth Articles, nor express themselves with the exactness of those who lived afterwards, when those Doctrines were publickly opposed by Arminius and his Fol-

lowers.

The Article of our Saviour's local Descent into Hell 1596. controversy began to be questioned at this Time. It had been of Christ's the received Doctrine of the Church of England, That Descent in- the Soul of Christ being separated from his Body deto Hell. scended locally into Hell, that he might there tri-Heyl. Hift umph over Satan, as before he had over Death and Presb. Sin. But the learned Mr. Hugh Broughton, the Rabbi of his Age, whom King James would have courted into Scotland, convinced the World that the Word Hades, used by the Greek Fathers for the Place into which Christ went after his Crucifixion, did not mean Hell, or the Place of the damned, but only the State of the dead, or the invisible World. It was Whitgift, further debated, Whether Christ underwent in his Soul the Wrath of God, and the Pains of Hell, and finished all his Sufferings upon the Cross before he died, This was Calvin's Sentiment, and with him agreed all the Puritan Divines, who preach'd it in

₹. 349.

Life of p. 482. their Sermons, and inferted it in their Catechisms. On the other hand, Bishop Bilson in his Sermons at Elizabeth, Paul's Cross maintained, That no Text of Scripture asferted the Death of Christ's Soul, or the Pains of the damn-Heyl. Hift. ed to be requisite in the Person of Christ before he could be Presb. our Ransomer, and the Saviour of the World. But still P. 350. he maintained the local Descent of Christ into Hell, or the Territory of the damned; and that by the Course of the Creed the Article must refer not to Christ living upon the Cross, but to Christ dead; and that he went thither not to fuffer, but to wrest the Keys of Hell and Death out of the Hands of the Devil. When these Sermons were printed they were presently answered by Mr. Henry Jacob, a learned Brownist. Biljon, by the Queen's Command, defended his Sermons, in a Treatife entitled, A Survey of Christ's Sufferings, which did not appear in the World till 1604. The Controversy was warmly debated in both Universities; but when the learned Combatants had spent their Artillery it dropt in silence, without any Determination from Authority, though it was one of the Articles, usually objected to the Puritans, for which they were suspended their Miniftry.

Among other Reproaches cast upon their Clergy, 1597. one was, that they deluded the People by claiming Mr. Dara Power to exorcise the Devil. "Some of their Mi-rel's sufinsters (says Mr. Strype) pretended to cast out De-ferings for vils, that so the amazed Multitude having a great to cast out
Veneration for these Exorcizers of Devils, by the unclean

" Power of their Prayers and Fastings, might the spirits.

" more readily and awfully fubmit to their Opinions and Ways; a Practice borrowed from the then

" Papifts to make their Priefts rever'd, and to con-

"firm the Laity in their Superstitions." One would think here was a Plot of some cunning, designing Men, to conjure the People into the Belief of the Discipline; but all vanishes in the peculiar Principles of a weak and (as Mr. Strype confesses) honest Man,

whofe

Queen

whose Name was Darrel, a B. A. and Minister of Not-

Elizabeth, tingbam. This Divine was of Opinion, that by the Life of P. 492, 495.

Power of Prayer the Devil might be cast out of Persons possessed; and having tried the Experiment upon one Whitgift, Darlin of Burton, a Boy of about 14 Years old with Success, and upon some others, he was importuned by one of the Ministers, and several Inhabitants of the Town of Nottingbam to visit one William Somers, a Boy that had fuch convulfive Agonies, as were thought to be preternatural, infomuch that when Mr. Darrel had feen them, he concluded with the rest of the Spectators that he was possessed, and advised his Friends to defire the Help of godly and learned Ministers to endeavour his Recovery, but excused himself from being concerned, left if the Devil should be difpossessed the common People should attribute to him fome special Gift of casting out Devils; but upon a second Request from the Mayor of Nottingham, he agreed with Mr. Alderidge and two other Ministers, with about 150 neighbouring Christians, to fet apart a Day for Fafting and Prayer, to entreat the Lord to cast out Satan, and deliver the young Man from his Torments; and after some Time the Lord was entreated, and they bleffed God for the fame; this was November 1597. A few Days after, the Mayor and fome of the Aldermen began to suspect that Somers was a Cheat, and to make him confess, they took him from his Parents and committed him to the Custody of two Men, who with Threatnings prevailed with him to acknowledge, that he had diffembled and Upon this he was carried counterfeited all he did. before the Commission, where at first he own'd himself a Counterfeit, and then presently denied it again; but being thoroughly frighted he fell into Fits before the Commissioners, which put an End to his Examination for the present. After some Time, being still in Custody, he returned to his confessing, and charged Mr. Darrel with training him up in the Art for four Years. Upon this Mr. Darrel was fummoned before the Com I.

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Commissioners, and brought Witnesses with him to prove, that Somers had declared in a very solemn Man-Elizabeth, ner that he had not dissembled; upon which he was dismissed, and the Commission dissolved; but the Affair making a great Noise in the Country, Mr. Darrel was sent for to Lambeth, and after a long Hearing before the Archbishop, and others of the High Commission, he was deposed from his Ministry, and committed close Prisoner to the Gate-House, for being Accessary to a vile Imposture, where he continued many Years.

While Mr. Darrel was in the Prison he writ an His folema Apology, to shew that People in these latter Days may Protestabe possessed with Devils; and that by Prayer and Fasting tion. the unclean Spirit may be cast out. In the End of which he makes this Protestation; "If what I am accused " of be true (viz. That I have been Accessary to a " vile Imposture, with a Design to impose on Man-" kind) let me be register'd to my perpetual Infa-" my, not only for a notorious Deceiver, but fuch " an Hypocrite as never trod on the Earth before; " yea, Lord! for to thee I convert my Speech, who " knowest all Things, if I have confederated more " or less with Somers, Darling, or any of the rest; " if ever I fet Eye on them before they were poffeffed, " then let me not only be made a Laughing-Stock, " and a By-Word to all Men, but rafe my Name also " out of the Book of Life, and let me have my Por-

It has been observed, that the Bishops had now Puritans wisely transferred the Prosecution of the Puritans turn'd over from themselves to the temporal Courts, so that in-sizes. stead of being summoned before the High Commission, they were indicted at the Assizes, and tried at common Law; this being thought more adviseable, to take off the Odium from the Church. Judge Ander-gudge Anfon discovered his Zeal against them this Summer in an derson's extraordinary manner, for in his Charge to the Jury Fury-at Lincoln he told them, That the Country was insest-

ed with Brownists, with Disciplinarians and Erectors of Queen Elizabeth, Presbyteries; which he spoke with so much Wrath, with fo many Oaths, and fuch reviling Language, as fcandalized the Gentlemen upon the Bench. He called the Preachers Knaves, faying, that they would ult. p.264. Start up into the Pulpit and speak against every body. He was for extending the Statute of Reculancy to them that went at any Time to hear Sermons from their own Parish Churches, though they usually attended in their Places, and heard Divine Service dutifully. When Lord Clinton and the Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of those Parts, obtained the Bishop's Allowance for a Day of Fasting and Prayer at Lowth, upon an extraordinary Occasion, his Lordship urged the Jury to find a Bill against them, upon the Statute of Conventicles.

Mr. Al-

Mr. Allen, Minister of that Parish, being indicted len's Case. by means of a revengeful Justice of Peace, for not reading all the Prayers at once (he using sometimes to omit part of them for the Sermon) was obliged to hold up his Hand at the Bar, when Judge Anderson standing up, spoke to him with a fierce Countenance; and having infinuated fome grievous Faults against the Man (though he named none) called him oftentimes Knave, rebellious Knave, with more fuch reproachful Language, though it was known all over the Country that Mr. Allen was a good Preacher; that he had subscribed; was well liked by the Bishop; was conformable in his Affections; and behaved upon this Occasion with all Humility and Sub-But his Lordship had faid in his Charge, that he would hunt all the Puritans out of his Circuit. One Thing was remarkable in Mr. Allen's Arraignment, that when upon some Point wherein Judgment in Divinity was required, Mr. Allen referred himself to the Bishop his Ordinary then sitting upon the Bench, the Judge took him up with marvellous Indignation, and faid, He was both his Ordinary and Bishop in that Place.

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with Rogues and Felons, and made to hold up their Elizabeth, Hands at the Bar among the vilest Criminals; there was hardly an Assize in any County in England, but Remarks. one or more Ministers, through the Resentments of some of their Parishioners, appeared in this Character, to the Disgrace of their Order, and the Loss of their Reputation and Usefulness; besides being exposed to the Insults of the rude Multitude. "But Istrype's would to God (says my Author) that they which An. Vol. judge in religious Causes, though in the Name of civil Affairs, would either get some more Knowledge in Religion and God's Word than my Lord Anderson hath, or call in the Assistance of those that have."

Archbishop Whitgift was busy this Summer about proceedings Elections for the enfuing Parliament, which was toof Parliameet Octob. 24th. Mr. Strype fays, his Grace took ment. what care he could to prevent fuch as were difaffected Life of to the Constitution of the Church, that is, all Puri-Whitgift, tans, from coming into the House; but some thought p. 508. it a little out of Character for an Archbishop to appear so publickly in the Choice of the Peoples Representatives. The House being thus modell'd did not meddle with the Foundations of Discipline, or Form of publick Worship; but several Bills were brought in to regulate Abuses in Spiritual Courts, as against Licences to marry without Banes; against excessive Fees, frivolous Citations ex Officio, and Excommunications for little Matters, as two Pence or three Pence. But these, and all other Bills of this Nature, were according to Custom, quashed by a Message from the Queen, forbidding them to touch her Prerogative; and affuring them, that she would take the aforesaid Grievances into her princely And con-Consideration. Accordingly her Majesty referr'd vocation. these Matters to the Convocation; it being her steady Maxim, not to proceed in Affairs of the Church by Statutes, which none but the Parliament could

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Blizabeth, firm or dispense with at her Pleasure. The Convocation drew up some Regulations upon these, and some
other Heads, relating to Ecclesiastical Courts, which

other Heads, relating to Ecclesiastical Courts, which the Queen confirmed by her Letters Patents, Jan. 18th. in the 40th Year of her Reign. They were printed the same Year by her Authority, and may be seen in Bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles,

Injunctions, &c.

1598. Prohibitions grantBut still the Ecclesiastical Courts were an insufferable Grievance; the Oppressions that People underwent from the bottomless Deep of the Canon Law put them upon removing their Causes into Westminster Hall, by getting Probibitions to stop Proceedings in the Bishops Courts, or in the High Commission. This awaken'd the Archbishop, who in order to support the Civilians, drew up certain Queries to be considered by the Lords and Judges of the Land touching Probibitions; of which this was the principal, "That seeing Ecclesiastical Authority is as truly vested in the Crown as Temporal, Whem there the Queen's Temporal Authority should any

The Abp. complains of them.

44 ther the Queen's Temporal Authority should any " more restrain her Ecclesiastical, than her Ecclesiasti-" cal should her Temporal? And seeing so many, and " fo great Personages with some others, are trusted " to do her Majesty Service in her Ecclesiastical Com-" mission, Whether it be convenient, that an Offen-" der ready to be censured, should obtain, and pub-" lickly throw into Court a Probibition, to the delay " of Justice, and to the Disgrace and Disparagement of those who served freely, without all Fee there-" in?" The Archbishop caused a List to be made of divers Cases, wherein the Christian Court, as he called it, had been interrupted by the Temporal Jurisdiction; and of many Causes that had been taken out of the Hands of the Bishops Courts, the High Commission, and the Court of Delegates; the former authorised by immediate Commission from the Queen, and the

latter by a special Commission upon an Appeal to her

Life of Whitgift, P. 137.

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Court of Chancery. But notwithstanding all these Queen Efforts of Whitgift and his Successor Bancroft, the Elizabeth, Number of Probibitions encreased every Year; the 1599. Nobility, Gentry, and Judges, being too wife to fub-But in ject their Estates and Liberties to a Number of artful vain. Civilians, versed in a Codex or Body of Laws, of most uncertain Authority, and Strangers to the Statute Laws of the Realm, without the Liberty of an Appeal; when it was notorious, that the Canon Law had been always fince the Reformation controuled by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm. Thus the Civilians funk in their Business under the two next Archbishops, till LAUD governed the Church, who terrified the Judges from granting Probibitions; then the Spiritual Courts, Star Chamber, Council Table and High Commissioners rid triumphant, fining, imprisoning, and banishing Men at their Pleasure, till they became as Terrible as the Spanish Inquisition, and brought upon the Nation all the Confusions of a Civil War.

From this Time to the Queen's Death there was a A Coffation kind of Ceffation of Arms between the Church and of contro-Puritans; the Combatants were out of Breath, or verfy bewilling to wait for better Times. Some apprehended church and that the Puritans were vanquished, and their Num-Puritans. bers lessened by the severe Execution of the penal Laws; whereas it will appear by a Survey in the beginning of the next Reign, that the Non-Conforming Clergy were above 1500. But the true Reason was this, the Queen was advanced in Years, and could not live long in a Course of Nature, and the next Heir to the Crown being a Puritan, the Bishops were cautious of acting against a Party for whom his Majesty had declared, not knowing what Revenge he might take when he was fixed on the Throne; and the Puritans were quiet, in hopes of great Matters to be done for them upon the expect-Change,

Notwithstanding all former Repulses from Court. Queen Elizabeth, the Queen's last Parliament, which fat in the Year 1601. 1601. renewed their Attacks upon the Ecclefiastical Courts; a Bill was brought in to examine into Bi-Proceedshops Leases, and to disable them from taking ings of Parlia-Fines. Another against Pluralities and Non-Regainst the sidents; and another against Commissaries and Archsp. Courts. deacons Courts; multitudes of Complaints came to the House against the Proceedings of the Ordina-Life of Whitgift, ries ex mero Officio without due Presentments pre-P. 547. ceding, and against the frequent keeping their Courts, fo that the Church-Wardens were fometimes cited to two or three Spiritual Courts at once; complaint was made of their charging the Country with quarterly Bills; of the great Number of Apparitors, and Petty Sumners, who seized upon People for trifling Offences; of the Admission of Curates by Offcials and Commissaries, without the Bishop's Knowledge, and without Testimonials of their Conversation; of

Life of Whitgift, P. 547, 549.

fcandalous Commutations of Penance, and divers Queen pro- Abuses of the like Kind; but the Queen would not selfs them. fuffer the House to debate them, but referr'd them to the Archbishop, who writ to his Brethren the Bishops, to endeavour as much as possible to reform the above-mentioned Grievances, which (fays he) have produced multitudes of Complaints in Parliament; and had they not been prevented with good Circumspection, and promise of careful Reformation, there might, perhaps, have enfued the taking away of the whole, or most of those Courts. "So prudent-" ly diligent was the Archbishop (says Mr. Strype)

" to keep up the Jurisdiction of the Bishops Courts, " and the wealthy Estate of the Clergy, by pre-

" ferving Non-Residencies to them."

Bill to pu-There was another Bill brought into the House, mif volun- to punish voluntary Absence from Church; the tary Ab-Forfeiture was to be twelve Pence each Sunday, to Sence from be levied by Diftress, by a Warrant from a Justice Church. of Peace; but the Bill was opposed, because there

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was a severe Law already against Recusants, of twenty Pounds Month; and because, if this Bill should Elizabeth, pass, a Justice of Peace's House would like a Quarter Sessions be crouded with a Multitude of In-Collier's formers: It was likewise against Magna Charta, Beel. Hist. which admits of a Trial per pares, whereas by this P. 667. Act, two Witnesses before a Justice of Peace were sufficient. The Bill however was engrossed, and being put to the Question the No's carried it by a single Voice; upon which the Yea's said the Speaker was with them, which made the Number even. The Question was then put whether the Speaker had a Voice, which being carried in the Negative the Bill miscarried.

The Convocation did nothing but give the Queen Proceedfour Subfidies to be collected in four Years, and re-ings of ceive an Exhortation from the Archbishop to observe Convocathe Canons past in the last Convocation. They met October 18th. and were dissolved with the Parliament,

December 19th. following.

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This Year died the Reverend and Learned Mr. 1602. William Perkins, born at Marston in Warwickshire in Death of the first Year of Queen Elizabeth, and educated in Mr. Per-Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow: kins. He was one of the most famous practical Writers and Preachers of his Age; and being a strict Calvinist, he published several Treatises in favour of those Doctrines, which involved him in a Controverfy with Arminius then Professor of Divinity at Leyden, that continued to his Death. He was a Puritan Non-Conformist, and a Favourer of the Discipline, for which he was once or twice before the High Commission; but his peaceable Behaviour, and great Fame in the learned World, procured him a Dispensation from the Persecutions of his Brethren. Mr. Perkins was a little Man, and writ with his left Hand being lame of his right. His Works, which were printed in 3 Vol. Fol. shew him to have been a most pious, holy, and industrious Divine, considering he lived but 44 Years.

Queen troversy with the Puritans in this Reign.

To furn up the State of Religion throughout this Elizabeth, long Reign; 'tis evident that the Parliament, the People, and great Numbers of the inferior Clergy, summary were for carrying the Reformation further than the of the Con-present Establishment. The first Bishops came into it with this View; they declared against the popils Habits and Ceremonies, and promifed to use all their Interest with the Queen for their removal; but how foon they forgot themselves, when they were warm in their Chairs, the foregoing History has discovered. Most of the first Reformers were of Erastian Principles, looking upon the Church as a meer Creature of the State: They gave up every Thing to the Crown, and yielded to the Magistrate the absolute Direction of the Consciences, or at least of the Profession of all his Subjects. They acknowledged but two Orders of Clergy of Divine Institution, viz. Bishops or Priests, and Deacons. They admitted the Ordinations of foreign Churches by meer Presbyters, till towards the middle of this Reign, when their Validity began to be disputed and Whitgift was the first that defended the Hierarchy, from the Practice of the third, fourth, and fifth Centuries when the Roman Empire became Christian; but Bancroft divided off the Bishops from the Priesthood, and advanced them into a superior Order by Divine Right, with the fole Power of Ordination, and the Keys of Discipline; so that from his Time there were reckon'd three Orders of Clergy in the English Hierarchy (viz.) Bishops, Priests and Deacons. Thus the Church improved in her Claims, and removed by Degrees to a greater Distance from the foreign Protestants.

The Controversy with the Puritans had but a small beginning (viz.) The imposing of the popish Habits and a few indifferent Ceremonies; but it open'd by Degrees into a Reformation of Discipline, which all confessed was wanting; and at last the very Dostrines of Faith The Queen and the later Bishops were debated. would not part with a Pin out of the Hierarchy, nor leave a Latitude in the most trifling Ceremonies, but

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infifted upon an exact Uniformity both in Doctrine Queen and Ceremonies, that all might unite in the pub-Elizabeth, lick Standard. The Puritans in their Writings and 1602. Conferences attempted to shew the Defects of the Establishment from Scripture, and from the earliest Ages of the Church; and what they suffered for it has been in part related; the Suspensions and Deprivations of this long Reign amounting to feveral Thoufands; but when it appeared that nothing would be abated, and that penal Laws were multiplied and rigoroufly executed, they endeavoured to erect a fort of voluntary Discipline within the Church, for the Ease and Satisfaction of their own Consciences, being unwilling to separate; but at length the Violence of Persecution drove some of them into the Extremes of Brownism, which divided the Puritans, and gave Rife to a new Controversy, concerning the Necessity of a Separation from the Established Church, of which we shall hear more hereafter; but under all their Hardships their Loyalty to the Queen was untainted, and their Behaviour was peaceable; they addressed the Queen and Parliament, and Bishops for Relief, at fundry Times; and remonstrated against the arbitrary Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, but made use of no other Weapons but Prayers and Tears, attended with Scripture and Argument.

The chief Principles of the Puritans have been al-Principles ready related: They were no Enemies to the Name of the or Function of a Bishop, provided he was no more than a necessais, or stated President of the College of Presbyters in his Diocese, and managed the Assairs of it with their Direction and Assistance. They did not object against prescribed Forms of Prayer, provided a Latitude was indulged the Minister to alter or vary some Expressions; and to make use of a Prayer of his own Conception before and after Sermon: Nor had they an Aversion to such decent and distinct Habits for the Clergy as were not derived from Popery. But upon the whole, they were the most resolved Protestants in the

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Elizabeth, Preachers, and determined Enemies to Popery, and to every Thing that had a Tendency that way.

Their Character, W

'Tis not to be imagin'd, that the PURITANS were without their Failings; no, they were Men of like Paffions and Infirmities with their Neighbours; while they endeavoured to avoid one Extreme they might fall into another; their Zeal for their Platform of Discipline, would, I fear, have betrayed them into the Imposition of it upon others, if it had been established by Law. Their Notions of the Civil and Religious Rights of Mankind were dark and confused, and derived too much from the Theocracy of the Jews, which was now at an end. Their Behaviour was fevere and rigid, far removed from the fashionable Customs and Vices of the Age, and possibly they might be too Cenforious, in not making those Allowances between Youth and Age, Grandeur and meer Decency, as the Nature of Things would admit; but with all their Faults, they were the most pious and devout People in the Land; Men of Prayer, both in fecret and publick, as well as in their Families; their Manner of Devotion was fervent and folemn, depending on the Affistance of the Divine Spirit, not only to teach them bow to pray, but what to pray for as they ought. They had a profound Reverence for the Holy Name of God, and were great Enemies not only to prophane Swearing, but to foolish Talking and Jesting, which are not convenient; they were strict Observers of the Christian Sabbath or Lord's Day, spending the whole of it in Acts of publick and private Devotion and Charity. It was the diftinguishing Mark of a Puritan in these Times, to see him going to Church twice a Day with his Bible under his Arm; while others were at Plays and Interludes, or at Revels, or walking in the Fields, or at the Diversions of Bowling, Fencing, &c. on the Evening of the Sabbath, these with their Families were employed in reading the Scriptures,

tures, finging Psalms, catechifing the Children, repeating Sermons, and Prayer: Nor was this only the Elizabeth, Work of the Lord's Day, but they had their Hours of Family Devotion on the Week Days, esteeming it their Duty to take care of the Souls as well as Bodies of their Servants. They were circumspect as to all the Excesses of Eating, Drinking, Apparel, and lawful Diversions, being frugal in House-keeping, industrious in their particular Callings, honest and exact in their Dealings, and solicitous to give to every one his own. These were the People that were branded with the Name of Precisians, Puritans, Schismaticks, Enemies to God and their Country, and throughout the Course of this Reign underwent cruel Mockings, Bonds and Imprisonment.

Sir Francis Walfingham has given a Summary Ac-Queen's count of the Queen's Policy towards them, in a Let. Conduct toter to Monsieur Cretoy, which I shall transcribe in his wards own Words.

"—I find, says Sir Francis, that the Queen's Burnet's Hist. Ref.
Proceedings both against Papists and Puritans are Vol. III.
grounded upon these two Principles.
p. 419.

"The one, That Consciences are not to be forced but to be won, and reduced by Force of Truth,

" with the Aid of Time and Use of all good Means

" of Instruction and Persuasion.

"The other, That Causes of Conscience when they exceed their Bounds, and grow to be matter of Faction, lose their Nature; and that Sove-

" reign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Pra-

" ctices and Contempt, though colour'd with the

" Pretence of Conscience and Religion.

"According to these Principles her Majesty behaved towards the Papists with great Mildness,
not liking to make a Window into their Hearts,
except the Abundance of them overslowed into
Overt Acts of Disobedience, in impungning her
Supremacy. When the Pope excommunicated
her she only defended her self against his Bulls;

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Queen "but when she was threaten'd with an Invasion, Elizabeth, and the Papists were altered from being Papists in 1602. "Conscience to being Papists in Faction the was

" Conscience to being Papists in Faction, she was " then obliged to provide severer Laws for the Secu-" rity of her People --For the other Party, which call themselves Re-" formers, and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been the Proceeding towards them: A great while, when they inveighed against fuch Abuses in the " Church, as Pluralities, Non-Residence, and the like, their Zeal was not condemned, only their Wiolence was fometimes cenfured. When they " refused the Use of some Ceremonies and Rites as superstitious, they were tolerated with much Connivance and Gentleness; yea, when they called in question the Superiority of Bishops, and pretended to a Democracy in the Church, their Propositions " were confidered, and by contrary Writings deba-" ted and discussed; yet all this while it was perceived " that their Course was dangerous and very popular; " as because Papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their Mouths, that they fought to purge the Church from the Reliques of Papistry, a

" the Church from the Reliques of Papiltry, a "Thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one Extreme to another.

"Because Multitudes of Rogues and Poverty was an Eye sore, and a Dislike to every Man, therefore they put into People's Heads, that if Discipline

were planted there would be no Vagabonds, no Beggars, a Thing very plaufible; and in like man-

" ner they promised the People many of the impossible Wonders of their Discipline; besides, they

" opened to the People a Way to Government by their Confistories and Presbyteries, a Thing tho

in Consequence no less prejudicial to the Liberties of private Men than to the Sovereignty of Princes,

yet in first shew very popular; nevertheless this, except it were in some few that enter'd into extreme

ec Contempt, was born with, because they pretended

es in

" in dutiful Manner to make Propositions, and to Queen leave it to the Providence of God and the Autho-Elizabeth,

" rity of the Magistrate.

" But now of late Years, when there iffued from " them, that affirmed the Consent of the Magistrate " was not to be attended; when under pretence of a " Confession to avoid Slander and Imputations, they " combined themselves by Classes and Subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base Means " of defacing of the Church by ridiculous Pasquils; " when they began to make many Subjects in doubt " to take Oaths, which is one of the fundamental " Parts of Justice in this Land, and in all Places; " when they began both to vaunt of their Strength, " and Number of their Partizans and Followers, and " to use Comminations, that their Cause would pre-" vail through Uproar and Violence, then it ap-" peared to be no more Zeal, no more Conscience, " but meer Faction and Division; and therefore " though the State were compelled to hold fome-" what a harder Hand to restrain them than before, " yet was it with as great Moderation as the Peace " of the State or Church could permit. Thus her " Majesty has always observed the two Rules before-" mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Consciences, " and yet in discovering Faction from Conscience, " and Softness from Singularity."

The false Colourings of this Letter are easily dis-remarks. covered: It admits that the Consciences of Men ought not to be forced but when they grow into Fastion; that is, to an inconsistency with the Peace and Sasety of the Civil Government; but was there any Thing like this in the Petitions, Addresses, and submissive Behaviour of the Puritans? But they did not attend the Consent of the Magistrate. Let the Reader judge by the foregoing History, whether they did not attend and apply for it several Years; and if after all, the Consent of the Magistrate must be expected before we follow the Dictates of our Consciences, 'tis easy to Q q 4

Queen fee there would have been no Reformation in the Elizabeth, Protestant World. But the Queen's worst Maxim was, That while she pretended not to force the Consciences of her Subjects, she obliged them under the severest Penalties to come to Church, and make an outward Profession of that Way of Worship which they inwardly disallow'd. This was to establish Hypocristy by a Law, and to force Men to deal falsily with God, and their own Consciences, in Matters of the most solemn Importance.

Of Practical Religion.

Practical Religion was all this Reign at a very low Ebb; the greatest Part of the Clergy being barely capable of reading Prayers and a Homily. In the remoter Countries and Villages the People were either Papists, or no better than Heathens. "If any among the Clergy or Laity were remark-" ably pious, strict Observers of the Sabbath, and " declared Enemies of Prophaneness, and Popery " (fays Mr. Ofburn) they were either real Puritans, or branded with that invidious Name; and great " Numbers of the inferior Clergy and People in " Cities and Corporations, were of this Number": The conforming Clergy loft Ground; and the Order of Bishops, by spending their Zeal more about the external Forms of Worship than in painful preaching and propagating Practical Religion, grew into Contempt; Popery got Ground in the Countries, by the Diligence of the Missionaries, and by the Ignorance and Laziness of the established Clergy; and Puritanism prevailed in Cities and Corporations: So that, as Archbishop Parker observed, the Queen was the only Friend of the Church; and supported it by a vigorous Execution of the Penal Laws, and by refolving to admit of no Motion for Reformation, but what should arise from her felf.

The Thus Things continued to the QUEEN'S Queen's Death: Her Majesty was grown old and infirm, Death and and under a visible Decay of natural Spirits, some Character. say for the Loss of the Earl of Esex, whom she had

late-

lately beheaded; but others, from a just Indigna- Queen tion to see her self neglected by some who were too Elizabeth, ready to worship the rising Sun. This threw her, into a Melancholy, attended with a Drowziness and Heaviness in all her Limbs; which was followed with a Loss of Appetite, and all the Marks of an approaching Diffolution: Upon this she retired to Richmond; and having caused her Inauguration Ring, which was grown into the Flesh, and became painful, to be filed off, she languished till the 24th of March, and then died, in the 70th Year of her Age, and 45th of her Reign. Queen Elizabeth was a great and fuccessful Princess at home, and the Support of the Protestant Interest abroad while it was in its Infancy; for without her Affistance, neither the Hugonots in France, nor the Dutch Reformers could have stood their Ground: She affifted the Protestants of Scotland against their Popish Queen, and the Princes of Germany against the Emperor; though at the same Time she demanded an absolute Submission from her own Subjects; and would not tolerate that Religion at home which she countenanced and supported abroad. As to her own Religion, she affected a middle Way, between Popery and Puritanism, though her Majesty was more inclinable to the former: She disliked the secular Pretensions of the Court of Rome over foreign States, but was in Love with the Pomp and Splendor of their Worship: On the other hand the approved of the Doctrines of the foreign reformed Churches, but thought they had ftripp'd Religion too much of its Ornaments, and made it look with an unfriendly Aspect upon the Sovereign Power of Princes. She understood not the Rights of Conscience in Matters of Religion; and is therefore justly chargeable with persecuting Principles. More sanguinary Laws were made in her Reign than in any of her Predecessors: Her Hands were stained with the Blood of Papists and Puritans; the former were executed for denying her Supremacy, and the latter for Sedition

Queen or Non-Conformity. Her greatest Admirers blame

Elizabeth, her for plundering the Church of its Revenues, and for keeping several Sees vacant many Years together for the fake of their Profits; as the Bishopricks of Ely, Oxford, and others; which last was without a Bishop for twenty two Years. The Queen was devout at Prayers, but seldom or never heard Sermons except in Lent; and would often fay, That two or three Preachers in a County were sufficient. She had high Notions of the fovereign Power of Princes, and of her own absolute Supremacy in Church Affairs: And being of Opinion that all Methods of Severity were lawful to bring her Subjects to an outward Uniformity, she countenanced all the Engines of Perfecution, as Spiritual Courts, High Commission, and Star-Chamber, and stretched her Prerogative to support them beyond the Laws, and against the Sense of the Nation. But with all these Blemishes Queen Elizabeth stands upon Record as a wife and politick Princefs, for delivering the Kingdom from the Difficulties in which it was involved at her Accession; for preferving the Protestant Reformation against the potent Attempts of the Pope, the Emperor, and King of Spain abroad, and the Queen of Scots and her Popish Subjects at home; and for advancing the Renown of the English Nation beyond any of her Predecessors. Her Majesty held the Balance of Europe, and was in high Esteem with all foreign Princes, the greatest Part of her Reign; and tho' her Protestant Subjects were divided about Church Affairs, they all discover'd a high Veneration for her Royal Person and Government; on which Accounts she was the Glory of the Age in which she lived, and will be the Admiration of Posterity.

Fuller's Worthies, B. II. P. 313.

The END.



## APPENDIX.

## Nº. I.

A Copy of the LETTER sent to the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and profess the Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity.

The superintendent Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges within the Realm of Scotland: To their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in Sincerity, desire the perpetual Increase of the Holy Spirit.



Y Word and Writ, it is come to our Knowledge (Reverend Pastors) that divers of our dearest Brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that Realm, are deprived from Eccle-fiastical Function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you, that they are straight to

promote the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their Consciences will not suffer to take upon them (at the Commandment of the Authority) such Garments as Idolaters, in Time of Blindness, have used in their Idolatry, which Brute cannot be but most dolorous to our Hearts, mindful of that Sentence of the Apostle, saying, If ye bite and devour one another, take Heed lest ye be consumed one of another. We purpose not at this present to enter into the Ground of that Question which we hear of, either Part to be agitate with greater Vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that such Apparel is to be counted amongst Things that are simple indifferent or not; but in the Bowels of the Lord Jesus we crave that Christian Charity may so prevail in you, we say, the Pastors and Leaders

of the Flock within that Realm.

That ye do not to others that which you would not others should do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a Thing the Conscience of Man is. All that have Knowledge are not alike perswaded, your Consciences reclaim not at wearing of fuch Garments, but many Thousands, both Godly and Learned, are otherwife perswaded, whose Consciences are continually itricken with these Sentences: What hath Christ Jesus to do with Belial? What Fellowship is there betwixt Darkness and Light? If Surpluce, Corner Cap, and Tippet, have been Badges of Idolaters in the very Act of their Idolatry, what hath the Preachers of Christian Liberty, and the open Rebuker of all Superstition, to do with the Dregs of the Romish Beast? Our Brethren that of Conscience refuse that unprofitable Apparel, do neither damn yours, or molest you that use such vain Trifles: It you shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the Hearts of many which are wounded with Extremity, which is used against those godly, and our beloved Brethren. Colour of Rhetorick, or manly Perswasion will we use none, but charitably we defire you to call that Sentence of Pity to Mind: Feed the Flock of God which is committed to your Charge, caring for them, not by constraint, but willingly, not as though ye were Lords over God's Heritage, but that ye may be Examples to the Flock. And further also, we defire you to meditate that Sentence of the Apoitle, faying, Give none Offence, neither to the Fews, nor to the Grecians, nor to the Church of God. In what Condition of Time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Christ's Kingdom, we suppose you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumspectly, than that for such Vanities the godly should be troubled. For all Things that may feem lawful,

ful, edify not. If the Commandment of Authority urge the Conscience of yours and our Brethren, more than they can bear; we unfainedly crave of you, that ye remember that ye are called the Light of the World and the Earth.

All civil Authority hath not the Light of God always shining before their Eyes in the Statutes and Commandments; but their Affections oft-time savour too much of

the Earth, and of worldly Wifdom.

And therefore we think that ye should boldly oppone your felves to all Power, that will or dare extol it felf, not only against God, but also against all such as do burthen the Consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them by his own Word. But herein we confess our Offence, in that we have enter'd farther in reasoning than we purposed and promised at the beginning: And therefore we shortly return to our former humble Supplication, which is, that our Brethren, who among you refuse the Romish Rags, may find of you, the Prelates, such Favours, as our Head and Master commands every one of his Members to shew one to another, which we look to receive of your Gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's Majesty, in troubling of your Brethren for such vain Trifles; but also because ye will not refuse the humble Requests of us your Brethren, and Fellow Preachers of Christ Jesus, in whom, albeit, there appear no great worldly Pomp, yet we suppose you will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the Number of those that fight against that Roman Antichrist, and travel, that the Kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The Days are Evil; Iniquity abounds; Christian Charity (alas) is waxen cold; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch: For the Hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we your Brethren, and ye may give an Account of our Administration.

And thus, in Conclusion, we once again crave Favour to our Brethren, which granted, ye, in the Lord, shall command us in Things of double more Importance. The Lord Jesus rule your Hearts in his true Fear to the End, and give unto you and unto us Victory over that conjured Enemy of all true Religion; to wit, over that Roman Antichrist, whose wounded Head Satan, by all Means, labours to cure again, but to Destruction shall he, and

#### APPENDIX

his Maintainers go, by the Power of the Lord Jesus: To whose mighty Power and Protection we heartily commit

you.

Subscribed by the Hands of Superintendents, one Part of Ministers, and scribed in our general Assemblies and fourth Session thereof. At Edinburgh, the 28th Day of December, 1566.

Your loving Brethren,

And Fellow Preachers,

in Christ Fesus,

Jo. CRAIG,
DA. LYNDESAY,
GUIL. GISLISOMUS,
Jo. SPOTTISWOOD,
Jo. ROW,
ROB. PONT,
Jo. WIRAM,
JACO. MAILVIL,
Jo. ERSKIN,
NIC. SPITAL.





### Nº. II.

A DIRECTORY of Church-Government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the Times would suffer, practifed by the first Non-Conformists in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the Study of the most accomplished Divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his Decease.

The SACRED DISCIPLINE of the CHURCH, described in the Word of God.

THE Discipline of Christ's Church that is necessary for all Times, is delivered by Christ, and set down in the Holy Scriptures; therefore the true and lawful Discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other Foundation, ought to be esteemed unlawful and counterfeit.

Of all particular Churches, there is one and the same Right, Order and Form: Therefore also no one may challenge to it self any Power over others; nor any Right

which doth not alike agree to others.

The Ministers of Publick Charges, in every particular Church, ought to be called and appointed to their Charges by a lawful Ecclesiastical Calling, such as hereafter is set down.

All these for the divers Regard of their several Kinds

are of equal Power among ft themselves.

No Man can be lawfully called to Publick Charge in any Church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common Gifts of all the godly; that is, with Faith, and

and a blameless Life: And further also, with those that are proper to that Ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon, for Trial of those Gifts, some convenient Way and Examination is to be used.

The Party to be called must first be elected; then he is to be ordained to that Charge whereunto he is chosen, by the Prayers of that Church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual Duties of him and of the Church being

before laid open.

The Ministers of the Church are; first, they that are Ministers of the Word. In their Examination, it is specially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and try'd Men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the Faith.

Now these Ministers of the Word are, first, Pastors, which do administer the Word and Sacraments, then Teachers, which are occupied in wholesome Doctrine.

Besides, there are also Elders, which watch over the Life and Behaviour of every Man, and Deacons which

have Care over the Poor.

Further, in every particular Church there ought to be a Presbytery, which is a Confistory, and, as it were, a Senate of Elders. Under the Name of Elders here are contained, they who in the Church minister Doctrine, and

they who are properly called Elders.

By the common Counsel of the Eldership, all Things are directed that belong to the State of their Church. First, fuch as belong to the Guidance of the whole Body of it in the holy and common Assembly, gathered together in the Name of the Lord, that all Things may be done in them duly, orderly, and to Edification. 2. Then also such as pertain to particular Persons. First, to all the Members of that Church, that the Good may enjoy all the Privileges that belong unto them, that the Wicked may be corrected with Ecclefiastical Censures, according to the quality of the Fault, private and publick, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lord's Supper by Suspension, (as it is commonly called) or out of the Church by Excommunication. The which belong specially to the Ministers of Publick Charge in the Church to their calling, either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving or punishing them, and that for a Time by Suspension, or altogether by Deposition. For

For directing of the Eldership, let the Pastors be set over it; or if there be more Pastors than one in the same

Church, let the Pastors do it in their Turns.

But yet in all the greater Affairs of the Church, as in excommunicating of any, and in chusing and deposing of Church Ministers, nothing may be concluded without the Knowledge and Consent of the Church.

Particular Churches ought to yield mutual Help one to another; for which Cause they are to communicate among st

themselves.

The End of this communicating together is, that all Things in them may be so directed, both in regard of Doctrine, and also of Discipline, as by the Word of God

they ought to be.

Therefore the Things that belong hereunto are determined by the common Opinion of those who meet so to communicate together; and what soever is to be amended, furthered or procured, in any of those several Churches that belong to that Assembly. Wherein, albeit no particular Church hath Power over another, yet every particular Church of the same Resort, Meeting and Counsel, ought to obey the Opinion of more Churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of these Meetings and Assemblies, there are to be chosen by every Church belonging to that Assembly, principal Men from among the Elders, who are to have their Instructions from them, and so to be sent to the Assembly. There must be also a Care had, that the Things they shall return to have been godly agreed on by the Meet-

ings, be diligently observed by the Churches.

Further, in such Assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the Assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His Duty is to see that the Assemblies be held godly, quiet and comely: Therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the Conference with Prayer; to know every Man's Instructions; to propound in Order the Things that are to be handled; to gather their Opinions, and to propound what is the Opinion of the greater Part. It is also the Part of the rest of the Assembly to speak their Opinions of the Things propounded godly and quietly. of the principal Reads of Divinity : A ad whether he

diligoptly execute and difference has Ministry ; and in the

The Synodical Discipline gathered out of the Synods and Use of the Churches which have restored it according to the Word of God, and out of sundry Books that are written of the same, and referred unto certain Heads.

Of the Necessity of a Calling.

ET no Man thrust himself into the executing of any Part of publick Charge in the Administration of the Word, Sacraments, Discipline or Care over the Poor. Neither let any such sue or seek for any publick Charge of the Church; but let every one tarry until he be lawfully called.

The Manner of entering and determining of a Calling, and against a Ministry of no certain Place; and the

Desertion of a Church.

ET none be call'd but unto some certain Charge ordained of God, and to the Exercising of the same in some particular Congregation: And he that is so called, let him be so bound to that—Church, that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the Consent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have first subscribed the Consession of Doctrine and Discipline: Whereof let them be admonished to have Copies with themselves.

In the Examination of Ministers, the Testimony of the Place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may be understood what Life and Conversation he hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any Heresy, or to the reading of any heretical Books, or to curious and strange Questions, and idle Speculations; or rather, whether he be accounted sound and consenting in all Things to the Doctrine received in the Church. Whereunto if he agree, he is also to expound some Part of the holy Scriptures twice or oftner, as it shall seem meet to the Examiners, and that before the Conserence, and that Church which is interested. Let him also be demanded of the principal Heads of Divinity: And whether he will diligently execute and discharge his Ministry; and in the Execution thereof propound unto himself, not his own Desires

fires and Commodities, but the Glory of God and Edification of the Church. Lastly, Whether he will be studious and careful to maintain and preserve wholesome Dostrine, and ecclesiastical Discipline. Thus let the Minister be examined, not only by one Eldership, but also by some greater Meeting and Assembly.

Of Election.

Before the Election of a Minister, and the Deliberation of the Conference concerning the same, let there be a Day of Fast kept in the Church interested.

A Lbeit it be lawful for a Minister, upon just Occasion, to preach in another Church than that whereof he is Minister; yet none may exercise any ordinary Ministry elsewhere, but for a certain Time, upon great Occasion, and by the Consent of his Church and Conference.

Of the Office of the Ministers of the Word; and first of the Order of Liturgy, or Common-Prayer.

ET the Minister that is to preach, name a Pfalm, or Let the Minister that is to preach, in the first, and so a Part of a Pfalm (beginning with the first, and so proceeding) that may be fung by the Church, noting to them the End of their finging (to wit) the Glory of God and their own Edification. After the Pfalm let a short Admonition to the People follow, of preparing themfelves to pray duly unto God: Then let there be made a Prayer containing a general Confession: First of the Guilt of Sin, both original and actual; and of the Punishment which is due by the Law for them both: Then also of the Promise of the Gospel, and in respect of it, Supplication of Pardon for the faid Guilt and Punishment, and Petition of Grace promised, as for the Duties of the whole Life, so especially for the godly expounding and receiving of the Word. Let this Petition be concluded with the Lord's Prayer. After the Sermon, let Prayer be made again; first, for Grace to profit by the Doctrine delivered, the principal Heads thereof being remember'd; then for all Men, but chiefly for the universal Church, and for all Estates and Degrees of the People; which is likewife to be ended with the Lord's Prayer and the Singing of a Pfalm as before. Last of all, let the Congregation be difiniffed with fome convenient Rr 2

Form of Blesting taken out of the Scripture; such as is Numb. VI. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Of Preaching.

LET him that shall preach choose some Part of the canonical Scripture to expound, and not of the Apocrypha. Further, in his ordinary Ministry, let him not take Postils (as they are called) but some whole Book of the holy Scripture, especially of the new Testament, to expound in Order: In Choise whereof regard is to be had both of the Minister's Ability, and of the Edification of the Church.

He that preacheth must perform two Things; the first, that his Speech be uncorrupt; which is to be confidered both in regard of the Doctrine, that it be holy, found, wholfome and profitable to Edification; not devilifh, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the Manner of it, that it be proper to the Place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very Words; or if it be gathered by Consequent, that the same be fit and clear, and fuch as may rife upon the Property of the Word, Grace of Speech, and Suit of the Matter; and not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far fetch'd. Now let that which is fuch, and chiefly which is fittest for the Times and Occafions of the Church, be delivered. Further, let the Explication, Confirmation, Enlargement and Application, and the whole Treatife and handling of it, be in the vulgar Tongue; and let the whole Confirmation and Proof be made by Arguments, Testimonies and Examples taken only out of the holy Scriptures, applied fitly and according to the natural Meaning of the Places that are alledged.

The fecond Thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend Gravity: This is confidered first in the Stile, Phrase and Manner of Speech, that it be spiriritual, pure, proper, fimple, and applied to the Capacity of the People; not fuch as human Wisdom teacheth, nor favouring of new Fangledness, nor either so affectate as it may serve for Pomp and Ostentation, or so careless and base, as becometh not Ministers of the Word of God. Secondly, It is also to be regarded as well in ordering the Voice, in which a Care must be had, that (avoiding the keeping always of one Tune) it may be equal, and both rise and fall by Degrees; as also in ordering the Gesture, wherein (the Body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole Body is to follow the Voice, there being avoided in it all unseemly Gestures of the Head, or other Parts, and often turning of the Body to divers Sides Finally let the Gesture be grave, modest, and seemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the Gestures of

Plays or Fencers.

These Things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exercised to be made fit to preach: Let there be, if it may be, every Sabbath Day, two Sermons, and let them that preach, always endeavour to keep themselves within one Hour, especially on the Week Days. The Use of Preaching at Burials is to be lest as it may be done conveniently; because there is Danger that they may nourish the Superstition of some, or be abused to Pomp and Vanity.

Of the Catechism.

LET the Catechism be taught in every Church. Let there be two Sorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the Sum of Religion by a Sute and Order of certain Places of the Scriptures, according to which some Point of the holy Doctrine may be expounded every Week. Another of the same Sort, but shorter, fit for the Examination of the Rude and Ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's Supper.

Of the other Parts of Liturgy or Divine Service.

ALL the rest of the Liturgy or Divine Service confisteth in the Administration of the Sacraments, and by the Custom of the Church in the Blessing of Marriage: The most commodious Form thereof is that which is used by the Churches that have reformed their——Discipline according to the Word of God.

Of Sacraments.

LET only a Minister of the Word, that is, a Preacher, minister the Sacraments, and that after the Preaching of the Word, and not in any other Place than in the publick Assemblies of the Church.

Women only may not offer unto Baptism those that are to be baptized, but the Father, if it may be, or in his Name some other. They which present unto Baptism, ought to be persuaded not to give those that are baptized the Names of God or of Christ, or of Angels, or of holy Offices, as of Baptist, Evangelist, &c. nor such as savour of Paganism or Popery; but chiefly such whereof there are Examples in the Holy Scriptures, in the Names of those who are reported in them to have been godly and virtuous.

Of the Communion.

LET the Time of celebrating the Communion be made known eight Days before, that the Congregation may prepare themselves, and that the Elders may do their Duty in going to and visiting whom they ought.

Of signifying their Names that are to communicate.

Lord's Table, when they first desire to come to it, give their Names to the Minister seven Days before the Communion, that Care of enquiring of them may be committed to the Elders; that if there be any Cause of Hindrance, there may be Stay made betime; but if there be no such Thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their Faith, before some of the Elders and Ministers every Month before the Communion. Let this whole Treatise of Discipline be read in the Consistory; and let the Ministers, Elders and Deacons, be censured one after another; yet so that the Minister concerning Doctrine, be censured of Ministers only.

Let them only be admitted to the Communion that have made Confession of their Faith, and submitted them-felves to the Discipline; unless they shall bring Letters Testimonial of good Credit from some other Place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient Testi-

mony.

Children are not be admitted to the Communion before they be of the Age of 14 Years, except the Confiflory shall otherwise determine. On the Sabbath Day next before the Communion, let Mention be made in the Sermon of the Examination, whereunto the Apostle exhorteth, and of the Peace that is by Faith; In the Day of the Communion, let there be Speech of the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and especially of the Lord's Supper.

LET the Day of Fasting be published by the Pastor according to the Advice of the Consistory, either for Supplication, for turning away of Calamities present, or threaten'd; or for Petition of some special Grace. Let the Sermons upon the same Day, before and after Noon (as on the Lord's Day) be such as may be fit for the present Occasion.

Of Holidays.

HOlidays are conveniently to be abolished.

Of Marriage. LET Espousing go before Marriage. Let the Words of Espousing be of the present Time, and without Condition, and before fufficient Witnesses on both Sides. It is to be wish'd that the Minister, or an Elder, be prefent at the Espousals, who having called upon God, may admonish both Parties of their Duties. First, may have Care of avoiding the Degrees forbidden both by the Law of God and Man: And then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any Bond of Marriage; which if they profess and be Strangers, he may also require fufficient Testimony. Further also, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the Death of the Party with whom they were married, which, if they acknowledge and be Strangers, he may demand convenient Testimony of the Death of the Finally, let them be asked if they be unother Party. der the Government of any? whether they whom it concerneth have confented.

The Espousals being done in due Order, let them not be dissolved, though both Parties should consent. Let the Marriage be solemnized within two Months after. Before the Marriage let the Promise be published three several Sabbath Days; but first, let the Parties espoused, with their Parents or Governors, desire the publishing R r 4

thereof, of the Minister and two Elders at the least, that they may be demanded of those Things that are needful; and let them require to fee the Instrument of the Covenant of the Marriage, or at least, sufficient Testimony of the Espoufals. Marriage may be folemnized and bleffed upon any ordinary Day of publick Prayer, faving upon a Day of Fast.

Of Schools.

LET Children be instructed in Schools, both in other Learning, and especially in the Catechism, that they may repeat it by heart, and understand it; when they are so instructed, let them be brought to the Lord's Supper, after they have been examined by the Minister, and allowed by him.

Of Students of Divinity and their Exercises.

IN every Church where it may conveniently be done, Care is to be had that fome poor Scholars, studious of Divinity, being fit for Theological Exercises; and especially for expounding of holy Scripture, may, by the Liberality of the godly Rich, be taught and trained up to

preach.

Let that Exposition, as often as it shall be convenient to be had, be in the Presence at least of one Minister, by whose Presence they may be kept in Order, and in the fame Sort (as touching the Manner of Preaching) that publick Sermons are made; which being ended, let the other Students (he being put apart that was Speaker) note wherein he hath failed in any of those Things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publickly, as is fet down before: Of whose Opinion let the Minister that is present, and is Moderator of their Exercife, judge and admonish the Speaker as he shall think meet.

Of Elders.

I ET the Elders know every particular House and Perfon of the Church, that they may inform the Minister of the Condition of every one, and the Deacons of the Sick and Poor, that they may take Care to provide for them: They are not to be perpetual; neither yet eafily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

IN the Confistory the most Voices are to be yielded unto. In it only ecclefiaftical Things are to be handled. Of them, first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common Direction of the publick Affembly, in the Order of Liturgy or divine Service, Sermon, Prayers, Sacraments, Marriages, and Burials. Then with fuch also as pertain to the Overfight of every one, and their particular Deeds. Further, they are to cause fuch Things as shall be thought meet, to be register'd and written in a Book. They are also to cause to be written in another Book, the Names of them that are baptized, with the Names of their Parents and Sureties: Likewise of the Communicants. Further also are to be noted their Names that are married, that die, and to whom Letters testimonial are given.

Of the Censures.

NONE is to be complained of unto the Confiftory, unless first the Matter being attered with filencing the Parties Name, if it feem meet to to be done by the Judgment of the Confistory.

In private and less Faults the Precept of Christ, Matt.

xviii. is to be kept.

Greater and publick Offences are to be handled by the Confistory. Further, publick Offences are to be esteemed, First, Such as are done openly before all, or whomfoever, the whole Church knowing of it. Secondly, Such as be done in a publick Place, albeit few know it. Thirdly, That are made fuch by Pertinacy and Contempt. Fourthly, That for the Heinbusness of the Offence are to be punished with some grievous civil Punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in publick Charge in the Church, are to be deposed also from their Charges. They also are to be discharged that are unfit for the Ministry, by reason of their Ignorance, or of some incurable Disease; or by any other such Cause, are disabled to perform their Ministry: But in the Rooms of fuch as are disabled by Means of Sickness or Age, let another be placed without the Reproach of him that is discharged; and further, so as the Reverence of the Ministry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good Order.

When there is Question concerning an Heretick, complained of to the Consistory, streight let two or three Neighbour Ministers be called, Men godly and learned, and free from that Suspicion, by whose Opinion he may be suspended, till such Time as the Conference may take

Knowledge of his Caufe.

The Obstinate, after Admonition by the Consistory, though the Fault have not been fo great, are to be fuspended from the Communion; and if they continue in their Obstinacy, this shall be the Order to proceed to their Excommunication. Three feveral Sabbath Days after the Sermon, publickly let be declared the Offence committed by the Offender. The first Sabbath let not the Offender's Name be published: The fecond let it be declared, and withal a certain Day of the Week named, to be kept for that Cause in Fasting and Prayer. The third let Warning be given of his excommunicating to follow the next Sabbath after, except there may be shewed some sufficient Cause to the contrary: So upon the fourth Sabbath Day let the Sentence of Excommunication be pronounced against him, that his Spirit may be faved in the Day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great Offences, opprobrious to the Church, and to be grievously punished by the Magistrate's Authority; albeit he profess his Repentance in Words, yet for the Trial thereof, and to take away the Offence, let him for a Time be kept from the Communion; which how often and how long it is to be done, let the Consistory, according to their Discretion, determine; after which, if the Party repent, he is brotherly to be received again, but not until he have openly professed his Repentance before the Church, by Consent whereof he should have been excommunicated.

If the Ministers of any publick Charge of the Church commit any such Thing, they are to be deposed from their Charge.

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Of the Assemblies of the Church.

PArticular Churches are to communicate one with another, by common Meetings and Reforts: In them only ecclefiastical Matters are to be handled, and of those, only such as pertain to the Churches of that Resort; concerning other Churches, unless they be desired, they are to determine nothing surther than to refer such Matters to their next common and great Meet-

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Let the Order of Proceeding in them be this: First, Let the Survey be taken of those that are present, and the Names of those that are absent, and should be there be noted, that they may give a Reason at their next Meeting of their Absence, or be censured by the Judgment of the Affembly next. Let the Acts of the last Affembly of that Kind be read, that if any of the fame remain unfinished, they may be dispatch'd: Then let those Things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the present Assembly; where first the Instructions sent from the Churches are to be delivered by every one in Order, as they fit together, with their Letters of Credence. Secondly, Let the State of the Churches of that Refort be confidered, to wit, how they are instructed and guided: Whether the holy Doctrine and Difcipline be taught and exercised in them; and whether the Ministers of publick Charges do their Duty, and fuch like. Furthermore, they shall determine of those Things that do appertain to the common State of all the Churches of that Refort, or unto any of the same; which way may be fufficient for the Overfight of the Churches. Lastly, If it feem meet, the Delegates present may be cenfured.

They that are to meet in fuch Affemblies are to be chofen by the Confent of the Churches of that Affembly and

Conference, to whom it may appertain.

Let such only be chosen that exercise publick Function in the Church, of Ministry or Eldership, and which have subscribed to the Doctrine and Discipline, and have promised to behave themselves according to the Word of God: Notwithstanding, it may be lawful also to be present for other Elders and other Ministers; and likewise (if the Assembly think it meet) for Deacons, and for Students in Divinity, especially those that exercise

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cise themselves in expounding the holy Scriptures in the Conserences, and be asked their Opinion; which in Students is to this End, that their Judgments in handling Matters Ecclesiastical, may be both tried and sharpened. But they only are to give Voice which are chosen by the Churches, and have brought their Instructions signed from

them.

If there fall out any very weighty Matter to be confulted of, let Notice of it be given to the Moderator of the Assembly next going before, or to the Minister of that Church where the next Meeting is to be: The same is to fend Word of it in due Time to the Minister of every Church of that Assembly, that they may communicate it afore-hand with those to whom it appertaineth, that the Delegates resorting to the next Meeting, may understand and report their Judgments.

In appointing of the Place for the Affembly, Regard must be had of the convenient Distance, and other Commodities, that no Part may justly complain that they are

burdened above others.

In every such Ecclesiastical Assembly it is meet there be a Moderator: He is to have Charge of the Assembly, to see it kept in good Order. He is always, if it may be conveniently, to be changed. The Choice is to be in this Manner:

The Moderator of the former Assembly of that Kind, or in his Absence, the Minister of the Church where they meet, having first pray'd fitly to that Purpose, is to move the Assembly to choose a Moderator. He being chosen, is to provide that the Things done in the Assembly may be written, that the Delegates of every Church may write them out, and communicate them with the Conferences from whence they came.

The Moderator is also, by the Order and Judgment of the Assembly, to give Answer, either by Speech or by Letters, to such as desire any Answer; and to execute Censures, if any be to be executed. Further, he is to procure all Things to be done in it, godly and quietly; exhorting to Meekness, Moderation of Spirit, and forbearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the Assembly, to take Order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, He is to remember them of the next Meeting following, with Thanks for their Pains,

Pains, and Exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their Callings; and so courteously to dismiss the Assembly. Before such Time none may depart without Leave of the

Affembly.

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m eir Those Assemblies, according to their Kinds, have great Authority, if they be greater, and less if they be less. Therefore (unless it be a plain Act, and manifest unto all) if any think himself injured by the less Meeting, he may appeal still unto a greater, till he come to a general Counsel; so that he ascend orderly from the less to the next greater. But it is to be understood that the Sentence of the Assemblies be holden firm until it be otherwise judged by an Assembly of greater Authority.

Assemblies or Meetings are either Conferences or Synods.

Conferences are the Meetings of the Elders of a few
Churches, as for Example, of Twelve. There are
to meet in a Conference, chosen by the Eldership of every
particular Church, one Minister, and one Elder. The

Conferences are to be kept once in fix Weeks.

They are specially to look into the State of the Churches of that Resort and Conference; examining particularly these several Points: Whether all Things be done in them according to the holy Doctrine and Discipline of the Gospel (to wit) whether any Questions be moved concerning any Point of Doctrine? Whether the Ecclesiastical Discipline be duly observed? Whether any Minister be wanting in any of those Churches, that a sufficient one in due Time may be procured? Whether the other Ministers of publick Charge in the Church be appointed in every Congregation? Whether Care be had of Schools, and for the Poor? Finally, They are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth the Advice of the Conference, for the Advancement of the Gospel amongst them.

Before the End of the Meeting, if it shall be so thought good by them, let one of the Ministers assembled in Conference, either chosen by Voice, or taking it by turn, preach publickly. Of his Speech, let the rest judge among themselves (the Elders being put apart) and admonish him brotherly, if there be any Cause, examining all Things according to those Rules that are before declared in the Chapter, concerning

the Things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A Synod is the Meeting of chosen Men of many Conferences: In them let the whole Treatise of Discipline be read: In them also (other Things first being finish'd as was said before) let all those that are present be censur'd (if it may be done conveniently) and let them also have a Communion in and with the Church where they were called.

There are two Sorts of Synods; the first is particular, which comprehendeth both the Provincial and National Synod. A Provincial Synod is the Meeting of the chosen Men of every Conference, within the Province. A Province containeth four and twenty Confe-

rences.

A fit Way to call a Provincial Council may be this; The Care thereof (except themselves will determine of it) may be committed to the particular Eldership of some Conference within the Province; which by Advice of the same Conference, may appoint the Place and Time for the

Meeting of the Provincial Synod.

To that Church or Eldership are to be sent the Matters that seemed, to the particular Conferences, more difficult for them to take Order in, and such as belong to the Churches of the whole Province; which is to be done diligently, and in good Time, that the same may, in due Season, give Notice of the Place and Time of the Synod, and of the Matters to be debated therein; that they which shall be sent may come the better prepared, and judge of them according to the Advice of the Conferences.

Two Ministers, and as many Elders, are to be sent from every Conference unto the Provincial Synod. The same is to be held every half Year, or oftner, till the Discipline be settled. It is to be held three Months before every National Synod; that they may prepare and make ready those Things that pertain to the National. The Acts of the Provincial Synod are to be sent unto the National, by the Eldership of that Church in which it was holden; and every Minister is to be surrished with a Copy of them, and with the Reasons of the same. A National Synod, or Convocation, is a Meeting of the cho-

fen Men of every Province, within the Dominion of the fame Nation and civil Government. The Way to call it (unless it shall determine otherwise) may be the fame with the Provincial, that is, by the Eldership of fome particular Church, which shall appoint the Time and Place of the next National Convocation; but not otherwise than by the Advice of their Provincial Synod.

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Out of every Provincial Synod there are to be chofen three Ministers, and as many Elders, to be fent to the National. They are to handle the Things pertaining to the Churches of the whole Nation or Kingdom, as the Doctrine, Discipline, Ceremonies, Things not deeided by inferior Meetings, Appeals, and fuch like. By the Order of the same, one is to be appointed which may gather into one Book the Notes of every particular Church.

Thus much for particular Meetings; the universal followeth, which is called a general, or occumenical Counfel; which is a Meeting of the chosen Men of every National Synod. The Acts of all fuch Counfels are to be regifter'd and reported in a Book.

The Discipline, intitled, The Discipline of the Church, described in the Word of God, as far as we can judge, is taken and drawn from the most pure Fountain of the Word of God; and containeth in it the Discipline of the Church that is necessary, essential, and common to all Ages of the Church.

The Synodical also adjoined as it resteth upon the same Foundations is likewife necessary and perpetual; but as far as it is not expresly confirmed by Authority of the holy Scripture, but is applied to the Use and Times of the Church, as their divers States may require, according to the Analogy and general Rules of the same Scripture, is to be judged profitable for the Churches that receive it, but may be changed in fuch Things as belong not to the Effence of the Discipline upon a like godly Reason, as the divers Estates of the Church may require.

The Form of the Subscription.

THE Brethren of the Conference of N. whose Names are here underwritten, have subscibed this Discipline after this Manner: This Discipline we allow as a godly Discipline, and agreeable to the Word of God; (yet so as we may be first satisfied in the Things hereunder noted) and defire the same so acknowledged by us, to be surthered by all lawful Means; that by publick Authority of the Magistrate, and of our Church, it may be establish'd.

Which Thing, if it may be obtain'd of her right excellent Majesty, and other the Magistrates of this Kingdom, we promise that we will do nothing against it, whereby the publick Peace of the Church may be troubled. In the mean Time we promise to observe it so far as it may be lawful for us so to do, by the publick Laws of this Kingdom, and by the Peace of our Church.



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